GUIDE TO THE USE OF THE EH14 SARAKATSANI FILE

[The Sarakatsani are a group of Greek-speaking nomadic pastoralists living in northern Greece, primarily in the provinces of Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia and Thrace. Additional scattered communities of Sarakatsani are also to be found in the northern part of the Peloponnese as well as in Euboea. Population estimates range from 80,000 (1: Campbell, p. 1) to 90,000-110,000 (3: Kabbadias, p. 28). The problem of ethnic origins has never been clearly settled, although many theories have been presented. In 1925 Carsten Hoeg, a Danish linguistic scholar, concluded after a study of the Sarakatsani language that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from pre-classical times (1: Campbell, p. 3). This theory was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers, of whom Theodor Capidan is best known. Capidan and his followers claimed that far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen [The Sarakatsani] were not Greeks at all but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized (1: Campbell, pp. 3-4). In comparatively recent times D. Georgakas has proposed that the Sarakatsani are descended from a group of sedentary Greek peasants who at some period in the 14th century sought refuge in the mountains and eventually adopted pastoral nomadism. This theory is generally supported by Kabbadias (see source 3: Kabbadias, this file).

Every year from May to November the Sarakatsani graze their herds of sheep and to some extent goats on the higher slopes of the mountains (3000 to 6000 feet); for the remainder of the year they return to the coastal plains where they live in close but not necessarily friendly proximity to the Greek villagers. Because of the large number of animals involved, herd management requires the labors of four or five able-bodied men, a factor which determines the size of the cooperative enterprise known as the stani. This group is generally composed of close kinsmen. Kabbadias' term Tseligato, defined as an economic cooperative at the core of which is an economically powerful extended family, and to which are usually attached other conjugal or extended families of lower economic status which may or may not be related to the core family either collaterally or affinally, and Campbell's stani seem to be basically the same social group. Kabbadias' own definition of stani, however, does differ somewhat from that of Campbell. The stani, says Kabbadias, is simply the locale where pastoral activities take place, and this term is used commonly by all pastoral groups in Greece.

Kinship among the Sarakatsani is reckoned bilaterally, with only a slightly greater importance being given to agnatic kin. Kindred recognize as members all those who are related to them through common great grandparents or grandparents. On the other hand the family represents a stable solidary corporate group of kinsmen. Each family member owes ethical obligations to every other member. To consanguinal

kinsmen these obligations are qualified by the demands of family solidarity, while to affinal kinsmen they exist only by virtue of kinship linkage. Persons unrelated to the kin group, for example strangers, are treated with distrust. Concomitant with the strong feelings of family solidarity and obligations are those of honor, pride and strength which guide the Sarakatsani in their communal life.

The Sarakatsani file consists of three sources, two in English (1: Campbell and 2: Fermor) and one (3: Kabbadias) a translation from the French. 1: Campbell is a socio-functional study of the moral and social values of a community of Sarakatsani living in central Zagori (Epirus province). The data in this source are primarily related to kinship institutions, family structure, patronage, prestige, and religious beliefs. 2: Fermor is a popularized account of the author's experiences with the Sarakatsani. Most of the material in the source is related to a wedding festival at the village of Sikarayia which the author attended, although there are also miscellaneous bits of information on foods, dress, spirits and demons, omens, etc. 3: Kabbadias is probably the best source in this file for a well-rounded ethnographic study of the Sarakatsani as a whole. Although the author's description of his methodology leaves much to be desired and his deviations into rather lengthy theoretical discussions is at times aggravating to the researcher interested in

factual ethnographic data, the bulk of the source, nevertheless, is excellent for comparative research purposes. Major topics discussed are: adaptation to the natural environment, technology, social organization, the economic systems, law, magic and religion, and a synthesis of the data concerning culture and society. This source, in conjunction with 1: Campbell, provides a fairly well-rounded coverage of Sarakatsani ethnography.]

Processed in 1966-1978

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only [101] certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among [101] Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara-
128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs ('Αρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., the term "Vlachs" -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans*. Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1905. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

2:Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

THE ATLANTIC EXTRA

THE BLACK DEPARTERS

An Adventure in Greece

BY PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR

114 PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR *was one of two young British officers who led one of the most spectacular individual exploits of World War II. Wearing the uniform of German noncoms, they kidnapped a German general, hid him in the hills of Crete, eluded weeks of search by the Germans, and delivered him to* [101] *the British command at Cairo. Here Mr. Fermor tells of his adventures with the Sarakatsáns, a group of nomads who wander over northern Greece.*

[p. 73-A]

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
[402] snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were looped over it in the cruciform position in which many mountaineers carry their crooks and their guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of backgammon counters died down for a few moments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
[131] huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there among them, like dark monoliths under the wheeling crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

[p. 73-C]

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and
10 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
114 them in March the following year, when I was
122 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
221 Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter,
342 gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
492 halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
342 green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
161 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
233 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which they return after their half-yearly journeys in
101 search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
135 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

175 nomads with the widest range of migration. The
221 sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up
131 after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

195 Enormous though these journeys were, they
131 were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for,
221 until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and
● 101 even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So strong is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kósta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphli, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the [648] Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid [252] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted [263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

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181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal strait-jackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

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114
[101] I first caught a glimpse of them in December, when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw them again in early spring four months later near
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[669] the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their
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carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the
[361] birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After light-hearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

3: Kabbadias--5 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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• Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani
EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more
S about these people and their way of life.

V I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by
[342 wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the
361 edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number
162 more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely
291 wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers
and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over
their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many
G of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who
[291 now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated
homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for
V there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the
[101 nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to
197 draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily di-
191 vide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs)
291 who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly
the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because
of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, al-
S though they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from
[101 whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who
197 speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the
Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced
endogamy.

S Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement.
V The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent
[101 dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their
361 summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each
342 year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The
Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance
(like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call
home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their
winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the en-
campment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

V The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of
[174 the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words
197 from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin.
101 As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several
extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old
175 provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria
and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds
G as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced
[175

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

[P364-A]

Zagori

Greece EH1

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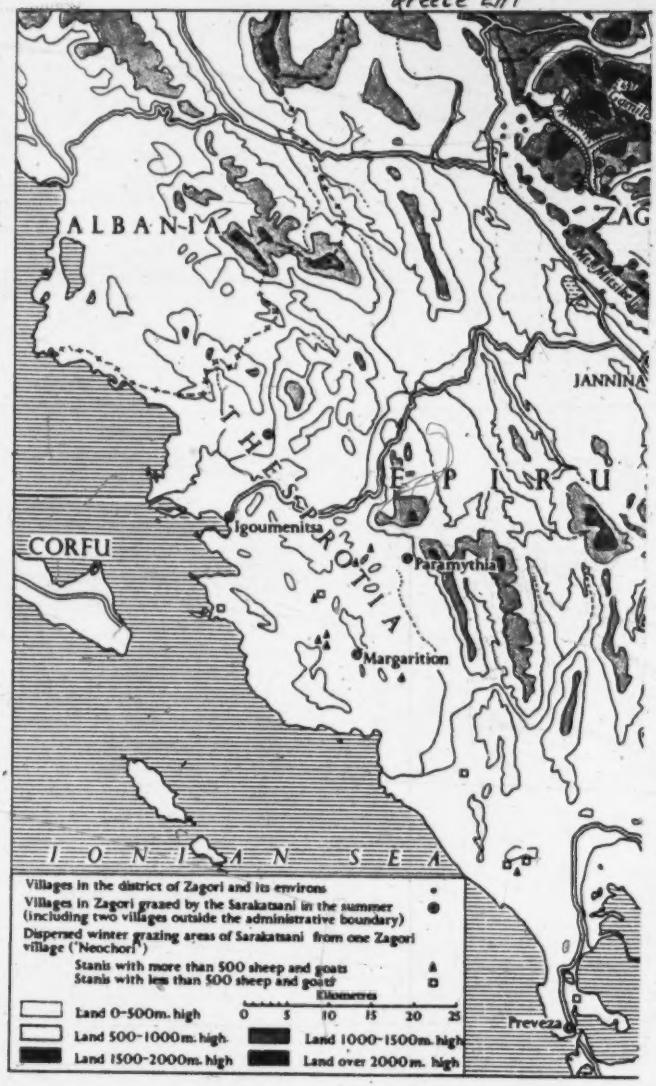

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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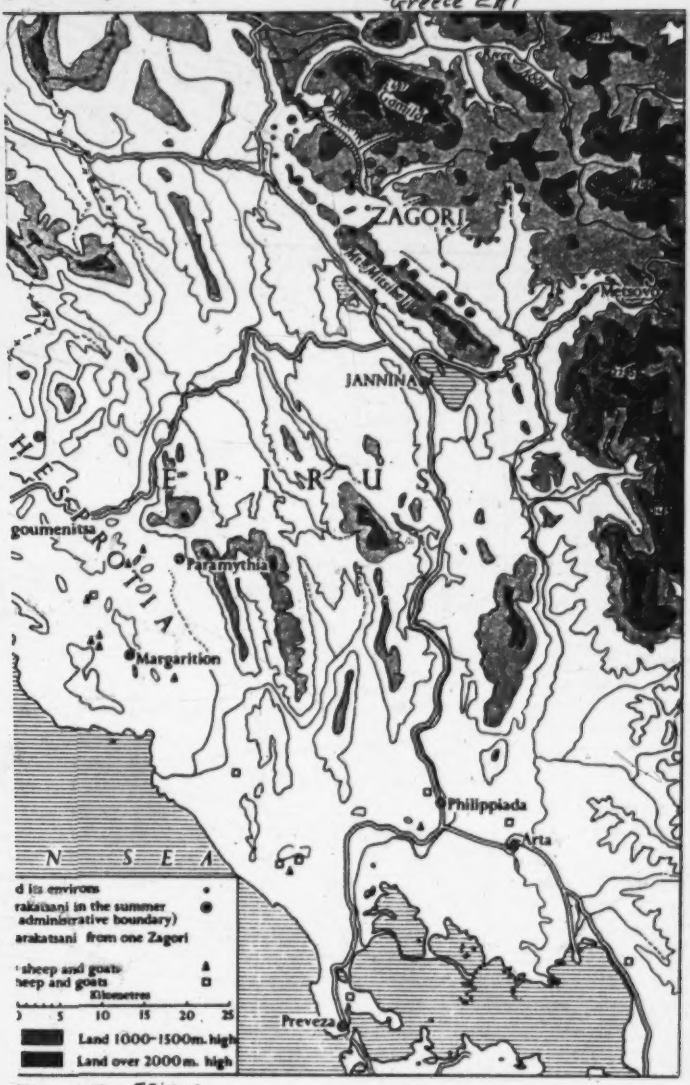

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

3: Kabbadias--5 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/xi/

• Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots.]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

[P364-A]

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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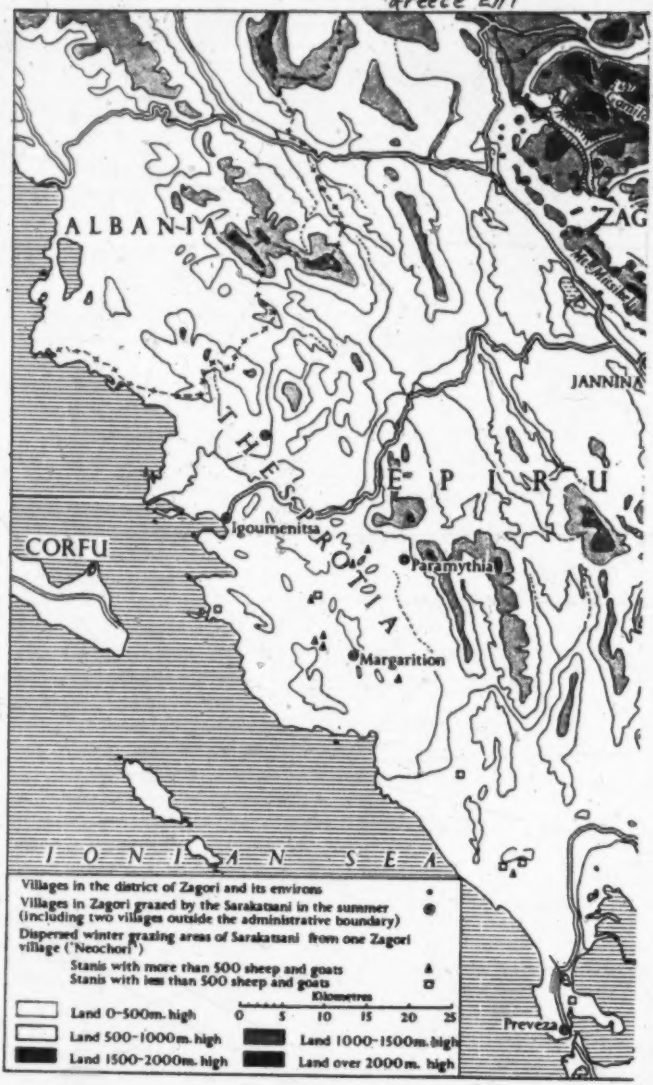

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Zagori Greece EN1

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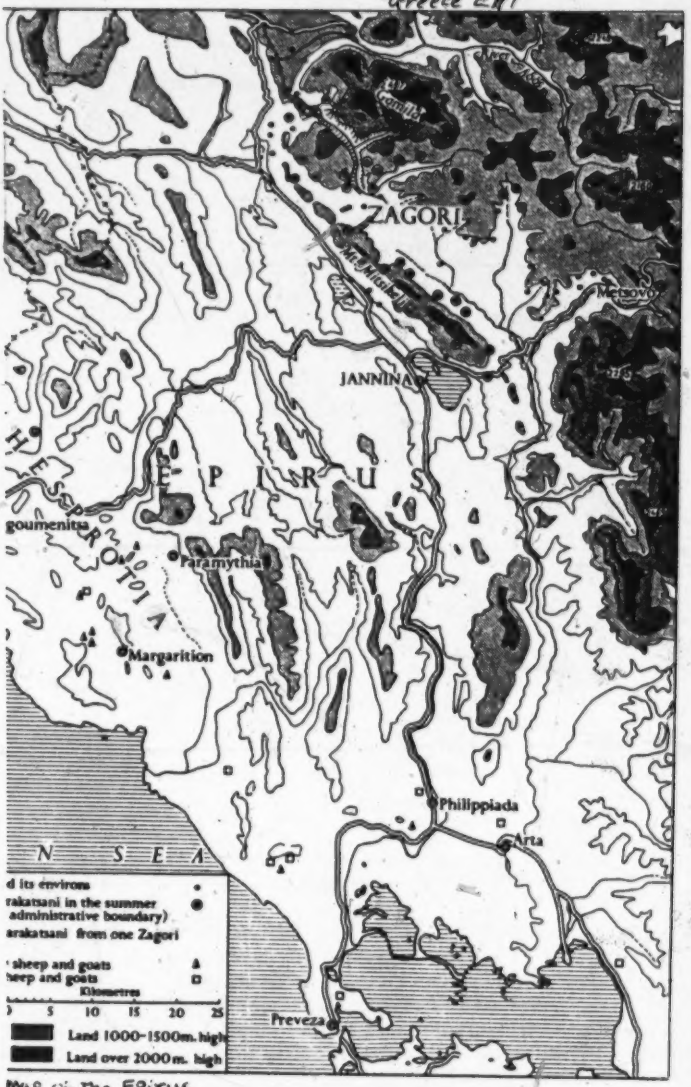

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 [176] To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44), which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
(171) chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28)

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

in the highest degree.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/121 cont./

105 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the
182 imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, 'THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE'

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study succesively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 59 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [476] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [771] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

1: Campbell, J. K. Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Pp. xi, 393; 5 plates; 2 appendices; end fold-out map; bibliography; index.

Yale: Nqc45 G9 964C.

/This is a socio-functional study of the moral/social values of the Sarakatsani, a group of pastoral nomads living in the Epirus region of Greece, in relation to kinship institutions, family structure, patronage, prestige, and religious beliefs. It was hoped that through a study of this nature, parallels could be drawn throughout the Mediterranean area which would thus help to contribute to a study of the social structure of the entire region.

The author begins his analysis with a study of the interaction of kinship institutions, and the structure of the family, showing how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated within the extended family and kindred groups in virtual exclusion of all non-kin, for as the author shows repeatedly throughout the text families not connected by kinship or marriage (i.e. affines) view one another with intense distrust. Associated with the above "institutions" is a system of social values and attitudes based on concepts of honor, pride, and strength which together guide the conduct of the Sarakatsani in their communal life. Campbell points out that inevitably these institutions and values severely restrict the forms of economic and civic cooperation possible in the community as well as the basic character of the relation between the "...community of mutually opposed

1: Campbell, J. K.

family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society." Thus, the end result is the development of a system of social and political patronage.

Among many points of substantive interest in this source is the author's meticulous description of the Sarakatsani kindreds and their function in the society, the concepts of honor and prestige and their relationship to social ideals, relations of the nomadic Sarakatsani with the sedentary villagers of the area, the organization and function of the "stani" or "company," a group of related families functioning as a body in the management of the sheep herds, and the interrelationship of moral/social values with religious beliefs and ideals.

The author, a social anthropologist and research fellow of St. Antony's College, Oxford, studied primarily one particular community of Sarakatsani in central Zagori to which he has given the fictitious name of Neochori and from which most of the material in this source was derived. Neighboring communities, however, were studied to some extent, and this information is incorporated into the report. It should be noted here that shortly after the author began his field work, during the period of 1954-1955, feelings over the Cyprus issue were running high, and as a result the author's relations with the local authorities were always difficult. Campbell believes that without the support of the then deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, he would not have been allowed to remain, and as it later turned out, within a week of the deputy Prime Minister's leaving office, he was asked to leave the area, thus bringing his field work to an end.

1: Campbell, J. K.

Information pertinent to the Greeks of the Zagori region has been subheaded for the EH1 Greece file rather than EH12 Greek Regional Cultures, since there is already an OWC file on the former but none on the latter at this time./

Field dates: 1954-1955
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1966

2: Fermor, Patrick Leigh. The Black Departers: An Adventure in Greece. The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 209, No. 6, pp. 73-88. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Company, 1962.

Yale: A89 +At64 209.

/This source is a popularized account of the author's experiences with the Sarakatsani nomads of northern Greece. Much of the material in the source is related to the Sarakatsani wedding held at the village of Sikarayia to which the author was able to obtain an invitation. His description of these events covers the actual church ceremony itself, plus all the succeeding festivities involving music, dancing, feasting, drinking, etc. Other bits of ethnographic information to be found in this source pertain to the special vocabulary used in herding, foods, dress, spirits and demons, good and evil omens, special humorous performances on the Saturday night and Sunday morning preceding Lent, general beliefs about and reactions to illegitimacy in the community, and funerals and mourning ceremonies./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Traveler-3,4
Processed in 1966-1968

3: Kabbadias, Gēorgios B. Pasteurs-nomades méditerranéens; les Saracatsans de Grèce [Mediterranean pastoral nomads; the Sarakatsani of Greece]. By Georges B. Kavadias. Photographies et dessins de l'auteur [Photographs and figures by the author]. Paris, Gauthier-Villars, 1965.

11, 444, 1 p.; 109 figs.; map; bibliography. [HRAF MS.:ii, 498ℓ.]

Yale: DF747 S2 K33. DLC: DF747.S2K3. DLC card no.: 66-91456.

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Frieda Schütze.

[This monograph, written by a social/cultural anthropologist of the French school, presents a well-rounded general ethnography of the nomadic Sarakatsani of Greece, with specific emphasis on those groups located within the region of Epirus, Thessaly, and Central Greece. Although eleven specific field locales are pinpointed on the map on page 5 of this source, no mention is made in the text further identifying these locales. The author does say, however, that he did conduct a census of two of these Sarakatsani groups, one located at Tchoucaladès near Mt. Parnassus and the other at Plaka near Lamia (p.24). This, in conjunction with the fact that there, is no information on the dates of the author's field work nor on the methodology used other than that he employed "...direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews,

3: Kabbadias

and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life" (p.19), constitute negative aspects of this otherwise well-written account.

Not content with merely describing Sarakatsani society and culture, the author attempts to explain and interpret the data in the light of theoretical constructs which he believes will identify and integrate essential features, principles and processes of Sarakatsani life. As the result of this approach the author is frequently involved in rather lengthy discussions of certain theoretical points and concepts found in the general anthropological literature.

This source is divided into four major parts, plus an Introduction (pp.6-23), a Conclusion (pp. 473-480), and a detailed Bibliography on pp. 481-494. In the Introduction to this source, in addition to what little information is available on the author's methodology, there are also data on the main sources utilized in this study, and a discussion of a problem which seems to have caused much difficulty for writers on the Sarakatsani, namely, that of ethnic origins. Kabbadias seems to favor the theory of D. Georgakas which proposes that the Sarakatsani are descended from a group of sedentary Greek peasants, who at some period in the fourteenth century sought refuge in the mountains and eventually adopted pastoral nomadism.

3: Kabbadias

Part I of this source (pp. 23-138) deals specifically with Sarakatsani adaptations to and use of the natural environment. Chapter 1 of this section (pp. 23-33) deals with demography and ecology. Despite the fact that a comprehensive demographic study is impossible because of the lack of statistics, the author, nevertheless, claims that his data show a very high birth rate, low mortality, a life expectancy of 70 or over and a general pattern of ethnic endogamy. According to Kabbadias the total Sarakatsani population in Greece is estimated at between 90,000 to 110,000 (p. 28).

Chapter 2 (pp. 33-138) dealing with the technology of the Sarakatsani, is one of the best descriptive sections in the source. The subjects covered are the manufacture of wooden tools, utensils, and furniture, wool processing (including weaving techniques), leather working, the construction of dwellings and other structures, pastoral activities, clothing, food habits, etc.

Part II deals with various aspects of social relationships (see pp. 138-272). Chapter 1 of this section (pp. 139-A to 211) presents a systematic analysis of the five basic social contexts of Sarakatsani life: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, the total Sarakatsani society and the surrounding Greek society. The Tséligato, the major social/familial grouping (see p. 139) is described in the text as an economic cooperative at the core of which is an economically powerful extended family, and to which are usually attached other conjugal or extended families of lower economic status,

3: Kabbadias

which may or may not be related to the core family either collaterally or affinally. It seems evident that the Tséligato and the Stani described by Campbell (see 1: Campbell, this file) are basically the same social group. Kabbadias, on p. 31, defines Stani as simply the locale where pastoral activities take place, and claims that this term is common to pastoral groups all over Greece.

Chapter 2 (pp. 211-216) presents a general characterization of the economic system, while chapter 3 (pp. 216-264) discusses law in the society. In this latter chapter the author shows how the Sarakatsani have combined elements of Hellenic and indigenous law. There is a long section (pp. 252-264) which discusses the theory and analysis of law in anthropology. Chapter 4 (pp. 264-272) presents a discussion on the concepts of Sarakatsani morality, with its primary focus on the notion of "honor".

Part III (pp. 272-436) deals in general with the supernatural, cognitive and aesthetic aspects of Sarakatsani life. Chapter 1 (pp. 272-374) discusses magic both from a descriptive as well as analytical point of view. Magical practices are described in detail along with their historical and cultural origins. This chapter also provides a good analytical treatment of the logical postulates underlying magical behavior and of the cultural, social, psychological, and human conditions in which magic is called upon. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the social functions of magic. Chapter 2 (pp.375-404), presents

3: Kabbadias

a succinct account of Sarakatsani religion, including information on the main ceremonial occasions, funerary customs, general religious orientations, and the social functions of religion. Chapter 3 (pp. 404-424) discusses native ideas and knowledge of nature and man, including data on mythology. Chapter 4 (pp. 424-436) is concerned with various aspects of Sarakatsani fine arts--music, poetry, dance, wood sculpture, embroidery and narrative tales.

Part IV (pp. 436-473) is an attempt by the author to provide a general synthesis of the data concerning Sarakatsani culture and society. Chapter 1 (pp. 437-461) discusses possible ways of presenting an integrated view of Sarakatsani life, and then focuses on the delineation of the basic cultural style, which is seen as linking the Sarakatsani to the Mediterranean culture area in general, and to the Southeast European part of this area in particular. Chapter 2 (pp. 461-473) then deals with the problems of stability, continuity and change in their pattern of life.

The Conclusion (pp. 473-480) sketches a profile of the sexual dichotomy characterizing Sarakatsani cultural behavior.

This source, in conjunction with source 1: Campbell in this file, provides a fairly well-rounded coverage of Sarakatsani ethnography.]

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4,5
Processed in 1978

Campbell, J. K. Honour and the Devil. In, J. G. Peristiany, editor, Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society, pp. 139-170. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.

Yale: Nn95 965P.

/The data in this article are duplicated in 1: Campbell, this file. Therefore, it has not been processed./

Surveyed in 1966

EH14 Sarakatsani--1-5

Kavadias, Georges B. Pasteurs-Nomades Méditerranéens: Les Saracatsans de Grèce /Mediterranean Pastoral Nomads: The Sarakatsani of Greece/. Paris: Gauthier-Villars, 1965.

Pp. xi, 444; 109 text photographs and figures; 1 map; bibliography.

Yale: DF747 S2 K33.

/This is a good, general ethnography of the Sarakatsani in Greece, and particularly of those groups studied by the author which are located within the regions of Epirus, Thessaly, and Central Greece. In addition to his own field work, Kavadias draws upon the previous ethnographic literature, providing brief but useful comments about the main sources, and indicating some points of agreement or disagreement with his own data. Eleven specific field locales where the author did his research appear on the map on p. xi, but unfortunately, these locales do not seem to be identified in the text except for a mention (on p. 17) of two important groups where he made a census: one at Tchoucaladès close to Mount Parnassus, and the other at Plaka near Lamia. No field dates are given, and in fact the author's general failure to discuss his field methods and techniques - other than the cursory comments on p. 11 - constitutes a significant lack in a work of his nature.

Kavadias is a social/cultural anthropologist of the French school, and his aim is not simply to present

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a description of Sarakatsani culture and society, but rather to explain and interpret the data so as to arrive at a theoretical formulation which will identify and integrate the essential features, principles, and processes of Sarakatsani life. This involves him in fairly lengthy discussions of various theoretical points and concepts which have been raised in the general anthropological literature. Some of this is undoubtedly useful, but in many instances one may wish that the author had presented more descriptive data and less theory. As Kavadias points out (pp. 11-13), there are only a small number of ethnographic studies on the Sarakatsani, and most of these are in Greek, including the basic work by Mme. A. Hadjimichalis.

This monograph is divided into four main parts, plus an introduction, a conclusion, and a detailed, classified bibliography on pp. 425-439. The Introduction (pp. 1-14) covers the author's theoretical orientation, field methods, main sources utilized, and a discussion of a problem which seems to have preoccupied most writers on the Sarakatsani, namely, the problem of their ethnic origins. Kavadias agrees with the theory first proposed by D. Géorgakas that the Sarakatsani are descended from a group of sedentary Greek

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peasants who, sometime during the fourteenth century, sought refuge in the mountains and eventually adopted pastoral nomadism.

Part I (pp. 15-121) focuses upon Sarakatsani adaptations to and use of the natural environment. Chapter 1 (pp. 17-24) covers demography and ecology. Although a comprehensive demographic study is impossible because of the lack of statistics, the author claims his data demonstrate a very high birth rate, a low death rate, a life expectancy of 70 or over, and general ethnic endogamy. The total Sarakatsani population in Greece is estimated at between 90,000 and 110,000 (pp. 20-21).

Chapter 2 (pp. 25-121), on technology, is one of the two best descriptive sections in the book. Among the subjects covered are the manufacture of wooden tools, utensils, and furniture, the processing of wool, including weaving techniques, leather working, the construction of huts and other structures, pastoral activities, clothing, food patterns, and so forth.

Part II (pp. 123-243) deals with social relations, and Chapter 1 (pp. 125-149) analyzes the five basic social contexts of Sarakatsani life: the conjugal family, the extended family, the tséligato, the total Sarakatsani society, and the surrounding Greek society. The tséligato is the major social/familial grouping; it is described (on p. 124) as an economic cooperative at the core of which is an economically powerful extended family, and to which are usually attached other conjugal or extended families of lower economic status, which may or may not be related to the core family

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either collaterally or affinally. It should be noted that this is the same social group which Campbell (cf. source No. 1, category 116, this file) calls the stani. In contrast, Kavadias (p. 23) defines stani as meaning simply the locale where pastoral activities occur, and says this is a term common to pastoralists of Greece in general.

Chapter 2 (pp. 189-193), presents a general characterization of the economic system, while Chapter 3 (pp. 195-236) deals with law in the society. It is shown how the Sarakatsani have combined elements of Hellenic and indigenous law, and there is a long section (pp. 226-235) discussing the theory and analysis of law in anthropology. Chapter 4 (pp. 237-243) takes up the issue of morality, and focuses on the notion of "honor," which receives extensive treatment in 1: Campbell.

Part III (pp. 247-374) covers the supernatural, cognitive, and aesthetic aspects of Sarakatsani life. Chapter 1 (pp. 247-324), dealing with magic, seems to qualify as a second excellent descriptive and analytical section. Magical practices are described in detail, along with a discussion of their historical and cultural origins; there is a good analytical treatment of the logical postulates underlying magical behavior, and of the psychological, cultural, social, and human conditions in which magic is called upon; and the chapter is concluded by an analysis of the social functions of magic. Chapter 2 (pp. 325-348) is a much briefer treatment of more formal aspects of religion, including the main ceremonial occasions, funerary customs, general religious orientation, and the social functions of religion. Chapter 3 (pp. 349-364)

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covers ideas and knowledge of nature and man, including mythology, while Chapter 4 deals with the main types of art such as music, poetry, dance, wood sculpture, embroidery, and narratives.

Part IV (pp. 375-406) attempts a general synthesis of the data concerning Sarakatsani culture and society. Chapter 1 (pp. 377-396) discusses the possible ways of presenting an integrated view of Sakaratsani life, and then focuses on the delineation of what Kavadias considers to be their fundamental ideas and governing principles, and on the definition of the basic cultural style, which is seen as linking the Sarakatsani to the Mediterranean culture area in general, and to the Southeast European part of this area in particular. Chapter 2 (pp. 397-406) then takes up the problems of stability, continuity, and change in this pattern of life.

Finally, the Conclusion (pp. 407-413) draws a profile of the sexual dichotomy characterizing Sarakatsani cultural behavior.

This book constitutes a good complement to 1: Campbell since it covers many cultural aspects not dealt with in the latter. It should be processed for the files as soon as the funds are available./

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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the

Byzantine Period

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Sarakatsans*, Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1905. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

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114 villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the
174 Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[13] [8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923–59.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. 181 182

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζιγγύρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the 233 [422]

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γκιουσέμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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182 From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan
181 methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

182 But the relation between the environment, the animals, and
181 their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian
865 satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[4] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of
080 the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

[13] [4] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen
612 [426] but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal [611] characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[613] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόι, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παππούλης, grandfather, γιαγιά, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ἐξάδερφος, ἐξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνιψιός, ἀνιψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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827 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour
828 is not approved, but in terms of χούτ it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

59 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and
612 character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[8] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[8] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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611 determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
612 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[829] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

612 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
[582] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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612 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common
58 with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man
582 may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families
591 who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[15] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[15] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

596 571 233

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account 596
fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is 577
directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than 596
justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family 577
is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it 627
go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in [626]
some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6. [113]

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[4] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] [4] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage 594
prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is [619]
fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. 594
It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or 619
affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular 571
though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. More- 594
over, unrelated families see their different interests as being 619
in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already 578
examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counter- [154]
part of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and 577
I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design* 171
in the Iliad, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated 113
by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.

578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but [482] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions
579 between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find
578 a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[8] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [8] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, [593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of [589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to
157 feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

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11. Χατζημιχάλη, Ἀγγελική: *Σαρακατσάνοι*, vol. i, Athens, 1957.

12. Wace, A. J. B. and Thompson, M. S.: *The Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914.

Note: Although a number of anthropological studies of Greek rural communities have been made in recent years, little of this work has yet been published. Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962, is a short but perceptive study of a village in the Boeotian plain. Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece*, Cambridge Mass., 1962, is a useful general survey by a rural sociologist. [114]

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/1/ Introduction

121 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece:
178 the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113) 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. 1, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113) 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence: as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

/1 cont./

[12] Nevertheless, these two positions do not seem incompatible. According to a very discerning statement by C. Lévi-Strauss: "because anthropology calls itself social or cultural it aspires always to know the total man, seen, in one case through /2/ his productions, and in the other, through his representations." (3)

[13] 3. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Place de l'Anthropologie dans les Sciences Sociales et problèmes posés par son enseignement, in Sciences Sociales, etc., published by UNESCO, p. 113.

In any case, let us add, and this represents our position, it aspires to know man "in context"; hence to deepen the knowledge of man as such--his reactions and his collective productions as well as his cultural works, likewise collective--man in his universe, both natural and human--given, modified or created by him--and struggling to fulfill his life.

This "synthetic" position, is inspired by the teaching of Marcel Mauss--which, from all evidence, likewise inspired C. Lévi-Strauss (4)--

4. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction à l'oeuvre de Mauss, p. XXV ff.

but it is not based on the authority of the master, nor yet on an "interdisciplinary" ecelecticism, which would be absurd. Our decision to approach the problem in a multidimensional manner arises from the very nature of things. Granted that the social and the cultural are inextricably and to a very large extent interlocked, it is obvious that if one does not wish to confine oneself to a sterile nominalism and to leave obscure extremely important aspects, one is obliged to study both together, and to bring to light both their specific characteristics and their mutual relationships. This is the only way to achieve our aim, /namely/ the knowledge of the total Sarakatsani man.

However, a question still remains to be discussed. Can a monographic study such as ours expect to be accepted within the framework of anthropology which aims, according to G. Balandier, to elucidate the general

/2 cont./
[121] properties characterizing the life of man in society? (5)

5. Ibid., p. 102

Or should it, rather, be content with a more modest ambition, that of all ethnographic monographs, to describe more than to explain? In other words, starting from a particular case, can one hope to touch the general?

We believe that, all things considered, we may reply in the affirmative. If the descriptive work proper to every monograph is accompanied by certain comparative statements and if, moreover and above all, it is followed by an explanatory essay, certainly its conclusions will be considered to have anthropological value. /3/ Not because they reveal the universal "socius," but a partial socious, entitled to be integrated with the former and to contribute to its elucidation. Let us remember that if general anthropology has not yet advanced a great deal it is because explanatory monographs are relatively few in number. It seems to us that between the traditional ethnographic monograph and that of inspired by anthropology there is a very obvious gap which justifies a separate category for the latter. The present investigation therefore aspires to take its place among these works.

However, a final aspect which forms of our reflections on our general position ought to be explained: what is culture?

As far as we know, none of the definitions of culture proposed by the different sciences of man can be considered as generally accepted. The following works provide eloquent illustrations. First, Civilisation-
[113] le mot et l'idée, published by the Centre international de synthèse (Première semaine internationale de synthèse--II Fsc.), Paris, la Renaissance du Livre, 1930; and second, A.L. Kroeber and Cl. Kluckohn[sic!]: Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions /cited in English/, Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Obviously, we do not propose to recommence the discussion. Such a task goes far beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the necessity of delimiting our subject, of justifying our plan and explaining the

/3 cont./

121 orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

[113] 6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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121 182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

/5 cont./

121 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their
182 existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement
361 in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in
182 Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired
174 by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

[113] Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (?),

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/6 cont./

7. A. van Gennep: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg: "Les Saracatsans", p. 211.

considers them (on the basis of a hypothesis) as descendants of the Turks settled in the country.

b) The Italian, A. Baldacci (8)

8. A. Baldacci: Itinerari Albanesi /Albanian Travel Diaries/, p. 106 and 254.

maintains that the Sarakatsani are originally Latin (Italiotes), who have become Hellenized.

c) The Rumanian, N. Jorga (9),

9. N. Jorga: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg, p.243-45, and Histoire de Roumains de la péninsule des Balkans, p. 36.

calls them Rumanians who settled in Illyria (present-day Albania), and eventually became Hellenized.

d) The Yugoslav Const. Jirec'ek (10), The Hungarian,

10. C. Jirec'ek: Gesty do Bulgharsky, p. 220.

L. Thalocsy (11), the German Karl Oestreich (12) and the Bulgarian P. Ts'ilef (13), propose that the Sarakatsani are Hellenized Arumani.

11. L. Thalocsy: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel /Contributions to the History of the Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula/, p. 60.

12. K. Oestreich: Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien /The Population of Macedonia/, p. 287.

13. P. Ts'ilef: Les Saracatsans, p. 51 f.

The Rumanian authors P. Papahagi (14), T. Papahagi (15) and T. Capidan (16), likewise adhere to this last theory with this difference that they locate the origin of the Sarakatsani geographically in villages inhabited by the Koutsovalaques in southern Albania.

14. P. Papahagi: Numiri Etnice la Aromani, pages passim.

15. T. Papahagi: Compte rendu sur: C. Höeg, p. 260 f.

174 (113) /6 cont./

16. T. Capidan: "Sarakatsani," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

174 114 However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation, not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

174 114 113 That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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/7 cont./

23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Kéramopoulos (29), N. Bées (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σαρακατσάνοι καὶ Σαρακατσάνικα, p. 28.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 81.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσανικά.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιογραφία ἐπί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ *C. Höeg*, p. 388-393.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ἐμτόμος, p. 5.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κουτσοβλάχ : Στρατιωτικά ἀπομνημονεύματα, p. 238.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 146-677.
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Ἠπειρωτικαὶ Μελέται, p. 12 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 108.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περί τῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p. 94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΗΛ : Σαρακατσάνοι, Α, Ι p. ϛ - ρα'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

/7 cont./

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Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

[113]

40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city; Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113]

41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/, also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmarides), Savromates, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into [173] [162] the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of [113] [114] this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

/10 cont./
174 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore"
113 (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès
114 (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

113 /12 cont./

--The study, or several studies (in Greek) by a pharmacist, B. Skafidas who, working as an amateur, has gathered considerable ethnographic material: a) "Les Saracatsans ou les Saracatsanais"; b) "Les Saracatsans--leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur coutumes".

These studies, of which the second duplicates the first and completes it, are genuinely interesting, although sometimes the author seems to consider some of the phenomena recorded by him as characteristic of Sarakatsani life when in reality these are customs followed by other social groups as well. Although the non-expert reader must consult these works cautiously, the contribution of Monsieur Skafidas is real and accomplished.

We shall mention next the study by Madame Joannidès-Barbarigou, ethnographer of merit on the staff of "Archives Folkloriques de l'Académie d'Athènes," on "Huttes des Saracatsan" (published in Greek). Although short, the study is good because of its clarity and precision and is regrettable that its author did not have an opportunity to work more thoroughly in this field. Nevertheless, this work, though brief, is valuable and very interesting.

114 Finally, it is necessary to mention particularly the numerous works on the Sarakatsani by Madame A. Hadjimichali, a Greek ethnographer of renown, culminating in her most recent very lengthy work.

Madame Hadjimichali lived several years among the Sarakatsani and her work is considered authoritative, not only in Greece, but in international ethnographic circles. We believe that modern Greece owes her special recognition for her contribution to the enormous task of the study of Neo-Hellenism. (45)

45. We mean by this term the social and cultural life of Greeks from the eighteenth century to our day, a period during which the nation is moving towards its independence and its renaissance.

113 It seems regrettable to us that her large work in Greek which/13/ bears the general title Les Saracatsans has still not been published in

/13 cont./

113 its entirety. Only the first part has appeared in two volumes, of which the first volume deals with general topics, and the second with professional life, building, food getting and the technique of manufacturing wooden objects, with comments on the decorative motifs carved into these objects.

In any case, Madame Hadjimichali announces, as soon forthcoming, the publication of two more large volumes of the work, devoted to weaving and clothing, along with the corresponding techniques; to the relation between life and work; the family; the different stages of life; religious worship and beliefs; magic and superstition; folk medicine; tales, songs and finally dances.

The volumes that have appeared represent a very rich collection of material, especially valuable since a number of traits, long recorded, have already disappeared, wiped out by the rapid modernization of the Sarakatsani.

114 It is truly regrettable that Madame Hadjimichali did not have recourse, at the time of her investigation and the drafting of her book, to a sufficiently searching analysis to match her great talents and undeniable calling. Thus, the solutions to many problems going beyond simple description have remained obscure. One might even add that the description of certain phenomena would be different if the author had considered them more systematically. On the other hand, in a great number of cases her interpretations of observed phenomena cannot be accepted.

May Madame Hadjimichali, as well as other investigators we have mentioned, kindly forgive us for these remarks which do not mean that we do not appreciate their work, or that we do not have great respect for the authors.

As P. Sorokin says of science: "...it appeared with criticism, has grown with criticism and it lives with criticism...Otherwise, instead of a scientific sociology we will have a pseudo-scientific complimentary art having nothing in common with a real science." (46)

114 /13 cont./

[113] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is
[114] because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

[129] Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are
[121] either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem-
221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II,.part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with their scrub vegetation. (6)

[113] 6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
221 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
361 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[191] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
36 during the day.
[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
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10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
621 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.
612

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[776] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

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361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

/24 cont./

128 The pages that follow will show how Sarakatsani society deals with these problems. From another standpoint, they will illustrate the process of interaction of Saraktsani civilization with its morpho-ecological base. Thus the problem of the integration of this partial aspect with the whole will find its solution.

/25/

Chapter II

121 ### The Technology of the Sarakatsani

Properly speaking, technology is a psychosomatic process. This process, which asserts itself in a given natural environment and a given social framework (1) presents the following characteristics:

(113) 1. See André Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, pp. 355 and 361.--M. Mauss: Les Techniques et la Technologie, in: Mayerson, L. Febvre, A. Aymard, etc: Le Travail et les Techniques, p. 71-78.--A. Varagnac: L'homme et les techniques pré-machinistes in: J. Cassou, G. Friedmann, C. Durtain, M. Bloch, J. Luc, A. Varagnac, etc.: L'homme, la technique et la nature, p. 54.--M. Bloch: Technique et Évolution sociale, op. cit., p. 30. --J.A. Mauduit: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135.--K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, French translation p. 74-75.

1. It enables /one/ to dominate and exploit the forces and possibilities offered by nature.

2. Its development is a function of these, on the one hand, and of society on the other hand. The latter determines at one and the same time the needs to be met and the manner of doing so, by accumulating knowledge, beliefs and experience acquired in the course of time, as well as by providing the agents entrusted with various tasks.

And it also asserts itself in creations and inventions.

Thus, in technology, nature and society meet.

In order to study it, one may consider technology as a process of action on inert material for the purpose of manufacturing various

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

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The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233 232 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

[113] 20. P. Veyvret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

--the search for good fodder;

--the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;

--finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539)

--And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[189] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here . Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/169 cont./
596 exercised by the family.
626
[113] 39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XXe siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the
[867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the

[594] one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.

171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)

113 42. See É. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[776] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the [848] case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani 593 son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In 171 Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal 428 labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 191 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Starechina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. E. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Starechina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Starechina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/174 cont./

596 171 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113]

51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

* * * *

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agrotichs, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 426 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 422 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/182 cont./

474 596 675 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 182 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made [474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
177
[188] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
627 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
177 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani'economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/201 cont./

121 671 The preceding account is based entirely on the presupposition that the Sarakatsani have a law which is their own. Thus our task at present is to discover this law, to describe it, to stress its peculiarities, in a word, to establish its existence and its limits.

/202/ SARAKATSANI LAW STRICTLY SPEAKING

IN SEARCH OF THE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

The only truly legal manifestations that we find when we examine Sarakatsani life are the obstacles to marriage, the prohibition against sexual relations outside marriage, the contract with the Tsélligas, arbitration, and finally crimes and misdemeanors.

However, are these truly matters of law? And if so, must one conclude from them that the legal life of the Sarakatsani is limited to these? Or must one rather concede, along with certain theorists, that the non-existence of courts and organized forces for the application of sentences shows that these herders are without any law? (7)

(113) 7. See W. Seagle: The quest for law/cited in English/, pp. 34, 60-69.

Or, finally, must we, along with other theorists, accept the opposite opinion which holds that our nomads have law, since they have customs, and that the totality of their customs represents the law of their society? (8)

(113) 8. See E. Sidney Hartland: Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 5. "Primitive law is in truth the totality of customs of the tribe"/cited in English/.

These alternatives show very well that in order to be able to adopt a position we must try to explore the life of the Sarakatsani from some workable criteria.

The general theory of law offers several methods of approach to legal matters, based on the characteristics of the latter, which we hereby

/202 cont./

121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.

67 First, each point of law has a normative character. However,

121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this

183 criterion cannot be used by itself.

67 It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[171] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient

[113] and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

121 /203 cont./
671
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[113]

11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584]

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

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14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

/204 cont./

121 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states
691 of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of
183 persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

[113]

of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

121 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the
691 other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

3: Kabbadias--239 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/213 cont./

627 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological
692 influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality,
627 on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external
696 causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

(113)

* * * *

626 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this
627 mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it
692

/222 cont./

685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 626 Calumny and defamation.

Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

(113) 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

/223 cont./

[671] [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources [596] is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well [113] as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 188. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/393 cont./

121 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings
182 that might alter the picture.

121 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply
182 a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on
233 nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

[113] 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani
181 culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion
171 to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

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— C. I. d. S. = Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie.
— R. Ph. = Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'étranger.
— E. H. = Collection : Évolution de l'Humanité.
— B. F. Ph. L. = Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres de Liège.
— Q. s. j. = Que sais-je?
— Ann. Soc. = Année Sociologique.
— J. H. St. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
— A. Ph. Dr. Soc. Jur. = Archives de Philosophie du droit et de Sociologie Juridique.
— Λαογραφία = Δελτίον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφικῆς Ἑταιρίας.

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G. F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London, 1903), gives evidence of the degree of Hellenization of the Vlachs fifty years ago.

H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (London, 1906), devotes a whole chapter to the Vlachs, beginning with the description of Pisoderi, which he considers a typical village. He also, contrary to Abbott above, foresees a weakening of connection between the Vlachs and the Greeks. V [113]

Rennell Rodd traces the derivations of the word Vlach and provides some historical background in his book *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892).

9. This is a thoroughgoing study of their migration practices, costumes, birth, marriage, burial customs, intervillage relationships, the distribution of the Vlachs, the Vlach language, and the history and origin of the Balkan Vlachs. Full citation is: A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London, 1914).

Without attempting to cover the references to the Vlachs in other Balkan languages, I might mention one in Serbo-Croatian, entitled *O Cincarima* (Concerning the Cincari), by D. J. Popovic (Beograd, 1937). These Tsintsars are Serbized Vlachs, who have also become urbanized. Th. Capidan, himself a Koutso-Vlach who studied and lived in Roumania, has written very extensively about these Balkan nomads, primarily with the purpose of showing that all of them, even the Greek-speaking Sarakatsani, were originally Koutso-Vlachs. See his *Les Macédo-roumains. Esquisse historique et descriptive des populations roumaines* (Bucarest, 1937). V [113]

10. See Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribe grecque* (Paris, 1925), for an excellent linguistic study. D. J. Georgacas, in his "Peri tes katagoges ton Sarakatsanaion kai tou Onomatos Auton" (Concerning the Origin of the Sarakatsani and Their Name), *Archeion Thrakikou Glossikou kai Laographikou Thesaurou*, XIV (1948–49), 193–270, argues against Höeg's theory that the Sarakatsani derive from an ancient nomadic tribe and claims that they did not become nomadic until the late Middle Ages. S [113] [174]

11. This work of Demosthenes Sirakes is the best Greek source on the nomads. It discusses almost every possible aspect of their life, particularly in the economic sphere, and tries to indicate how the nomadic livestock producers can best be settled. Although the figures quoted here are old, they are probably as reliable as most estimates would be today. Full citation of the article is: "Orismos nomadikes, monimou kai georgikes ktenotrophias e e nomadike ktenotrophia en Helladi," *Georgikon Deltion tes Hellenikes Georgikes Etaireias* (Agricultural Bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society), XII (1925), 651–777. S V [113]

12. Z. Duckett Ferriman, mentioned in note 7 above, has even more to say about the undesirable qualities of the nomads (see pp. 45–54). He calls the reader's attention to the shepherds' dogs as follows: "We are apt to associate the name of sheep dog with collie. That graceful and sympathetic member of the canine family is far removed from the savage cerberi who guard the folds of Greece. Huge and powerful mastiffs, with heavy jowls and ensanguined eyes, they are no doubt valuable auxiliaries in the presence of marauding wolves. But, like their master, they are of low intelligence, and they take everyone except their masters for a wolf" (p. 52). V [231] [233]

13. The work by K. Koukkides, *To pnevma tou synergatismou ton neoteron hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o protos synetairismos tou kosmou* (Athens, 1948), is a splendid source for the study of patterns of mutual aid.

14. It is of historic interest to note that many of these chief shepherds became important klephts during the days of Turkish rule over Epirus and Northern Greece. If the klepht was friendly to you, he was known as a guerrilla leader; if he opposed you, he was a bandit. It was ever thus in the Balkans.

15. For a scholarly treatment in Greek of the tselingata, one should consult K. Karavides, *Agrotika* (Concerning Rural Life) (Athens, 1931). He analyzes for the rural Balkans as a whole four major forms of economic organization: the tselingata, the feudal tsifliki (estate), the patriarchal family which he associates with the zadruga, and the kephalochoria, or independent village where the peasants were their

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121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional [101] form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among [101] Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara-128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

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Bowra, Dr. K. O. L. Burridge, Mr. E. Katsaros, Dr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. Zisimos Lorenzatos, and Dr. Philip Sherrard who read and commented on particular chapters. And to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College I express my appreciation for their patient support and encouragement.

It was my misfortune that feelings over the Cyprus issue became particularly embittered shortly after I began my fieldwork, with the result that my relations with the local authorities were always difficult. My movements were restricted and under surveillance. I was seldom able to persuade local officials to provide me with, or to help me obtain, any kind of quantitative or statistical information. Indeed, it is certain that without the generous support of the deputy Prime Minister Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, I would not have been allowed to remain. Within a week of his leaving office I was ordered to remove myself from the area and on this abrupt note my fieldwork ended. If one remembers the unhappy atmosphere which then existed, it would be unreasonable to complain of the reaction of some Greek officials and individuals to my presence and my suspect work. It is with all the more gratitude that I remember the kindness and practical assistance of many Greek friends, which they did not always give without risk. Particularly I wish to mention Mr. Sotiris Dakaris of the Greek Archaeological Service, and his wife. My debt to the Sarakatsani will be obvious from this book; and to none is it greater than to my friend Theodoros Gogolos.

I dedicate this book to my wife, Sheila Campbell, who shared the fieldwork in physical and political conditions which were often unpleasant, and who first won the confidence of a secretive people.

J.K.C.

Kifissia.
May 1962.

During my fieldwork I was visited by the Greek photographer 'Dimitri' and I am grateful for permission to use some of the photographs he took on those occasions. I am similarly grateful to Mr. Roger Vaternelle who prepared the map; and to Professor Bernard Kayser who made it possible for him to do so.

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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs ('Αρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., The term "Vlachs" -- Analyst]

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans. Étude linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

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villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923-39.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσανέων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ϛ'.

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114 or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people,
174 who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant
[175] life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

174 As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was
[176] ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

1:Campbell E 5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[p.365]

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Note: Although a number of anthropological studies of Greek rural communities have been made in recent years, little of this work has yet been published. Ernestine Friedl, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962, is a short but perceptive study of a village in the Boeotian plain. Irwin T. Sanders, *Rainbow in the Rock: The People of Rural Greece*, Cambridge Mass., 1962, is a useful general survey by a rural sociologist. [114]

2:Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

THE ATLANTIC EXTRA

THE BLACK DEPARTERS

An Adventure in Greece

BY PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR

114 PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR *was one of two young British officers who led one of the most spectacular individual exploits of World War II. Wearing the uniform of German noncoms, they kidnapped a German general, hid him in the hills of Crete, eluded weeks of search by the Germans, and delivered him to* [10] *the British command at Cairo. Here Mr. Fermor tells of his adventures with the Sarakatsáns, a group of nomads who wander over northern Greece.*

[p. 73-A]

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
10 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
[402] snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few moments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
[131] huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheeling crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
114 them in March the following year, when I was
122 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
221 Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
342 high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
492 seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
342 green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
161 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
233 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
101 they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
195 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones. [354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

● 114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B]

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying [352] on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no [illegible]ing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- 873 [1535] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- 122 aneled. If he should die on the road — and the [135] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for [1554] his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 761 mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

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181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal strait-jackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

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114 I first caught a glimpse of them in December, when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of
[101] Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw them again in early spring four months later near
G
[669] the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their
S
carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the
[361] birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After light-hearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

S
114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. S [291] For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. [27] I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 [4] 169 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

[p.86-A]

/x cont./

121 that is passing completes its ruin in its last representatives, but it is essential for society that their experience be recorded, for in ten years or in a hundred all that will remain will be an aspect of human consciousness masked but not obliterated by modern life, lacking any evidence other than that gathered by ethnology.

To reason coldly is, furthermore, not characteristic of ethnology which must experience its evidence directly: life is inseparable from affective warmth when one works with human material. Georges Kavadias has lived his experience of the Sarakatsani with his heart and with his intelligence, each in turn becoming the servant of the other. Having [114] seen him, with his wife, in the field, I know what passionate solicitude he brought to the research, and I know all that the present book represents in years of direct collecting followed by those of formulation. About this strange world of transhumant shepherds of Balkan and Hellenic Europe we had only data that were fragmentary and relatively inaccessible. It is the first time that a work on this subject appears in a perspective which includes all the spheres of life and their relationships. May it fulfill the role which its author hoped for it: to be at once a homage to the world of the Sarakatsani and an element in the construction of a true image of man.

André Leroi-Gourhan,
Professor at the Sorbonne.

3: Kabbadias--5 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots.]

p. xi

174 [113] /6 cont./

16. T. Capidan: "Sărăcăcianii," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

174 114 However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

174 114 113 That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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114

--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Kéramopoulos (29), N. Bées (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σκῦροι καὶ Σκυρίφαινοι, p. 26.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 21.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσανοί.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιογραφία ἐπί τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ *C. Höeg*, p. 266-268.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ὁμώνυμος, p. 5.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κασομούλη : Στρατιωτικά ἀνδρώματα, p. 106.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 146-277.
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Ἠπειρωτικαί Μελέται, p. 12 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 108.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περί τῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p. 94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ : Σαρακατσάνοι, Α, Ι p. ϟ - ρκ'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

/7 cont./

174 114 Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

[113] 40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city; Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113] 41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/ also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmarides), Savromates, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

/8 cont./

174 114 What reinforces our objections is the fact that even down the centuries, when the cities no longer existed, we do not find any trace liable to justify this conception. The absolute silence which covers the supposed existence of the Sarakatsani for century after century only confirms the theory that their appearance is much more recent.

Furthermore, the second argument of Madame Hadjimichali based on Sarakatsani art, furnishes no proof either, in view of the fact that it concerns geometric art which one finds almost everywhere (in Kabylia, in Morocco, in Finland, in Peru, in Polynesia, etc.). Moreover forms based on geometric designs can be repeated, without this fact constituting proof of continuity. For these forms are limited by definition.

/9/ Thus it seems that this argumentation is not acceptible.

174 On the other hand, a careful and searching analysis of the idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani in conjuction with a certain number of facts which we shall enumerate below authorizes us to say that we are concerned with a group of sedentary Greek peasants who, from all evidence, were uprooted from their homes during the fourteenth century following an event thereof an unknown nature, and who sought refuge in the mountain region where, in order to survive, the began to practice herding and, as a consequence, nomadism.

This theory which has been proposed by the Greek scholar D. Géorgakas, cited above, (42)

42. See p. 14

rests on a number of facts:

1. The idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani is one formed in the northern part of the country before the fourteenth century. Since the Sarakatsani live isolated from other Hellenes, it would be inconceivable to suppose that they existed earlier than their language. If they had, how could we explain that the latter does not include more archaic elements, since this is the case among the populations of some Greek islands and among the Greeks of the Trebizond region? Nor can their isolation be subsequent to this date.

/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Commène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Commène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into [173] [166] the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Georgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth [113] [114]

/10 cont./
174 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore"
113 (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès
114 (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

113 /12 cont./
--The study, or several studies (in Greek) by a pharmacist, B. Skafidas who, working as an amateur, has gathered considerable ethnographic material: a) "Les Saracatsans ou les Saracatsanais"; b) "Les Saracatsans--leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur coutumes".

These studies, of which the second duplicates the first and completes it, are genuinely interesting, although sometimes the author seems to consider some of the phenomena recorded by him as characteristic of Sarakatsani life when in reality these are customs followed by other social groups as well. Although the non-expert reader must consult these works cautiously, the contribution of Monsieur Skafidas is real and accomplished.

We shall mention next the study by Madame Joannidès-Barbarigou, ethnographer of merit on the staff of "Archives Folkloriques de l'Académie d'Athènes," on "Huttes des Saracatsan" (published in Greek). Although short, the study is good because of its clarity and precision and is regrettable that its author did not have an opportunity to work more thoroughly in this field. Nevertheless, this work, though brief, is valuable and very interesting.

114 Finally, it is necessary to mention particularly the numerous works on the Sarakatsani by Madame A. Hadjimichali, a Greek ethnographer of renown, culminating in her most recent very lengthy work.

Madame Hadjimichali lived several years among the Sarakatsani and her work is considered authoritative, not only in Greece, but in international ethnographic circles. We believe that modern Greece owes her special recognition for her contribution to the enormous task of the study of Neo-Hellenism. (45)

45. We mean by this term the social and cultural life of Greeks from the eighteenth century to our day, a period during which the nation is moving towards its independence and its renaissance.

113 It seems regrettable to us that her large work in Greek which/13/ bears the general title Les Saracatsans has still not been published in

/13 cont./

113 its entirety. Only the first part has appeared in two volumes, of which the first volume deals with general topics, and the second with professional life, building, food getting and the technique of manufacturing wooden objects, with comments on the decorative motifs carved into these objects.

In any case, Madame Hadjimichali announces, as soon forthcoming, the publication of two more large volumes of the work, devoted to weaving and clothing, along with the corresponding techniques; to the relation between life and work; the family; the different stages of life; religious worship and beliefs; magic and superstition; folk medicine; tales, songs and finally dances.

The volumes that have appeared represent a very rich collection of material, especially valuable since a number of traits, long recorded, have already disappeared, wiped out by the rapid modernization of the Sarakatsani.

114 It is truly regrettable that Madame Hadjimichali did not have recourse, at the time of her investigation and the drafting of her book, to a sufficiently searching analysis to match her great talents and undeniable calling. Thus, the solutions to many problems going beyond simple description have remained obscure. One might even add that the description of certain phenomena would be different if the author had considered them more systematically. On the other hand, in a great number of cases her interpretations of observed phenomena cannot be accepted.

May Madame Hadjimichali, as well as other investigators we have mentioned, kindly forgive us for these remarks which do not mean that we do not appreciate their work, of that we do not have great respect for the authors.

As P. Sorokin says of science: "...it appeared with criticism, has grown with criticism and it lives with criticism...Otherwise, instead of a scientific sociology we will have a pseudo-scientific complimentary art having nothing in common with a real science." (46)

114 /13 cont./
[113]

46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is
[114] because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

[129] Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are
[121] either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

/14 cont./

000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/ PART ONE

/14b/ /blank/

/15/ Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « [illegible] » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

/16/ /blank/

/17/ Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16 114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying 123 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on 124 127

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," 858 842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of 562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the [582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information [582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large [198] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. [217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
36 during the day.
[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463 10. Among these theorists we must mention P.
114 Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.
believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.
[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.
to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/30 cont./

5/ Ibid., A, II, p. 355.

352 [114]

This cradle probably no longer exists, for we ourselves, in the course of our investigation in the field, were never able to find one anywhere.

/31/

Fig. 4

The only type of cradle that we came across among the nomads did not differ to any extent from that used by the peasants, and it is always made with boards (fig 4).

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated," Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and
594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.
[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young
[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the
612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful
596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the
[583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

/165 cont./

596 are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected
554 to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his
[601] sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among
[114] the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a
601 wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also, are
561 required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the
554 same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal. (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is

[829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and
19 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

G 671 /200/

/200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: « Ἑλλήνων συνεταιρισμοί » with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life. It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same principles, despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis, absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of data.

S 671 177 S 174 114

Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within the framework of the second period:

G 671 175

When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.

S 671 177

The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G 648 729

It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G 641

Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

G 671

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[171] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

/229 cont./

121 67 68 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effectiveness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it. 121 67 Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain uncertain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness [114] of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Furthermore, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/230 cont./

121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law." For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is
(681) one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's[4] idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior, the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior. These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

4. /i.e., J.-P.B. de Joselin de Jong--Analyst/

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
671 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
681 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
671 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
671 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

/232 cont./

121 114 67 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 67 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 67 68 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this author may lead. We take as an example "the negative organized sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation, even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
671 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
681 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
671 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/243 cont./

[577] [181] [671] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

> 9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

> 1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course towards the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

> 2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

/250 cont./

844 602 animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

[114] 3. Ibid., A.I. p. . --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] [825] [128] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. 9v') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
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789
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531
[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

/278 cont./
[255] [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 789 [754] The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

233 789 114 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
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[171]

85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[173] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
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/307 cont./

121 789 811 However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114 Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐκστασιακά.

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

/307 cont./

789 by G. Gurvitch (113)

114 113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/308 cont./

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114

of entering into the plans of man. From this disposition man was able to profit by extending his action beyond that which physical laws would permit" (p. 174). The fable-making function operates in two directions. Either, it manufactures gods and spirits, that correspond to religion, or it invents forces that are not purely mechanical and that yield to our desires and wishes and which correspond to magic (p. 173). In any case, it protects man from "whatever there might be in the exercise of intelligence which could depress the individual and dissolve society" (p. 217). As for magic strictly speaking, its operations do not obey theoretical principles (the rules of magic action), for "if primitive intelligence had begun conceiving principles at this point it would very soon have gone on to experimentation which would have demonstrated the falseness /of magic/." Principles come later on.../309/ "there is a logic of the body, an extension of desire, which is exerted well before intelligence has found a conceptual form for it" (p. 175). "Magic is therefore innate in man, being only the externalization of a desire that fills the heart" (p. 176). And Bergson adds, a little farther on: "Magic appears to us therefore to dissolve into two elements: the desire to act on anything, even on that which cannot be reached and the idea that things are charged, or let themselves be charged, with what we might call a human fluid" (p. 178). It is therefore contrary, in inverse ratio to science (pp. 178-182), and it differs from religion in that "the one claims to force the consent of nature and the other implores the favor of a god."

We are quite willing to agree with the idea that magic presupposes desire and that it protects man from discouragement. But we cannot reduce Sarakatsani magic either to instinct or to a fable-making function derived from it or from the logic of the body which, according to Bergson, in the final analysis guarantees the effectiveness of magic. For us, magic includes rational and mythical elements which are infinitely richer and more complex than any instinctive impulse. Motives must not be confused

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with their effects, the "fable-making function" with myth, which is an interpretation of the world, and desire, the "logic of the body," with social myths which lead to the belief in the efficacy of magic. Thus it seems to us that Bergson's theory is not capable of interpreting Sarakatsani magic.

The explanation of magic advanced by Br. Malinowski is found chiefly in two of his studies: Magic, Science and Religion /cited in English/ (1925) and Myth in Primitive Psychology /cited in English/ (1926). In the first, Malinowski says that magic is based on desire and on affective elements: "All such acts...are prima faciae expressions of emotion" /quoted in English/ (p. 72). It is not created from an abstract concept about the existence of a universal force applicable in all concrete cases that occur--the mana (pp. 6, 77, and 78). If there is something universal in magic it is the uniformity of the process that leads to magical thought and behavior (pp. 78-79). The sociological analysis of the belief in magic shows that, under the influence of a strong emotion (vexations, dangers, fear, hatred, love, etc.), or from an obsessive desire, man reproduces in mimicry, through gestures, words or acts that which he desires (Extended expression of emotion /310/ in act and in word, p. 80 /quoted in English/). If a result is then produced, man believes that these same manifestations have created it. Then he thinks that during his emotional exaltation he had some sort of revelation which henceforth enables him to know how he must act in similar instances. This process determines the formation of rites and practices (p. 81). With respect to the problem of the acceptance of rites as efficacious despite the fact that they are not verified by experience, Malinowski gives us a psychological explanation. The memory of men always retains the cases that correspond to their hopes and represses those that refute them (p. 82). But there is more. Around each great magician a halo of glory is formed, woven from the accounts and commentories of his exploits, his successes, his

/310 cont./

789 114 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic. Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 793 114 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

/311 cont./

789 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth
773 is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation,
114 a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "These stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory
114 of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world
773 and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if con-
114 fronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

/311 cont./

789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in; a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its
[778] efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

/312 cont./

789 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:

778 1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the

114 mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can

114 compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

/313 cont./

789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by a quasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[191] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). [755] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/314 cont./

789 778 114 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 114 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

/315 cont./

789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
773 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
778 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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789 773 114 778 more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 114 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

/317 cont./

789 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization
114 in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One
(124) of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our
(825) questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/317 cont./

789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /318/ and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118)

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: Timée /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

(pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: Moeurs et Coutumes... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

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796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[474] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
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2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΓΙΑΝΝΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by
Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΥΓΚΟΛΑΝΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος
τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 254-258.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
171 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/332 cont./

796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
755 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
782
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Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585
795 we shall speak later on.
764

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, (114) very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
171 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/334 cont./

782 182 771 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. 94c'), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic ropast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolegomena, p. 84.

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Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 183

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [794] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above 771 157 all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 796 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
776 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
114 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
171 Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.٨٦٢) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism, It is called upon to make up for this lack.

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828 KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

811 (153)

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We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

2. See G. Davey: Sociologues d'hier..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: La mentalité primitive pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: Early civilisation /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

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811 114 for us not to grant him the existence of a certain number of thoughts verified or inspired by experience, about his action. To bend or harden a piece of wood by heating it comes neither from automatic instinct nor from simple observation. The latter is blind when it is not guided by intelligence. Likewise, it is impossible to believe that technical activity, like all other activities, does not affect intellectual progress. The life of man cannot be divided into compartments. His different "experiences" act on each other, homo faber /man the maker/ exerting his influence on homo sapiens /man the knower/ and the reverse. (3)

3. See, for example, A.-J. Piaget: La psychologie de l'intelligence, pp. 139-141 and passim.

We know very well that the concepts and ideas of the "primitive" are different from those which cause science to advance. But between instinct or automatism and scientific conceptualization there is no lack of intellectual life; an intellecutal life is exhibited there which truly merits this name, as is shown by the existence of effective, directed, consciously deliberate action. Of course, this intellectual life does not have the same breadth and effectiveness as science. it is none the less of the same nature as the intellectual, creative life of scientific knowledge, though its modalities are different. We have the impression (perhaps erroneous) that the authors cited have never had occasion to follow closely the working technique of a "primitive" and to discuss it with him. It is obvious that technology rests on understanding, the whole of which constitutes a sort of knowledge.

/354/ Knowledge, the bearers of which, as far as these nomads are concerned, are all the Sarakatsani. Its very creation occurs collectively. Borrowing the terminology of Gurvitch, but partly disagreeing with him on the forms in which this knowledge appears, (4)

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are
829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 562 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not
535 Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete
[177] and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations
461 the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani
461 involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours
233 of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According
[534] to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the
[114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic
533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/
233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[233] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
[152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

531
532

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp.
532 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden
114 sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
[178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/406 cont./

177
(114)

5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

/407/

CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.

lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

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Conversation

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OOC

HONOUR, FAMILY AND PATRONAGE

A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community

BY

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[p. iii]
[pp. i-ii contain no textual material]

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PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only [101] certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among [101] Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara-128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

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Bowra, Dr. K. O. L. Burridge, Mr. E. Katsaros, Dr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. Zisimos Lorenzatos, and Dr. Philip Sherrard who read and commented on particular chapters. And to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College I express my appreciation for their patient support and encouragement. 128

It was my misfortune that feelings over the Cyprus issue became particularly embittered shortly after I began my fieldwork, with the result that my relations with the local authorities were always difficult. My movements were restricted and under surveillance. I was seldom able to persuade local officials to provide me with, or to help me obtain, any kind of quantitative or statistical information. Indeed, it is certain that without the generous support of the deputy Prime Minister Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, I would not have been allowed to remain. Within a week of his leaving office I was ordered to remove myself from the area and on this abrupt note my fieldwork ended. If one remembers the unhappy atmosphere which then existed, it would be unreasonable to complain of the reaction of some Greek officials and individuals to my presence and my suspect work. It is with all the more gratitude that I remember the kindness and practical assistance of many Greek friends, which they did not always give without risk. Particularly I wish to mention Mr. Sotiris Dakaris of the Greek Archaeological Service, and his wife. My debt to the Sarakatsani will be obvious from this book; and to none is it greater than to my friend Theodoros Gogolos. 114 122 000

I dedicate this book to my wife, Sheila Campbell, who shared the fieldwork in physical and political conditions which were often unpleasant, and who first won the confidence of a secretive people. 114

J.K.C.

Kifissia.
May 1962.

During my fieldwork I was visited by the Greek photographer 'Dimitri' and I am grateful for permission to use some of the photographs he took on those occasions. I am similarly grateful to Mr. Roger Vaternelle who prepared the map; and to Professor Bernard Kayser who made it possible for him to do so. 114 12

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I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. κβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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Byzantine period. But it[a] may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs (Ἀρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[a] [i.e., the term "Vlachs"... Analyst]

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans*. Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923–59.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσαναίων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρς'.

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114 or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people,
174 who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant
[175] life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

174 As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was
[175] ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 300 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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175 citizens of Zagori, and to maintain a small force of village
648 guards; an undertaking by the Turkish Governor not to estab-
642 lish Government representatives within the boundaries of the district. There were reciprocal benefits in these arrangements. The Zagori was protected from the capricious exploitation of direct administration and tax collection which threatened the villages with indebtedness, conversion into private estates, and the consequent loss of private and communal rights to land. The Turkish authorities, whose principal concerns were internal security and regular fiscal supplies, gained as faithful and dependent allies a community in an area difficult to police, along whose southern boundary ran the important but hazardous line of communication to Metsovo and Thessaly.[21]

175 In the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century
167 the Zagori was, by the standards of Greek country life, rich.
556 But the source of this wealth was not local. Sons whose presence was not urgently needed at home travelled to the more pros-
[463] perous towns of the Empire particularly in Rumania. In these places they established businesses of various kinds from humble bakeries to important merchant houses. Others became doctors
[602] and teachers. A man once established created openings for kinsmen. These migrants were known as 'travellers' (ταξιδιῶτες);
[582] for the implication was that they would eventually return. A man generally returned to his village when he was about 25 years of age and took a wife from his own or another Zagori village. He remained with his new wife for perhaps three or four months, generally until her pregnancy was established. He then returned to his business or professional position abroad leaving his wife behind in his parents' home. Every four or five years he paid further visits to the village to see his family and perhaps to increase it, until he had amassed enough wealth to build a substantial house and fill it with elegant carpets, furniture, and icons. Into this he retired from his business or profession and passed the later years of his life playing the role of a 'notable' in village life and politics.

[184] This curious form of emigration was practised in other parts
[648] of Greece but perhaps nowhere more intensively than in Zagori. But the degree to which it was developed was dependent upon

[113] [21] Ἰωάννης Λαμπρίδης, «Ζαγοριακά» in Ἠπειρωτικὰ Μελετήματα, Athens,
[114] 1889, gives a useful but sometimes uncritical account of Zagori history.

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the privileges of self-administration that have been described and which were not finally abrogated until 1866. So many men could not have left their families and villages unprotected, nor would there have been any security for the wealth they amassed, had the reciprocal rights and obligations of the authorities and the Zagori villages not been clearly acknowledged on both sides. In this situation an important sanction was the presence in Constantinople of a number of rich Zagori notables able to communicate the grievances of their compatriots directly to the Sultan. Not only were they able to dispense bribes to high officials on behalf of the confederation but they supplied the central Government with intelligence about the movements and intentions of the local governor in Jannina who was not infrequently intriguing against his own masters in Constantinople. Even in the case of Ali the Lion, the most powerful and greedy of Jannina's rulers, an awareness of this introduced some restraint into his dealings with the Zagori.

This concern with commerce and the professions, and the imperial ambience in which their local politics were implicated, gave the inhabitants of these villages a cosmopolitan rather than a peasant outlook. It is true that until 1912 they assiduously worked the small pockets of cultivable land and tended their vines and fruit trees, but generally with the manpower of gipsies or families of lower status. A few men of Zagori possessed large flocks of sheep but no self-respecting citizen of this district could himself lead the life of a shepherd. Consequently by the nineteenth century, if not earlier, shepherding in central, western, and much of eastern Zagori, whether of village sheep or their own, was in the hands of the Sarakatsani.

The villages in the plains of Jannina, Arta, and Preveza were in a different and less enviable situation. Originally many of their lands had been military fiefs. In terms of agricultural wealth they were richer than mountain villages but geographically they were more vulnerable to intimidation and exploitation. By the kind of process that has been described, most of these fiefs in time became private estates, chiftliks. By the early nineteenth century these areas had been considerably depopulated as a consequence of the capricious administration of chiftlik proprietors or their agents, and through looting by Albanian bands in the frequent disturbances of civil order during this period.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group. 178 474 427 233 [452] [212]

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry. 178 474 233 [423] [802]

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. 181 182

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the 233 [422]

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γκιουσέμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέχι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (γαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λασές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [257]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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This sale of lambs brings
233 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
234 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
432 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
434 February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
[452] (στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[412] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[417] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
[234] of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

[232] Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
[234] relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[934] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[577] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887]
the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463]
that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554]
the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231]
warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789]
various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64?] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

828
Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 825
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 233
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- [776]
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

562
Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 833
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do [834]
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [841]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

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233
234

1. Milking

[facing p. 32]

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[322] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
235 garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They
[437] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
000 other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [476]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

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But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[5] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

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[5] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

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The family and the life of are both ferme divinely

confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy 181
archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by 182
God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. 233
Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements 59
none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

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III

KINSMEN AND AFFINES

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSMEN

6/2 THE kindred (τὸ σόϊ) includes only those blood kinsmen of a man (or woman)[1] who are formally recognized for social purposes. The Sarakatsani recognize as members of the kindred all cognatic relatives as far as the degree of second cousin, whether these links are traced through the father's or mother's side of the family. In this system, all those persons descended from a man's four grandparents and their brothers and sisters are his kinsmen, except the children of his second cousins, the grandchildren of his first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of his own siblings, who are not members of his kindred. To express this in more general terms, the recognition for social purposes of collateral relations is relatively wide in a man's own generation and subsequently becomes, from his point of view, relatively less wide in each descendant generation. As a man passes through life, critical events, such as his marriage and the birth of children, the marriages of these children and the birth of grandchildren, direct his obligations and interests to his own immediate descendants to the exclusion of collaterals.

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6/2 59 Kindred relationships are considered by the Sarakatsani to be extensions from the family. Naturally, it is always a member of a man's elementary family who mediates his various relationships in the kindred, parents providing the links with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins; siblings those with nephews and nieces. And although the kindred is a system of personal relationships while the family is a corporate group,[2] the systematic character of the former, and the structure of the latter, are necessarily interdependent and consistent.

[1] Except where there is ambiguity I shall not repeat this cumbersome qualification.

[2] Perpetuity is a quality often premised of corporate kinship groups, whereas Sarakatsan families are limited to a life of some 40 years, i.e. the period which normally elapses between a man's marriage and the division

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 602 619 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [581]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [579]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 571
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 579
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will 612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in 612 hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd. 612 476 233

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals. 602 474 233

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen 612 [629]

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Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen
612 but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in
[426] almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are [611] precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[113] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word *σόι*, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παππούλης, grandfather, γιαγιά, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ἐξάδερφος, ἐξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνεψιός, ἀνεψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, νταμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[7] And if either the

[7] The more general meaning of νταμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 426 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 150 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of [178] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούϊ. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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827 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour
828 is not approved, but in terms of χούι it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

59 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and
612 character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[8] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[8] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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its members.[9] It is only through the marriages of their grandparents and parents that a man and his siblings are related to the four component groups of collaterals in his kindred. Kindred relations are personal, not corporate, relations. And the Sarakatsan kindred in no way acts as a property-holding group since, besides the fact that it is relative to a particular sibling group, it has no continuity from generation to generation. 612

In drawing attention to this bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred I have been careful to avoid speaking of bilateral descent. In anthropological writings principles of descent normally refer to rules which determine membership in corporate lineal descent groups. Such groups are bodies of kinsmen whose members may be recruited through filiation to a line of descent exclusively through males (patrilineal), or exclusively through females (matrilineal).[10] Descent from a common ancestor or group of ancestors defines membership in the group and identifies the interests of its members, which may concern political and ritual rights and obligations as well as inheritance and succession. It is possible to talk of a corporate bilateral descent group where membership depends upon filiation through both parents but in such an instance the group would have to practise obligatory endogamous marriage. But the Sarakatsan kindred is not an endogamous group. Corporate descent groups imply a principle of perpetual succession, a feature which the kindred entirely lacks; and they also imply that individuals have categorical rights and obligations outside the elementary or extended family, whereas in the Sarakatsan kindred this is not so. Not descent, but filiation of a man or woman to his or her family of origin is the factor which 611 612

[9] Any two kinsmen other than siblings have kindreds which to a greater or lesser degree overlap. A man may find himself in a situation where two men, both related to him but unrelated to one another, are in some form of conflict in which both appeal to him for support. In this predicament the only solution is to remain neutral, since it would be sinful to act against a kinsman except under great provocation. But generally such a situation extends rather than restricts the range of kinship obligations; towards a person who, although not a kinsman himself, is closely related to a kinsman, a man ought to act with more consideration and less hostility than is usual between men who are unrelated.

[10] There are other possibilities, viz. bilineal or dual descent, parallel descent, and alternating descent.

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611 determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
612 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[129] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

612 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
[582] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman at this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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may marry a kinswoman of this degree. In other words, the children of a marriage throw away, as it were, perhaps three-quarters[13] of those kinsmen who are recognized collateral relations of the parents. The father, when he identifies himself with the interests of his own children, at once creates a certain kinship distance between himself and any one of his own siblings, the kindred of whose children only partly coincides with the kindred of his own children. Since the descendants of the father's second cousins are no longer kinsmen of his children, they also cease to be significant for him and are not recognized as kinsmen; similarly in the case of the grandchildren of first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of siblings. And the same considerations apply in the case of the mother and her collateral kin. With the passage of time parents turn their loyalty and interest from the collateral kinsmen of their own generation to their direct descendants and to only those collateral descendants who remain relevant for their own descendants; these are necessarily fewer in each descendant generation.

From one point of view a man's kinsmen are the descendants of the four sibling groups of his two grandfathers and two grandmothers. Sarakatsan kinship finds its source in the unity of the sibling group born and nurtured within a legitimate family. Collateral kinsmen see themselves as the descendants of such a group and it is this sentiment which provides the basis of the personal moral solidarity with a kinsman. Thus the Greek word for cousins (ἐξάδερφοι) means literally 'from brothers'. But Sarakatsani are, also, conscious that it is through marriages in which the interests of siblings or cousins cannot be mutually identified that kinsmen become separated. For a man is related more closely to a particular kinsman than to the kinsman's child; thus, with the close identification of a father's interests with those of his children and the exclusive concentration of categorical obligations in the family of marriage, the marriages of collaterals inevitably lead to change and a measure of disintegration in the individual's kindred. In a phrase, marriage joins strangers while it separates those who are already kinsmen. The consequences for the children and grandchildren of siblings are that a man has approximately only half his kindred

[13] The exact size of this fraction depends upon the size of the various sibling groups in the kindreds.

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612 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common
58 with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man
582 may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families
591 who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[15] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[15] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

59 [612] 59 581 602 [574]

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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59 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after
581 his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is
602 unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

593 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person
581 outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and
[602] cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling 593
solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and 581
moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical [596] aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small 612
extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a 611
feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal 602
principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.
602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the [554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' [553] (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

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[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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IV

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

1. THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

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I HAVE said that the Sarakatsan family is an isolated and autonomous social group and I have stressed the moral solidarity which characterizes the relations of its members. But the Sarakatsan family, like all domestic groupings, passes through a cycle of development which in this instance begins with the marriage of a man with a woman and normally ends with the final division of the family's flocks between their sons one or two years after the youngest has married. An examination of some aspects of this process makes it possible to give an account of the institutions governing the redistribution of rights over property and persons which accompanies the development of new families and the dispersion of the older groups which have brought them into being. But the autonomy, solidarity, and isolation of the family make this transition difficult and critical. It is not only that it causes individuals real psychological distress when a girl at her marriage must abandon the family of her birth or when another family must receive a strange woman into the circle of their close and exclusive relationships. The marriages of any group of siblings have to be arranged in such a way that the family derives the maximum of prestige from them; and also that individuals relinquish their obligations to the family of origin only when these have been fulfilled, or have been safely delegated to another unmarried member of the group.

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A description of the cycle of family development serves a second purpose. It documents the changing relations in the sibling group which are precipitated by the marriages of its members. The solution of the conflict between parents' newly assumed obligations to infant children and their long established duties and affections to siblings and parents in the family of origin, illustrates the distinction between the relatives of the family and the collateral relatives of the kindred. Indeed, this conflict is, as it were, the growing point of the distinction.

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the
585 day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen
602 and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father.
[584] After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.[1] The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible 'Thank you' and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

[1] However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[8]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[8] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο κίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[254] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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2. The Women

[facing p. 64]

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[605] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 585 596 if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[6] The bride 283 may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 287 one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 585 596 one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152 only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585 gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593 may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596 her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[6] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
833 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
[522] Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect* to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

* Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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851 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work
596 very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she
[551] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is
[606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with their cousins.

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596 their cousins. In many unilineal descent systems, on the other hand, the interests and rights of a woman's children are so intimately related to those of the children of their father's brothers that irrespective of personal feelings, her duty to her own children demands loyal co-operation with all members of the lineage. The weak extended family of the Sarakatsani does not provide a framework with continuity in time in which units segmented in one context may yet be united in another. When the joint flock of animals has been divided, co-operation be-
[593] tween married brothers, and therefore contractual obligation, generally continues, but categorical obligations deriving from common membership in the family of origin are no longer valid. An index of this instability of the extended family is the relatively early retirement of the father, which has already been discussed.

An important characteristic of the extended family is that it is based on consent rather than authority. The flock and everything connected with it is held as common property, and since brothers have equal interests in the flock, decisions which concern its welfare are based on a general consensus of opinion. The eldest brother, who normally acts as the executive head, implements the general decision of the group. He also acts as its treasurer and all money is controlled by him. When business affairs take him to Jannina he does the shopping for the whole group, returning with perhaps a pair of shoes for the wife of one of his brothers, a cotton frock for his daughter, and a new jacket for one of his nephews. If one of his brothers wants cigarettes or requires money to play cards in the coffee-shop he comes and states his needs without embarrassment. The younger brother knows from experience what is reasonable and he does not usually make impossible demands on the family's slender resources. If he injures his family, he injures himself. The solidarity of brothers in such matters, even after marriage and the birth of children, is remarkable. Yet gradually, and in most cases with the greatest reluctance, they come to realize that their several obligations to their new families of marriage preclude the possibility of their living together indefinitely in a single domestic household. Observation of the conduct of their wives may often assist them in arriving at this conclusion.

The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less

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The attitudes of wives toward one another are far less
reasonable. Unless their requirements happen to be similar, 596
what is given to one wife is by definition not given to the other. 578
Inevitably each believes that the other is the better treated. An elder brother often makes a conscious effort to treat his younger brother's wife with particular consideration and tact, supplying from the family purse without debate the money required for all her children's needs; shoes, a new jacket, medicine and so on. This may merely infuriate the elder brother's wife who sees herself and her children sacrificed to her husband's wish to maintain intact the relationship with his brother. On the other hand, the younger brother's wife is seldom grateful. She may not believe that she is being favourably treated and, at best, she will still resent the fact that she must apply to her husband's brother for the requirements of her children.

Yet the break-up of the united group of brothers is not due 596
to the quarrels of the wives alone. As his children pass out of 454
infancy, a father's thoughts are increasingly concerned with the problem of how to provide for their future. For instance, it may be necessary to practise extreme economy for a number of years, or even to borrow money to buy additional sheep, in an attempt to build up a flock large enough to support his sons and provide for his daughters' dowries. Obviously such operations can only be carried through efficiently and equitably when each brother has command of his own share of the family's stock.

The affairs of the family group led by Theodoros Ferendinos 596
(see Chart, page 74) illustrate these problems. After thirteen years together in an extended family the five brothers are considering the need to divide their household and the flocks. It is a family of moderate wealth and prestige owning 365 sheep and goats. The five brothers are known to be resolute, brave, and mutually devoted. Yet although I never observed an open [578]
quarrel between these brothers, friction is evident. Four of the brothers are married, two of them have children nearing school age while three of the eldest brother's children are already at school. They are all concerned as to how they will support these growing families. Theodoros the elder brother has four children, but the second and third brothers have only two each. While the group lives in one household it is clear that to some extent the younger brothers are carrying part of the burden of

[Text continues on p. 74]

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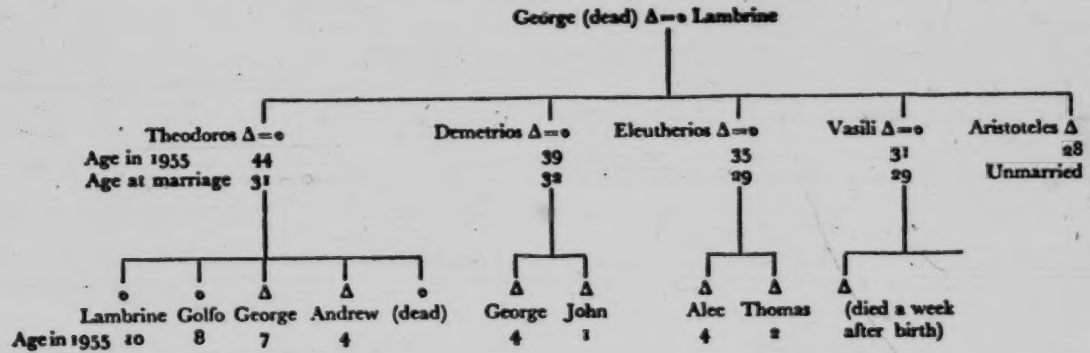
CHART

EXTENDED FAMILY LED BY THEODOROS FERENDINOS



N.B. There are also two sisters not shown in this chart. They were, in 1955, respectively 42 and 40 years of age; the elder sister was married three years before, the younger one year after, the marriage of Theodoros.

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children 596
who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within 596
limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identi- 519
fication of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros [275]
himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his 596
problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros [431]
bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest [405]
brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for [205]
several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

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596 Admittedly every man must have
[577] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωτομός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
443 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
434 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

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her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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596 578 159 [165] Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife. [606] Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [861]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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591 and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought
596 to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother
591 with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking
[422] there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered that although it may be hinted through the mediation of kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait

TABLE II

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945–55)

Age at Marriage	*Brides*	*Grooms*
Over 32	2	13
32	2	12
31	6	27
30	7	21
29	10	17
28	17	13
27	14	9
26	22	4
25	25	5
24	16	
23	6	0
22	5	0
	132	123

many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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And even if his

582 physique remains unimpaired he cannot delay the marriage of
596 his first son beyond his thirty-first year without suffering con-
[626] siderable and growing criticism in the community. He must, then, bow to the inevitable, arrange the marriage of his son and in a short time (at the birth of the first grandchild) hand over control; for, as we have stressed, it is not compatible with the values of this community for a married man with a child to be still under parental control and not master in his own house. But fathers do not normally hand over control until they have to. An elder brother, who has no sisters to guard or provide for, may marry a year or two sooner, but the difference is not marked.

[626] Old age, then, and the fear of public criticism and ridicule generally force a man to arrange the eldest son's marriage before his thirty-second birthday. No consideration of the needs of sisters will normally delay this event. And the marriage of other brothers in the middle of the birth order of the sibling group are arranged with the same upper limit in mind. On the other hand, the youngest brother will almost certainly not marry until all the sisters have found husbands. Through the social equivalence of brothers, the duty of watching over and, if need be, avenging the honour of the sisters, is delegated to the unmarried member of the group of brothers. This arrangement recognizes the conflict between the roles of father/husband and brother when they are played simultaneously by the same person; a conflict which, according to Sarakatsan kinship values, can only be resolved in favour of the father/husband. It is an arrangement which, on occasion, may delay considerably the marriage of the youngest brother.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF EUTHYMIOS CARVOUNIS

Group of Siblings		*Age at marriage*	*Age in 1955*
Demetrios	(M)	31	42
George	(M)	30	38
Michael	(M)	32	36
Elias	(M)	Unmarried	35
Amalia	(F)	24	32
Evangelike	(F)	28	28

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The children of Euthymios Carvounis (Table III) are one of those unfortunate sibling groups where all the brothers were born first and the sisters afterwards. The youngest sister has just been successfully married to a villager. But the youngest brother, Elias, is 35 and only now becomes free to find himself a wife. 582 596

Naturally, under these conventions, a sister may sometimes find herself without an unmarried brother to act as guardian of her honour. Apart from sibling groups with no brothers, this is likely to be the case where there is only one brother with sisters who are considerably younger and a father who is incapacitated. Pericles Gogolos, for instance, had to marry and succeed his father at the age of 27, when his two younger unmarried sisters, Erasmia and Machoula, were respectively only 23 and 19 years of age.

It appears, then, that the solidarity of the sibling group, as this is manifested in the obligations of brothers towards sisters, ideally demands that all sisters should be married before any of their brothers. In practice, we find that while the ideal is approached, though seldom achieved, when the ages and birth order of the siblings are not an obstacle, in less favourable circumstances it is only the youngest brother who may have to wait some time before marrying. But while the obligations to a sister do not in the main delay the marriages of brothers, the presence of unmarried sisters in the house does effectively prevent married brothers from dividing the extended family household. It is true that in most families, by the time the second brother has married and has children approaching school age, the sisters because of their earlier age of marriage will have left their family of origin. But where this is not so, it is held to be wrong for married brothers to break up the united family group before the sisters are married. In the first place, it is said that brothers who live in a united household are accustomed to reaching unanimous decisions. If each brother has become used to making various decisions for himself, it is less likely that they will agree about whom the sister should marry, and how much dowry in sheep and money should be conceded. Moreover, the traditional element in the dowry, the heavy blankets and personal clothing, claims the better grades of wool from all the sheep of all the brothers for a number of years before the [583]

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
586 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the 596 extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a 593 number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes [851] clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are [612] consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing 596 are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the 577 community. We have seen how the belief that a married man 554 with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of
[427] the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting
[558] very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 474 233 [735]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thesprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the 474 233 423 648

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474 233 423 648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

474 233 423 662 648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 233 221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same attention that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as single households which are not extended families), in the summer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In general, only married brothers continue to work together in the summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[428] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins.

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'.

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474 602 571 Membership in a 'company' is in principle based on free association, although in particular cases a man without brothers may be so dependent upon the particular kinsmen who form the dominant nucleus of a 'company', that he has, in fact, little choice. But co-operating 'companies' are relatively stable associations only as long as the problems they help member families to overcome remain problems. They are a loose form of contractual association in which each family jealously guards its domestic autonomy and the right to secede at any time. Power to influence the association's decisions lies with the dominant group of brothers from whom the company takes its name, and it is the desire to escape from the position of dependence on this group which leads the more distantly related families in the association to detach themselves from it in the summer months.

474 602 578 Co-operation between kinsmen and affines has its difficulties. So imperative are the interests of a man's own family that sometimes he begins to suspect even the actions of a close kinsman if he co-operates with him: and he, himself, must sometimes fight against the temptation to defraud a kinsman or an affine. The Sarakatsani say that 'every stani has a pimp' (κάθε στάνη έχει τὸ ρουφιάνο της). Ρουφιάνος means a procurer and by extension a man without conscience or manliness. In this context it implies that in each co-operating group the cheese merchant is able to find at least one man who for the favour of more liberal credits is prepared to play the part of informer about the secrets of the group. As a statement of fact this is an exaggeration, but it testifies accurately to the strains and restraints that co-operation between related families involves, strains which are thought to be peculiarly inappropriate in the relations of kinsmen.

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion 609 829 characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In 612 contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which 577 make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children.

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and 612 diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy.

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must 571 show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει 577 ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, 626 which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons 609 have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations 578 that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has

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609 not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This,
578 in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation with-
[558] out losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of
[554] age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a
627 collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go
[682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may undertake this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future.

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated vengeance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction.

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε

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612 τὸ σόϊ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still
[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[489] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's
[662] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica-
[851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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605 612 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 521 576

605 536 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations cannot be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred 834
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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572 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friend-
605 ship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sym-
612 pathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability
572 itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust
605 tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or
612 has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same
476 flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [602]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [581]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[605] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant 605
quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to [581]
establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers.

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern 604
which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom.

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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

612 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion
474 which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where
605 preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 574
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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612 parents, he may yet establish with him a relationship which is
605 closer and more significant than the relationships he has with other kinsmen genealogically less distant but living in places where his affairs do not lead him. Similarly, if a man is forced by circumstances to co-operate in sheep management with a distant uncle or second cousin this transforms a genealogically distant connexion into a close and very significant kinship bond. Naturally, a man normally prefers to co-operate and have intimate friendships with close relatives, but in their absence, or where there is an exceptionally strong personal preference for an individual kinsman who is not closely connected, a distant kinsman is, as it were, 'drawn in' so that what becomes significant is the fact of relationship and not the genealogical distance separating kinsmen. This potential efficiency of any kinship relation is perhaps reflected in the way a man refers to a cousin when he is in his presence. In explaining that a man is a first cousin he will say, 'He is my first cousin', but of his second cousin he will only say 'He is my cousin'. By omitting any reference to the distance of cousinship, the effect is to draw the distant kinsman nearer to the man who is speaking. It might be said that an individual has two kindreds; the first is the 'ideal' kindred in which conflicts of obligation and responsibility to kinsmen are measured by formal kinship distance; the second is the 'effective kindred' in which the frequency and character of kinship intercourse which actually takes place, and the practical needs of a man and his family, are also important considerations.

Genealogical connexion beyond the limits of the kindred is not normally of any significance. Men who are third or fourth cousins may possibly be aware of this fact but in general it does not make them behave towards one another differently than
612 they would if they were unrelated. But if a man possesses wealth
605 or influence in the community so that some advantage is to be
557 gained by claiming relationship with him, then he often finds that his 'effective kindred' extends beyond the conventional range of second cousinship and comes to include third and even fourth cousins. When Sotiri Achnoulas, who unlike most of the Sarakatsani in Zagori has more goats than sheep in his flock, was dismayed at the promulgation of a government order forbidding the pasturage of these animals in certain areas of the

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? The proverb, Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
474 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his [685] sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action [684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.
[539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
627 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 591 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [578] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his 574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main 612
purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some 574
business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy 612
one another's company and other considerations are secondary. 527
On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of [575]
July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number 796
of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast- 612
day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous [535]
dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or [556]
distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is [273]
drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these 585
612

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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίχι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 599
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
605 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[103] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[3] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Τίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[3] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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612 management, are the cousins least likely to form those impor-
605 tant links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who
[572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may
612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any
571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are
[558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of
[538] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who
[154] live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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altruistic quality of these relationships. This is an end in itself. It balances the qualities of calculation and restraint which enter into all the other situations of social life, excepting only certain contexts of religious experience. This partly explains the immense pleasure which individuals experience when they take part with their kinsmen in festivals and weddings. There is a sense of release from the restrictions of daily life and local animosities which more articulate shepherds describe by the same phrase that is sometimes used after receiving the Eucharist at Easter, 'A weight has left me', μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος.

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [851] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειά μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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whose fair hair and black eyes captured his heart, but when his father pressed him to marry another not strikingly well-favoured girl, after some resistance he finally agreed, 'so as not to displease' (νὰ μὴ χαλάσω τὸ χατίρι). A marriage is arranged to suit the requirements of the family group, not the individual preference of the youth or maiden. 584

Since marriage is, from one point of view, a contract between hostile groups, a family which is looking for a bride proceeds with the utmost circumspection, to avoid offending other families with daughters of marriageable age. For this reason they appoint a kinsman or a close affine, generally a senior man with a reputation for skill in these matters, as the marriage negotiator. If the family already have a particular girl in mind, the negotiator will make a tentative approach to a close kinsman of the girl's father from whom he inquires with a great deal of periphrasis, whether he has any knowledge of the family's plans, and how much dowry she is likely to have. The girl's kinsman may undertake to make the inquiries if he does not already know, and report to the negotiator in one or two days' time. If the negotiator has some link of kinship or affinity with both families, he may make a more direct approach to the girl's family.

When the negotiator by one means or another has obtained oblique assurances that the girl's family are willing to consider a marriage proposal, he informs the family of his kinsman. The head of that family now waylays the girl's brother or father in some quiet place, but not at his home. Naturally both are aware why the one has sought out the other. But for a while they pursue a conventional conversation about sheep and weather, until, quite casually, the one remarks that he has a brother or son who is of an age when it is right that he should marry. And then he asks, 'Would you give us the girl so that we may become one house?' (νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς τὴ κοπέλλα νὰ γίνωμε ἕνα σπίτι). At this point he will also mention how many sheep or gold pounds are demanded in addition to the traditional dowry. This too will already be known to the girl's family and is therefore no longer a matter for debate. The other receives the news as if it comes as a complete surprise. He explains that this is not a light matter and therefore he would like to discuss it with his family, and that he will send word to the other's home [583]

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584 within eight days. If the negotiator has worked skilfully, there is little chance of the girl's family rejecting the proposal. Within a few days a kinsman of the girl's family arrives at the future bridegroom's homestead, inviting the family to come to the home of the girl's family on the next Sunday to effect the betrothal contract (τὸ σύβιασμα).

[178] It is only in the last ten years that the betrothal ceremony, under the influence of village customs, has developed into a feast where both the families participate. Previously, the father or eldest brother came alone to the girl's house. He was offered Turkish delight and ouzo (κέρασμα), and immediately afterwards the two heads of family exchanged the rings, an act which indicated the formal sealing of the contract. The girl's representative handed over her wedding ring, tied in a white handkerchief, which contained also, rice, red and white wool, and a gold sovereign. In return, he took from the bridegroom's brother, or father, the ring which was to be worn by the groom at the wedding ceremony. Each side kept the other's ring until the day of the marriage as a pledge that the marriage contract would be honoured.

584 178 At the modern betrothal feast the exchange of rings is effected in the same manner. But in place of the single representative the whole of the bridegroom's family together with various close kinsmen make the journey on the appointed Sunday to the home of the bride's family where they are entertained with feasting and dancing until the early hours of the Monday morning. There is something inappropriate about this act of 584 178 578 commensality between future affines. At the moment of betrothal there are only feelings of suspicion and distrust between the two sides. This is reflected in the unhappy record of betrothal feasts since this village custom was adopted. Brawling between hosts and guests is not infrequent and generally the result of these celebrations is that relations between the two groups deteriorate yet further.

584 Under the old convention, when the groom's representative arrived to exchange the rings, it was customary to hide away the future bride in the hut of a close kinsman. The ostensible purpose of this manœuvre was to protect the reputation and sensibilities of the maiden from the shame of suffering the gaze of her future father- or brother-in-law. But, also, it was thought

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please 584
the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance [582]
with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when [361]
the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future 584
bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party 178
are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse [578]
the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely 584
secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man [127] from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour. [164] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 178 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret. 584 178

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction. 584 [578]

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told 583

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the [683] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison 583 for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower. [627] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which, 579 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this 583
suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's 577
family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and dis- 584
cussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is [581]
an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a 584
kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct 582
bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 581 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 602 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 602 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage. [152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs 585
which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides 602
and its limitation within conventional bounds.

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγγαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [535] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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585 602 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only encourages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἀξία τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

[576] When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing, 585 602

[539]

'We have not come for food or drink,
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[2]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress. 585 602 578

[2] Δὲν ἤρθαμαν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πιΐ
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμαν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι' ἤρθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
βρίσκω τραπέζια νόμορφα
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγιομάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς κερνᾶν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαφρύδες.

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585 602 578 277 Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the 585
assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with 602
the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οἱ συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally [201]
succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the [578]
criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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585 602 [584] Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[8] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 612 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[8] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol i, Part A, p. ροε'.

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. 602 There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be 612 mentioned; that of co-bride (συνυφάδα), which is the link [607] between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is 607 once more apparent when we ask which are the significant 602 affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the 606 critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings 607 and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young [574] brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and
607 the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήση καὶ φιλοξενήση
[574] τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her
609 husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's
602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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But even
within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not 602 578
mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage [593] and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the 602
extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were 578
discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, 666
Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection 602
of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, 578
however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neigh-
bouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [684]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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582 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage
602 of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely
602 turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage
612 in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred
602 which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from
612 collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard un-
554 related families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been con-
[558] stantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the 582
community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, 602
they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable 612
marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, 554
tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has 582
analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of 602
kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages 612
between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. 619
For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an [578]
example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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582 of the community and the constant proliferation, through
602 marriages, of new relationships between opposed families;
612 and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the
619 different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

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602 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics
612 of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each
602 individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own
612 people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen
571 inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related
59 by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a
602 community where social relations are marked by such radical discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily
577 particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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strength is simulated better by the heroic attitudes of self-assertion, pride, and even arrogance. Strength, individual prepotence, is what each man needs to be an effective protagonist for his family, and the protector of its public reputation and honour against the calumnies of those who are also its judges.

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VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [589] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάϊ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co-593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience 839 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery. 558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [572] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. 583 577

The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήκω, μωρή, νὰ σὲ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατ'ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γκρινιάρα). 593 562 [581]

The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan 593 581

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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[586] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596
854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep' around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents. The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
158 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[3] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[559] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[3] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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596 for these arrangements[2] The sanction is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
626 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[2] [i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son
--- Analyst]

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [651]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [589] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [762]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [754]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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593 596 [888] domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 858 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 888 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 828 858 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations towards each other but they are morally identified. The responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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ἀπὸ κάτ' ἀπ' τὴ μηλιὰ θὰ πέση). It is thought that God often 593
punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression 828
in another proverb, 'The sins of parents torment the children' 858
(ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).[8] Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God.

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its 593
general character from the close physical and psychical de- 828
pendence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse.

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very 593
strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother 577
possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love.

[8] Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

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593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is
[562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 152 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts
593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading
764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the
152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the
[533] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their
593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in
765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 765
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 568
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 577
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
599 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.
[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his
[558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com-
[471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ἱκανὸς as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is 593
carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any 593
discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is 861
difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young 858
children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in 593
later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes in- 867
creasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the 858
duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and [577]
prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct 593
authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the common experiences of early childhood. As children they [513]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [531]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification. They do not work (as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to [624] escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the 593
public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent 554
estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the pres- 578
tige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent.

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other 593
ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles.

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old [222]
boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister.

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one 593
of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, 858
of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the

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3. Sarakatsan Grandmother

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593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάριχο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the speciali-
578 zation of technical roles.[5] Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or
463 failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[5] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[554] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[336] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her
[572] chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[6]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

[6] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the 593
family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

593 885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593 562 462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually 593 562 exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community. 593 591

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after 593 597 867 [855]

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[62] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

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593 compromises her sexual honour. Secondly, there is the danger
578 of competitive differences between a father who has not yet retired and his adult but unmarried sons. Thirdly, the rivalry inherent in the relations of brothers is a continuing threat to the solidarity of the family. It grows in inverse proportion to the degree of authority which the father is able to exert, and to the extent that brothers are dependent on one another for co-operative assistance. In each of these instances, we have already reviewed particular sanctions and institutionalized arrangements which generally help to prevent altogether, or to keep within tolerable limits, these types of disruptive behaviour.
593 But in each of these instances, there is also the positive sanction
571 of the mutual identification of interests and the responsibility
578 of all members of the family for the actions of other members, attitudes which follow from a common opposition to all those persons who are not members of the family. And it is to the consideration of the solidarity of corporate family groups, which is a consequence of their mutual hostility, that we turn in the following pages.

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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association. 596 [421]

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakatsani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood, 596 826 [577] 596 826 828

[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

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596 826 828 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the [577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 551 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is [156] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except [553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is [885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing [739] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[654] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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corporate family, stand as equals in relation to the common 596
flock and the common property. Strictly speaking, the son does 421
not inherit property from his father; rather the father and the son both have claims on the corporate property which they exercise when they leave the group or when the group is dissolved. Through their dowries, the daughters also have parallel claims, and should a daughter remain unmarried she too will receive something, a half share, with which, like her parents, she passes into the family of her youngest brother. The partition of the corporate property and the single household does not come about so much as the result of individuals claiming individual rights, as through the redeployment of the resources of one corporate family group to endow and accommodate the needs of a number of new corporate families which, in part, are sprung from it. That this process of growth cannot be contained within the framework of a single corporation with continuity through time, is a consequence of the bilateral kinship system.

The authority of the head of the family group is limited in a 596
number of ways. In the early years, before the maturity of his children, the authority of the father is unquestioned, but in the administration of family affairs his position, even then, is that of trustee rather than master and owner. A father who squanders the wealth of his family through gambling or inattention to his duties is despised. If the community discovers that he [558]
punishes his wife and children too harshly, or without reason, he will lose prestige. In the later years of the family's development when the father holds his authority over adult sons and daughters, and *a fortiori* during the period when the elder brother presides over an extended family group, the head of the family increasingly exercises an authority which is based on a process of collective decision and unanimity. During these years, for instance, the family head does not buy or sell stock or other property without consulting his sons or brothers. Through discussion, in which everybody participates, a collective viewpoint about conduct and action emerges, and the family is prepared to continue a debate for many hours until unanimity is reached. As opinion begins to harden, the remaining dissenters give way out of loyalty, if not from conviction. So tightly drawn to one another in the mutual

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596 identification of their interests and affections are the members of the family that they cannot tolerate a permanent minority opinion. To dissent is a kind of treason. In a qualified sense, it may be said that authority over the affairs of the corporate family, in the later years of its existence, is corporately exercised. In practice, there are naturally many matters in which the head of the family through his experience in bargaining and negotiation has more expert judgement; and here the family will be guided by his recommendations. But, similarly, he in turn will take the advice of his sons or brothers when difficulties arise over the grazing and condition of the animals.

596 No outside person or group has the right to interfere in the
626 internal affairs of a family. The family has an unfettered jurisdiction over its own concerns. Public opinion exerts an immense moral pressure on a family, if the conduct of its members falls appreciably short of the ideals of family life; but it has no means of legitimately and forcibly restraining an unrepentant father
596 or brother. One day, together with a Sarakatsan friend, I was
861 passing the home of a man from whose courtyard we heard a
626 confusion of shouts and cries. Looking carefully over the high wall, we saw the father lashing his thirteen-year-old daughter with a leather belt; it seemed that the girl's only fault was that she was too frail to lift and secure some heavy sacks on to a waiting mule. My friend's fury was evident. Sarakatsani cannot tolerate any form of cruelty to children. Yet he insisted that he could not interfere with the father's action even if he were on the point of killing her. But, lifting a heavy stone, he tossed it over the wall. The man, realizing that somebody had been watching him, at once ceased his blows on the child.

596 Within this autonomous family group there is a certain equivalence of rights and obligations between the members. It must be said, however, that this abstraction and separation of rights and obligations only emerges somewhat artificially in our analysis. Because of their very diffuseness it would not normally occur to an individual to balance his rights and privileges against those of another member of the family. There is no conscious accountancy in this solidarity. In general terms everybody has the right to expect material, moral and affective support from the family, as well as assistance in the event of physical assault. We have already stressed that a person will never admit

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral 596
blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut 596
that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection 577
and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside 152
his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion 596
to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole 517
family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth 152
in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The [264]
centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this 596
protection and support. The most general of these obligations 597
is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

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Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account 596
fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is 577
directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than 596
justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family 577
is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it 627
go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in
some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the [126]
man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed [113]
from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

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596 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the
577 original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive
627 solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boun-
dary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven him there. 596

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance.

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of 1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by John Stratos.

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596 John Stratos. Accused of stealing the grass of the other group, a
577 young shepherd of the Achnoulas family insulted a brother of
627 John Stratos, who struck him with his crook. Both families heard the shouts and rushed to the aid of their kinsmen. In the scuffle that followed the old father of John Stratos was wounded by the knife of one of his own sons which had fallen to the ground and was then picked up by one of the Achnoulas brothers. He died from the wound. The fight was so confused, with six men grappling in a body, that the Stratos family never discovered which Achnoulas brother killed the old man. Nor did the police. After a lengthy inquiry, nobody was charged with the killing since much of the evidence appeared to suggest that it had been accidental. The Achnoulas family felt reasonably secure from direct attack because of the anonymity of the killer and nothing happened for nine months, until one day George Achnoulas, drunkenly quarrelling at a wedding, told an adversary to take care, hinting darkly that he was not afraid of spilling blood since it would not be the first time. The Stratos family, informed of this incident, necessarily accepted the evidence as sufficient, and an unmarried brother, Charalambos, waited in ambush for George and shot him dead as he walked along a path.

What we are faced with in these seeming evasions, or half evasions, of a duty which is declared to be sacred, is generally not any real weakness in the solidarity of the family of origin, but the conflict of roles between the duty of the brother or son on the one hand, and, on the other, the obligations of a father to his own family, or the right of a brother or son to marry and found his own elementary family at about the age of thirty. This conflict is, of course, related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the isolated corporate family which is associated with it. It places an inherent limit on vendetta. Clearly, a community fragmented into family commonwealths, where the individual's categorical rights and obligations are contained exclusively in this small group, where the help a man can claim from his collateral kin is severely limited, and where a family to exist in any real sense must have at least one adult male to support and lead it, is peculiarly ill contrived to prosecute blood vengeance.

It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae.* Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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596 577 627 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to 596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two 577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's 627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then 684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot [121] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[121] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [62]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[554] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even 596
where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer 577
is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if 627
an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of 558
years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual 614
this community is divided into the two opposite but complemen- 602
tary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking rela- 609
tions in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents 578
co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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Moreover, the produce of the
619 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[973] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στὴ λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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which through common membership can commit him to any 571
duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship 609
or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person 593
would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of 578
betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very 571
clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose 609
they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is 476
established high in the mountains above the village so that the 234
various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular mer- 578
chant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing 571
point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not 609
generally found among those families using the grazing lands 578
of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within 685
the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the pre- [554]
caution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring
and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the [521]
number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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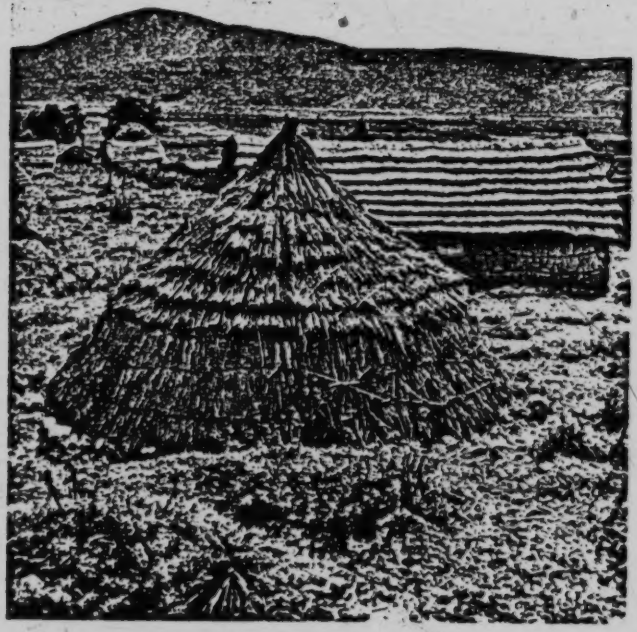

4. Stani in Winter

[facing p. 208]

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571 609 578 685 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft, which was less often attempted, partly because of the considerable danger and partly because it made even greater demands on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the [439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some [556] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield.
At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [122]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [423]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [425]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [688]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 609 578 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [578] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange [321] careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction. 571 609 221 233 578

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a 571 578 571 578 685

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its
571 source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
609 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
233 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
578 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
685 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
[554] the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[4] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

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596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] [4] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

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S 4 554 master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, S 186 physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

S 619 The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education S 619 or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakat- 582 sani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

S 619 The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense 621 of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless 221 a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[2] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

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Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

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[2] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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On the other hand, any attempt to organize systematic co-operation between the families of the community faces almost insuperable obstacles. An 'Association of Nomad Pastoralists' was formed in 1950 to represent the interests of the community to the government and other agencies. But enthusiasm waned rapidly as soon as it was realized that it could not miraculously improve the situation without the moral and financial support of its members over a number of years. The members are almost exclusively Sarakatsani but significantly the salaried executive secretary is a villager; first, because no shepherd possesses the legal expertise to negotiate with officials; secondly, because, although few shepherds trust the secretary, it would be even more distasteful to discuss one's problems with another Sarakatsanos. Here we touch on the difficulty which faces any attempt at community organization beyond the competence of the co-operating 'company'. It necessarily involves the acceptance of some executive authority. But for reasons of pride and distrust a Sarakatsanos cannot surrender any fraction of the sovereignty of his family.

As we have seen, this does not mean that the community has no sense of its solidarity and opposition to villagers. On the contrary, when the honour of the community is publicly attacked, unrelated men will stand together in its defence. To do nothing would be to betray their manhood in one another's eyes. This is a relationship of identification. But the conflict of practical interests between Sarakatsani and the villagers, the merchants, or the government, is a different form of threat. And although these problems are similar in kind for all, the problems of one family are generally separated in time and space from those of another. When a man's own interests are not immediately endangered, he is secretly pleased about the misfortunes of other men who are not kinsmen or affines. To face these difficulties as a united community would require co-operative relationships between non-kinsmen. Since these are not possible, we must now consider how, in fact, each family attempts to protect itself from the external threats to its security and prosperity.

2. SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

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In his struggle to protect his family and live his own way of life the Sarakatsanos must come to terms with various persons

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S G 648 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they S G 648 stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a G 829 man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 591 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these S 591 648 608 ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 792 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [778] [783]

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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608 generally not connected by kinship or marriage. It is therefore, despite the ritual sanction it contains, an inherently fragile bond which can only be sustained through the meticulous disciplining of attitudes and feelings on both sides. Two people formerly unrelated are drawn into a relationship of exacting ethical standards in which their mutual esteem and respect are profoundly committed.

[783] Just as the gift of God's grace which is implied in the rite of Baptism is a free gift, a gift without motive, and one which expects no reciprocity, so it is held that a godfather ought not to refuse any reasonable request of his godchild. In practice a godchild has little to do with his godfather, to whom, however, he must show a formal respect more punctilious than the respect he observes to his natural parents. While the ritual relation between the godfather and his godchild is more important than that between bridegroom and sponsor, the social relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent, persons of the same generation with common or complementary interests, is more important than that between the spiritual father and his godchild. Nevertheless, when a man seeks a favour from the godfather of his child, he asks for this help implicitly, or explicitly, in the name of the child; for it is understood that he has the right to make this request because of the ritual relation which exists between his child and its spiritual father. It follows that, in an important sense, the social relationship between the natural and the spiritual parent is dependent on the ritual link between godfather and godchild.

608 The wedding sponsor, in theory, has the right to baptize all
851 the children of the marriage. The Sarakatsanos, however, sel-
557 dom wastes these opportunities by allowing a single godfather to baptize all his sons. When the second son is born he tactfully asks the godfather of his first son if he would mind surrendering his right on this occasion because X has asked him if he might have that honour. He may add that as X is an important man he fears to give him offence. This, of course, is not true but the lie serves its purpose. In this way a man may establish almost as
608 many links of spiritual kinship as he has children. If the first
851 child is a girl, the sponsor baptizes her but normally he must also become the godfather of the first son when he is born. However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακορίζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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S G 608 557 Naturally, merchants and others are well aware of the motives behind the naïve manœuvres of the Sarakatsani. But, as we have already said, they also gain various advantages. They do not, except in the unusual case of a very rich or powerful individual, become lavish patrons. Few of them give away anything for nothing. But they become helpful rather than hostile, they will exert their influence for their spiritual kinsmen and in doing so they themselves win prestige. A shared system of values regulates their mutual behaviour in which friendship and trust replace hostility and suspicion.

3. VILLAGE FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

G 623 666 [622] In the villages authority rests in the hands of a council of five members. From its own number it elects a President and Vice-President while the choice of the council itself is the result of local elections which are held every four years. In these, S [641] [666] all adult villagers of both sexes, and those shepherd families who possess citizenship rights in the village, are entitled to vote.

G 665 666 623 For electoral purposes any person may form a party providing he can present to the electorate a card with the names of seven candidates. In practice village elections seldom produce more than two parties, those who support the President in power because they are his friends, and those who want a change because they are not his friends. These parties are essentially personal followings, not corporate associations, and there is not necessarily any direct alignment with the parties of national politics. The citizens vote by handing in the party card of their choice with four crosses against those of the seven candidates who are preferred. The party which polls the greater number of cards wins the election. The four candidates of the successful party who record the largest aggregates of personal votes become members of the council. The person amongst the candidates of the defeated party or parties who claims the largest number of personal votes is also elected to the council as the representative of the defeated minority's interests. The five members of the new G [622] council then proceed to elect two of their number as President [624] and Vice-President. These men hold office for two years, at the end of which period their authority may either be confirmed for the remaining two years of the council's term of office, or they may be replaced by the election of new officers.

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[3] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[3] The minimum charge is 4½*d.* a head.

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S G 648 651 S 233 426 large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council S G 648 S 662 G 622 661 enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

S G 423 648 S 233 G 622 661 It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

S G 648 S 233 685 G 622 661 625 The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

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S G 648 426 G 622 661 can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

S G 648 426 G 652 622 The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given G [647] away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

S G 648 651 486 G 622 Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally S [686] moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met G [661] when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

S G 648 G 622 661 A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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G 571 [574] of consideration that represents a recognition of his social personality. Persons who are equal in these respects must show some concern for each other's social sensibilities by avoiding public rudeness and by a careful and courteous exchange of greetings when they meet.

G 572 Friendship begins where one man accepts a favour (χάρη) from another. The person who gives the favour will assert that he expects no return; it would be insulting to suggest that his act of friendship had a motivation. It is, however, the very altruism of the act, whether this is simulated or not, which demands a counter favour. Default destroys the friendship and provokes accusations of ingratitude. Although liking and sympathy are alleged to be the premises on which friendship between village equals is based, it would be more true to say that villagers who are able to do each other reciprocal favours sometimes discover from this experience confidence in one another. From these beginnings there may grow a relationship of intimacy and warmth. But in essence friendship of this kind remains a contractual relation, a form of co-operation in which services of various kinds are exchanged and accounted.

G 572 571 The network of friendships of the President or of other influential villagers becomes in reality a system of patronage. Accountancy is then more difficult because the patron is able to do more material favours for his client than the latter is able to return. But although the character of the relationship is now, in effect, asymmetrical, patron and client, because they are interacting in the context of village community relations where all true villagers are in principle equals, they continue to treat one another as if they were equals in the situation of their friendship as well. Both patron and client claim publicly that the other 'is my friend'. The patron says that he helps his client simply because it pleases him to help those of his friends who are in difficulties. The client explains that he is the friend of the patron, not simply because he receives benefits from him, but because he is a good man. In short, their friendship exists within the field of village values where behaviour is evaluated against the ideals of independence and love of honour.

S 571 In the Sarakatsan community the situation is different. There is no co-operation between unrelated families and no established political authority in the shepherd community which

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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S G 648 665 666 G 622 after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

S G 648 S 662 571 After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

S G 648 572 571 557 G 622 But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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him a drink, he stands him a drink in return. Meeting him in the village square, the shepherd stops to talk for a few minutes about this and that. Were they not patron and client, a curt 'Good day' from each side would be the extent of their social intercourse. However, it is not a relationship of equals. The shepherd belongs not only to a different community, but to a qualitatively inferior one. While the President will say of a villager who is similarly his client that this man is his friend, he will not say this of a shepherd. If an explanation in his presence is necessary, he may say, 'George is a good lad, I help him', but behind his back he will simply say, 'He is my man'. Yet, although they are his social inferiors, the President gains prestige by being seen publicly with his shepherd clients. If he drinks with other villagers who are his supporters, this is no cause for comment. He merely keeps company with those who are his social equals and natural companions. When he drinks with four or five shepherds it draws attention to his possession of power, to his ability to hold men who do not waste their time drinking with ordinary villagers whom as a class of persons they detest and despise. The Sarakatsanos accepts his position of inferiority in the relationship because he must. He does not, as most villagers would, address the President by his Christian name; but he is not subservient in his manner. He speaks to him courteously as 'President'. When another person of importance comes to speak to the President, and it is clear that he is dismissed, he moves to another table, or with a 'Good health, President', to which the latter replies, he leaves the shop. These are the conventional terms on which these unequal friendships are founded. What is important to the Sarakatsanos in these situations is that other shepherds who do not possess this valued link should see and envy him.

In asymmetrical friendship relations, since it is assumed that the patron has more favours to offer than the client can return, or that reciprocal favours are so dissimilar in quality that accountancy is difficult, there is often greater stability than in friendships between equals, which are very frequently bedevilled by accusations of ingratitude. Yet, even here, there are many complaints, the patron asserting that the client should be more vocal in his gratitude, the client complaining that the patron does very little in relation to the client's worth and needs, and

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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patron-client relationship of some stability over time, and the range of favours which may be demanded is almost as extensive as that between spiritual kinsmen, but the atmosphere of calculation is more pronounced. Confidence which is ritually sanctioned in spiritual kinship is more easily destroyed in the relations of patron and client. Gifts given by a shepherd to the President generally have a specific object in view and each gift is effective for only a short period of time if, indeed, it is effective at all.

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The President is not the only man with power or influence in a village; the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, other villagers of wealth or reputation may have these qualities in varying degree. When the President is particularly severe towards them, the shepherds attempt, by the same methods we have just considered, to attach themselves to other persons in the village who are known to have influence on the council, or personally over the President himself.

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When the sheep of Theodoros were despatched by the President to the poorest area of grazing for the second year because of his active opposition during the elections, Theodoros did not appeal to the Nomarch against this injustice. He went instead to Vlachopoulos. Vlachopoulos is the Vice-President of the village, and the President's closest friend. He also owns the older of the two village coffee-shops which is the one more generally patronized by the Sarakatsani both for social gatherings and for the many small purchases which they make. After the bitter feelings aroused by the autumn elections there was a spontaneous boycott of the Vlachopoulos shop by the Sarakatsani and at the time when Theodoros approached him two or three weeks after the shepherds had returned to the summer pasture, only a few Sarakatsan men were to be seen drinking in the old shop. For a week Theodoros assiduously made small purchases in the shop. Finding Vlachopoulos alone one day, he took the next step by remarking that he was not a man to dwell on old scores and that he thought his return to the shop proved this point. It seemed, however, that the President was still governed by his rage and spite. This was surely unjust, and he asked Vlachopoulos if he would not intercede with the President on his behalf. Vlachopoulos agreed to do this. It is a fair assumption that he was especially pleased to see Theodoros who leads

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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S G 571 596 621 more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (συεργσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for S G [623] instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public G [622] servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

S 648 662 The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

G 647 [656] Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[6] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[6] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naiveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

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But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

S G 648 S 431 662 G 647 S G 648 G 625 S 662 [431] [687]

Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

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of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

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he attaches junior officials to his own will since they cannot move without his approval, and he enhances his prestige because he is seen to be indispensable. At the same time, he secures his power and nourishes his self-regard. But the convergence of so many cases awaiting decision upon a limited number of senior officials in Jannina and Athens who cannot personally know the detailed circumstances of a case except through the exiguous details set out on printed forms, creates interminable delays and inhibits the equitable administration of government laws and regulations. In the Epirus, where many villagers and shepherds live on the margin of bare subsistence, these limitations of administration might prove disastrous for many families, were they not able to put their affairs into the hands of a lawyer or some other patron. For if, in the example we have chosen, a man cannot graze his goats in the one area where he has the right to do this, he must sell the animals which provide him with his living. The lawyer is able to bring a case to the direct notice of a senior official, to frame it to the best advantage; and sometimes, if he has considerable influence, to gain concessions for his client which are not strictly within the relevant law's terms of reference.

The significance of the lawyer's position is his ability to face in two directions. Because of the prestige and status of a successful lawyer in Greek society he may be able in a provincial town to number amongst his friends, judges, army officers, doctors, the Nomarch, and other senior officials of the Government bureaucracy. With these men he sits and drinks at the tables of the town's more fashionable coffee-shops and in the lounge of the best hotel. As a member of this professional *élite* he is able to recommend the affairs of his clients to the attention of various friends who may be able to help. They give this help because of their friendship for the lawyer; they are relatively indifferent to the worth of the client and the justice of his case. In return, a lawyer is able during local and national elections to promise the political support of his clients. He also assists his friends by legal advice in their own affairs and in the affairs of their kinsmen many of whom, often, are themselves villagers.

The Sarakatsani because of their many political difficulties and disabilities are critical assessors of the personal abilities of different lawyers. The profession is over-crowded and there is a

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S G 648 S 662 G 693 661 wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S G 648 571 G 693 S [608] S [431] In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his pro- G [557] fessional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

S G 648 571 G 693 662 It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

G 646 662 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 647 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is G 441 439 the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which S [426] would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

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The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family. S 234 251 221

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one. G 441 439 472 S 234 439

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer. G [458] G [452]

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints. S [433]

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G 441 439 472 435 452 S 234 439 435 426 G [465] S 234 439 426 G 441 439 452 S [511] G 441 439 452

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses. Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the merchant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substantial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom entirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of increasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of binding himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By

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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[1] [see category 11b, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10.

In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again.

On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

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000 debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

G 441 439 477 Powerful cheese merchants have political as well as economic power. A shepherd who quarrels with 'X' is likely to meet with trouble in his dealings with Government authorities. Smaller merchants are also afraid of 'X'. It is said that some years ago a cheese station which was established by another merchant in an area lying within 'X''s sphere of influence was mysteriously burned down in the night and that the police showed no interest in making any investigations. In 1951, in a village of Thesprotia, another merchant by offering a slightly higher price succeeded in claiming the custom of three stanis which in the previous year had sold their milk to 'X', who already had a station in the neighbourhood. The latter showed no immediate hostility to his competitor. Indeed, the next winter he suggested that they should co-operate to manage one station since this would make for economies on both sides. The other man agreed and 'X' undertook to find a cheese-maker. It is claimed that this man, on 'X''s instructions, systematically allowed the cheeses to deteriorate by not treating them with sufficient salt. For 'X' the total destruction of these cheeses was an insignificant loss; for the smaller merchant it was a disaster. Whether or not these allegations are true, the important fact is that he is believed to be ready and able to deal with difficult shepherds and competing merchants in this uncompromising fashion.

S 439 571 G 441 439 571 In the hope of introducing some measure of restraint into the merchant's exercise of economic power over himself, and of diverting its use from his exploitation to his own protection, the shepherd tries to draw the merchant into a relationship of patronage. In most instances, however, the latter is only willing to adopt this role in a restricted sense. When clients come to consult a merchant in his office the social atmosphere is one of cordiality and equality. Glasses of 'ouzo' are not long in appearing. When differences arise in the discussion of business there are appeals to 'friendship' from both sides, and statements such as 'You cannot believe that I should wish to deceive you', are frequently made. But these attitudes may be the fiction rather than the reality of patronage. For patronage assumes a measure of protective concern over all the client's affairs. In most cases a merchant prefers to restrict his role of protector to certain

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specific contexts, that is to saving a shepherd from eviction from his pastures and from the need to sell his stock because of his indebtedness to others. If a merchant has a firm hold over a man through the nexus of debt he does not want to assume unnecessary obligations which may limit the range and flexibility of his economic operations. Cheese merchants who are sometimes forced unwillingly into becoming godfathers to Sarakatsan children do not always make very satisfactory spiritual kinsmen. On the other hand, in certain cases where an influential Sarakatsan family is clear, or nearly clear, of debt a merchant may be very willing to enter into the diffuse obligations of friendship if this will enable him to hold it to his custom. There is a difference between the relationships which a shepherd establishes with his lawyer and his cheese merchant. The lawyer gives advice and support to a client over the whole range of his affairs; the more complete his patronage, the more obligated the client and the greater the lawyer's power over him. The merchant's interests in the shepherd are more specifically economic; his economic success depends upon a certain flexibility in his commitments so that, for example, he may wish to make smaller advances and grant fewer long-term credits when interest rates are abnormally high. This seems to be an example of a general difference between political and economic power; the former has a particularist and affective quality, the latter is characterized by its relative generality and impersonality.

But the relation of merchant and shepherd can never be merely specific to the act of purchase or without some affective content as in simple market exchanges. The merchant carries a dead weight of debt; this he can only recover by a legal action which would deprive the shepherd of the animals on which depend the family's physical subsistence and its social prestige. Both sides realize that the existence of the debt, whatever may have been the motives which encouraged it, has meant the possibility of the family continuing to live honourably in their traditional way of life. By the mere fact of having done a good thing, even if without that purpose, the merchant is morally obliged not to undo it. It is a remarkable fact that since 1945 the merchant 'X' appears to have called in only one debt by recourse to the law.

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The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [571]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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G 648 647 571 As I have already said, from his side a Government official sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd or villager and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. Like the villager or shepherd he has the same primary and categorical obligation towards his own family and its status. He also owes a loyalty to his service and his colleagues; but this is shown by marking the distance between those who rule and those who are ruled, by the display of arrogance, not service.

G 647 642 [369] There are other, less personal, reasons for the distrust between the bureaucrat and the villager or shepherd. One half of Greece is a society of small village communities dependent on agriculture or pastoralism. To administer and physically control these many discrete communities, and the small towns which serve them, the central Government in Athens has erected a complex and costly bureaucratic organization which links, in the formal sense, the simple village community to the central body which governs and legislates for the nation. This is not a structure which has developed even in part from the villages themselves; it is an organization which has been imposed from above by the Government. Moreover, Greece is not, by European standards, G [651] a rich country. For the greater part of her national history taxation has been almost wholly absorbed in paying for the luxury of maintaining the panoply of a modern state with its full quota of Ministries and portfolios and in supporting substantial armed forces. Under these conditions, the State (τὸ S [629] κράτος) and its agencies must always appear to the villager or shepherd as a body from which he is excluded, something threatening and hostile, which takes away from the family and returns nothing. It stands, therefore, in opposition to the nation (τὸ ἔθνος), the community of Hellenism for which every Greek feels a deep and natural devotion.

S G 571 662 Each family in a village, or in a shepherd community, therefore attempts to establish an exclusive and particular relationship with persons in power. As we have seen, decision or initiative is seldom possible at the lower levels of the Government service because of the reluctance of an official to delegate power. To reach that level at which his affairs can be effectively dealt with, he tries to discover a patron, generally a lawyer, who in return for a man's political allegiance, places his case before

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a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

S G 571 662 G [642]

In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

S G 571

The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

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effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571

We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621

Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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commerce. It provides the merchant with an assured source for his raw material and the shopkeeper with a stable clientele. It gives the shepherd vicarious access to the metropolitan market and to the credit facilities of the national banking system. Without these facilities it is fair to say that he could not continue to lead his traditional way of life.

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[p.263]

X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups. 594 619

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system 594 619 571 594 619 578 154

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960. 577 171 113

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.

578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but [482] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions
579 between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive
578 behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[8] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [8] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the 594
living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of 558
some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first [582]
lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent 594
the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its 554
number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of 571
ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [ie. the "head of a "stani" or "company" --Analyst]

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594 prevent any of their number from moving in an upward
554 direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the
571 category of those who are last, but the absence of any great
[558] differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

577 The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

577 Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to
571 the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

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already been examined: homicide, the drawing of blood, verbal insult, seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. 577 571

Honour, then, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its equality (at least) of status is recognized when others take care not to give offence in these particular ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, they make it clear that they consider its social existence of no account. In that case, whether the violation is accidental or not, the outraged family must answer at once, and with violence, if its reputation is to survive. [627]

But honour is not only to be considered in terms of the various external situations where it may be lost. The intrinsic principles of honour refer to two sex-linked qualities that distinguish the ideal moral characters of men and women: these are the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of women. With the exception only of persons of the lowest lineage, all Sarakatsani are assumed to possess these qualities 'by nature', although in the fallen condition of this world a reputation for manliness or shame is easily lost. In this sense it is not difficult for a man to move in a direction opposite to the true inclinations of his nature. One aspect of honour, then, is a struggle of self-discipline over cowardice and sensuality, flaws of animal nature that continually threaten to limit the natural nobility of man. 577

In general, the qualities of manliness are obvious and familiar. 'To be a man' the individual must show himself to be courageous and fearless. He must be strong in body and spirit. But there is also a nuance of meaning peculiar to a community where values are agonistic and social reputation is frequently at risk. In these circumstances a man must have boundless self-confidence in his own powers. Where few men owe him more than conditional support, and the great majority none at all, he must rely on himself. Manliness implies not only the condition of being courageous but the ability of a man to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him. For in this complex of values results count for almost everything and intentions for very little.

The physical characteristics of manliness are important. A man must be βαρβᾶτος, that is, well endowed with testicles [P31] and the strength that is drawn from them.

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβᾶτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 562

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577 archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred
793 to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal
567 attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different
[996] exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes
562 of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters
577 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the
578 Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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Even in the most favourable circumstances loss of honour is 577
unlikely to be entirely remedied within the living memory of 558
those who know of the affair. A man whose family has lost its honour cannot in any real sense be said to possess prestige at all. People say of a man who has allowed his father's slayer to remain undisturbed in the same neighbourhood, 'We don't even say "good morning" to him'. In fact this is not true. People do greet him, but formally and without enthusiasm. He is occasionally seen in the coffee-shop, but he sits in a corner and little attention is paid to him. He is tolerated but his prestige is negative. Loss of honour does not mean direct social ostracism. The sanction is more subtle; it implies the withdrawal of full recognition or response.

Although honour is an essential prerequisite of prestige it 577
is not itself entirely independent of it. Families which on quite 554
different grounds, such as poverty, have no prestige and are 735
classed generally as 'lost' families (χαμένες οἰκογένειες), are denied the imputation of honour even though no positive accusation of dishonour can be pointed against them. Quite small incidents, which are not in themselves exactly questions of honour, are seized upon by the community to show prospectively that such a family, if it were faced by the duty of defending its honour, would be found wanting. The family of Costas Pistiolis is very poor. In the Sarakatsan view there must always be something morally wrong with a very poor man, and given their system of values this is not difficult to understand. A poor man is dependent on others for employment, or favours, if his family is to survive. He is not in a position to insist upon an equality in honour which, in any case, the community will not allow him. One day I saw a youth pelting the little son of Costas with pieces of dung in his father's presence. Costas, however, could do nothing since the youth's father was an influential member of the co-operating group which only tolerated with difficulty the presence of the Pistiolis family among its number. Another witness of the little scene swore and told me that you could copulate with this man's daughter and he would stand by and hold your coat.

Any attack made on the family's honour demands an im- 577
mediate response. Failure to respond fatally damages the 554
prestige of the outraged group and all its members. Without 558

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements.* A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
599 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[979] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάπυδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 [231] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης καὶ παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature. 884 577 554

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison. 156 884

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιᾶτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way. 884 156 554 577

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884 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in
156 the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple
577 singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from
831 guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 It is during these years of early manhood that the community
554 begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess
884 as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to
554 a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to
577 say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds
578 seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (κορόϊδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρστ'.

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156 884 577 761 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 577 885 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family. Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possess. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 885 577 425 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company', has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures, he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 885 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
577 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
577 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

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the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as 885
that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger 156
before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the 577
pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if,
after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provo-
cation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, [571]
and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are
isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year,
contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan
communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding 156
or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink 885
continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. 554
To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and 577
drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a
proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's
social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these
occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his
unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability
to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings
he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσικος), is
the verdict passed on this wretched man.

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, 885
others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of 554
family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling 464
group of a co-operative association of families, carries the 465
greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers
on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it
is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who
is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos,
or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social
reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live
from his flock without the money supplement of the wage,
or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he
might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Custom-
arily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance
being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six
months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage
shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and
the sense of being a kept man.

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The [794] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect [286] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested [584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these
[784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[794] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
577 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes 626
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

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577 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must
835 assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are
576 not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential.
[828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expres-
626 sion of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the
577 negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honour-
829 able man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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his own motives spills over into an incidental concern for others. Such a man, it is said, will resist the approaches of a woman even where she clearly wishes to be seduced, and where there is no danger of discovery. He never uses lies or deceit to trick another man, or takes advantage of a situation to make another look foolish. A Sarakatsanos when defending his conduct will often say, 'I am a man who loves honour'. But others will not accept this estimate of self. Φιλότιμος is an epithet never attributed by one Sarakatsanos to another unrelated shepherd, because they believe that the responsibilities which each individual owes to the family group absolutely preclude his acting in this manner. On the other hand, it is not infrequently used to characterize a patron whose protection is effective; for here interests are complementary, not opposed, and in the particular context of the patron-client relationship it is possible for a man of power to appear to be acting in this way towards his client. And, in a condescending sense, it is possible for a patron to admit the same quality in his client.

* * *

Three concepts, 'honour' (τιμή), 'honourable' (τίμιος), and 'loving honour' (φιλότιμος), have now been considered in their relation to the community's evaluation of a man's conduct and its implicit recognition of his prestige. Although τίμιος and φιλότιμος indicate, in different degrees, some concern about other men, all three are essentially self-regarding terms. In each case it is a question of a man attempting to realize a particular ideal pattern of conduct. What interests him is the success of this quest, not the effect of his actions on others.

The quality of being honourable has this in common with honour, that most men are assumed to have it. It is not something which must be competed for, but something which must not be lost. Although there is certainly the need constantly to re-achieve standards of conduct, the emphasis is on the fact that most Sarakatsani have honour, and are honourable, but that individuals, to a greater or less degree, may stray from the path of normative virtue and lose their prestige.

Both the concepts of honour and of the honourable man

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
591 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other 577
factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that 554
have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal 577
equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The 554
Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength 596
of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride [842]
of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the 554
father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be 577
killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a 596
girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

59
554 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its
556 flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[8]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[8] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

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581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, [593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of [589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to
157 feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

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554 [585] For pride, again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 577 554 The elements of prestige have been divided into two categories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 558 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[1] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[1] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωϊσμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
[626] of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
[612] that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if he did nothing.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[8] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[8] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

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156 it leads, very often, to a greater concern with appearances than reality. Or, rather, appearances become reality. In the appearance of being a pallikari, he becomes a pallikari. There is often a kind of unconscious cheating. A man boasts and asserts himself the more when there is little fear that he may be called on to prove himself. And knives are pulled with greater bravado when it is certain that others are present to prevent their use.

152 If self-regard is the need to achieve an identity with the image
156 of an ideal self, shame is the emotion experienced by an
577 individual when he clearly fails to do so. As in the case of self-regard, although a man may feel shame for short-comings or sufferings that remain secret, it involves at all times some idea of comparison with the achievements of others, and it is all the more acute when a man's inadequacy is publicly exposed. A man may feel shame not only for his own short-comings, but also for those of other persons with whom he is closely identified in any situation. And it may also be a sentiment imputed by others when they make critical comments on a man's behaviour or condition. They may say that his conduct in a particular situation is a matter for shame, that is, if he were an honourable man, his sense of shame would have prevented him from acting in the way that he did.

Like self-regard, shame is a sanction for all those elements that are relevant to the prestige of a family, or an individual. Thus shame relates not only to conduct which is morally bad, but also to any kind of conduct which is only conventionally deviant. And anything which leads to, or is the basis of, low prestige is a matter for shame. Whatever may be the underlying psychological character of shame, its cultural definition amongst the Sarakatsani is the sense or fear of failure. The failure exists to the extent that a man does not possess some attribute required by the image of his ideal self. When a man acts disgracefully he hurts himself. When he is poor or weak, by suffering this condition he condemns himself. And the sense of shame, an essentially internal sanction of action, is related to the external threat of social abandonment, the fear that the community will judge him to be 'lost' (χαμένος).

A number of examples illustrate the relation between shame and failure. When Nasios attempted to seduce a

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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156 women do not go
157 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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The laughter of other people is invited in all situations where a man, or a group, has failed. 'The world laughs' (ὁ κόσμος γελάει) at a man when he fails to defend his honour; for instance, when he does not reply to an affront. Equally, it laughs at him when he makes some slip in conventional behaviour, or when he is made to look ridiculous. It laughs at him if he does not adequately fulfil his social role. Conversely, the need to conform to social morality and etiquette is often supported by the statement that, if a man does not act in a particular way, 'the world will laugh at him'. To be ridiculous (γελοῖος) is to lack the recognition essential for social reputation. 156 626

The ridicule or laughter which a man suffers, or imagines he is suffering, is seldom crudely inflicted to his face. The sanction is more subtle. But he is not slow to sense that he is being ridiculed. A man who is insensitive to the attitudes of others (and among the Sarakatsani such men are rare) will speedily be informed of the situation through some kinsman who, because of their association, is anxious that the ridiculed man should reassert his position, if that is possible, or, in a case of moral delinquency, should mend his ways.

There are, however, certain situations where open ridicule may occur. A man of very low prestige who is 'lost' may sometimes be ridiculed to his face. On the rare occasions when Costas Pistiolis is in any social gathering he is invariably asked to sing, since this ability is one of the many social graces he does not possess. Everybody laughs. Mild as such mockery may seem, no honourable member of this community would accept it passively. Open ridicule may also happen at weddings when men lose their sense of caution. At one wedding a guest who was addled and aggressive from his drinking called for more ouzo. A bottle was brought to him. He poured a glass and drank it, only to discover it was water. A roar of laughter went up, a pointed comment on the weakness of a man unable to drink and retain a measure of self-control. At once his knife was out, but it was quickly wrenched from his hand and the man was thrown bodily from the arbour. 626

Although the community is dispersed, news travels with rapidity. Any interesting event is widely known throughout the community within two or three days. Weddings and festivals are centres of news exchange, but heads of families, and some 203 626

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203 older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and
626 shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas
[485] Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of
[183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.
626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more
[683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and
533 circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

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The songs are not, in fact, particularly daring or insulting 626
in themselves: therein, perhaps, lies their effect. Of Nasios 533
Karapheris the woman chaser it is sung, 'Up at Kouphos where they used to grow corn, Nasios is making a place to lie down. Hidden away in the long grasses, he makes secret eyes. Mitsos draws out his knife to kill Nasios Karapheris.'

A song may be composed about a man who, although he has not erred morally, has been made to look ridiculous. For this, too, is failure. Theodoros Kallis is a physically strong man with a bullying character. He is wealthy and many people fear his violent nature. They were not sorry, therefore, when he suffered the following misfortune.

'On the twenty-first of January went Theodoros, the poor devil, to see his little mother-in-law. But when he arose in the morning, "Oh dear oh dear, they have cut the tail of my horse, dear mother-in-law!" Then cursed the mother-in-law, "May two unmarried boys never live to set up their wedding standards!"'

A man's failure in any respect may also be prolonged in the 626
community's memory by giving him a nickname (παρατσούκλι). 551
Flattering nicknames are sometimes given to members of the leading families. Costas Katsanos in his younger days was known as 'the flyer' (φεύγας) because of his great speed of movement up or down hill. But more often nicknames ridicule a man. Thus a man who was caught in the act of stealing maize from a villager's garden, was named καλαμπόκιος, an adjective fabricated from the Greek word for this grain. The name was not a comment on the morality of theft but the indignity of discovery and failure.

I have said enough to indicate how public opinion function- 626
ing through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. Gossip and its outcome, ridicule, are in a certain manner the external sanctions which support the internal sanctions of individual action, self-regard and the sense of shame. The subtlety of gossip and ridicule as sanctions is that, since they do not generally operate in his presence, they offer a man no excuse for violent response. He may respond to the insult of an individual, but not to the laughter of the community which he senses, but seldom hears.

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7. A SYSTEM OF VALUES

571 Sarakatsan society offers men only three important corporate
577 memberships: in the family, the local community, and the nation. Little conflict arises between the obligations created by these different commitments. The interests of the family are normally contained within the purposes of the community when it faces other communities, those of the community are contained within the aims of the nation opposed to the rest of the world. In war, the actions of a soldier reflect simultaneously on the honour of his family, his community, and his nation. And in each instance the honour and interests of the individual and of the group are mutually implicated.

Honour refers to an exclusive identification. The honour of a group is opposed to the honour of another if only for the reason that there is an implicit comparison between different honours in reference to a pattern of ideal attributes. But honour also reflects on the correct status relations between individuals or groups. When two groups are in communication the behaviour of the persons representing them implies, on either side, a certain evaluation of the other group. If a man suffers treatment that is less than his due, his honour, and the honour of the group he represents, are diminished. But in the experience of the Sarakatsani the interests and prestige of families, communities, and nations are inevitably in collision, and this must lead men to exploit others where they can. Thus relations between different groups always carry the threat of the depreciation of the honour of one for the benefit of the other. Although relations between families, communities, and nations refer, ideally, to an equality in honour, yet at each level those who represent these groups must struggle with all their resources of courage and self-discipline to maintain these ideal status relations. These struggles are intense. And in every significant context of action the world is necessarily divided with dramatic definition into own people and strangers, friends and enemies. Consequently relationship radically affects the forms of approved behaviour. It is a virtue generally
[609] to cheat, deceive, and lie to non-kinsmen, but the same conduct towards kinsmen would be shameful and, often, sinful as well. The values of honour and prestige are exclusive and

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particularist. They have a moral content of their own but they cannot be referred to any universal moral principle.

For the Sarakatsani, family honour is the chief concern. Indeed, the honour of community or nation is, in their view, a projection of the concept of family honour. This honour is shared in two senses; intensively, by those whose reputation is identified by their membership in the same family; extensively, by the community of families sharing in common a system of values by which they judge one another's position and performance. Honour depends not upon the consciences of the individuals in a family whose reputation is under scrutiny, but on the concessions and reluctant approval of other families. Most of these are unrelated and hostile. Since the threat of denigration is continuous, it must be balanced by the repeated exhibition of those qualities that support honour and prestige: self-assertive courage in men, modest virtue in women. In the one case by social convention, in the other by its negative character, the presence of these qualities is more often revealed by attitudes and appearances than substantive proof. There is an emphasis on opinions and appearances, not facts. The consequences of action rather than the intentions behind it are important. This does not mean that private shame for undiscovered failure does not exist. But, inevitably, ideas about individual moral responsibility are blurred, and undiscovered shame is not as morally serious as public disgrace.

Reputation is impossible without strength. Poverty is a mark of failure, not a virtue. Strength in sheep and in men encourages others to respect a family's honour, it attracts dependent kinsmen whose support further extends influence and prestige. Honour and strength are linked. If a family is without sons the call of honour may find a man in the dilemma that if honour is lost the moral existence of the family collapses, or if honour is vindicated his family becomes a leaderless group of women and children dependent on the generosity of kinsmen, a condition which must eventually affect prestige and, perhaps, honour as well. Honour, and the obligation to die for it, is the ideal value, but the sacrifice necessarily weakens the family. Honour remains integral, but becomes more vulnerable. A family needs at least one man in the role of unmarried brother whose unreflecting courage guards its

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
157 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [p31]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. What- 59
ever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος), morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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577 confrontations are reconciled through the acceptance of
578 competition for prestige as the end of individual and family purpose. For it turns men's minds from thoughts of the physical destruction of their enemies to the alternative of their social humiliation, a form of opposition more compatible with the
156 vulnerable quality of the shepherd's life. At the same time these
577 particular values, if they deny the practicability of universal moral principles and individual justice, present an image of man that is in some ways heroic and not ignoble. Men must be brave and women virtuous to achieve ideal, one might say mythical, forms of acting and being. They are encouraged in the need to discipline their weaknesses by the severity of their mutual criticism; roles are few, and values unambiguous in a common field of experience. But judgements concern the effectiveness of the total social personality, an amalgam of virtues, skills, and material attributes; and not abstract qualities of moral excellence.

571 In competitive institutions, although feelings of hostility
577 may remain unabated, opposition becomes a form of mutual dependence; the more men are opposed in this way, the more they have need of one another. The values of prestige recommend the intense consideration of own interests and honour, accentuating always the exclusiveness and separation of one family from another. Yet they also impose the condition that prestige depends on the attentions and opinions of others. They separate; and, at the same time, they create a necessary and close interdependence in the common membership of a community in honour.

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XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices 121
of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex 771
of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious 577
beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the 794
Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil- [448]
lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so 796
with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he 794
ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as 779
the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of 776
men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are [212]
able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

But in His concern for the beings He has created God, also, 776
judges and punishes. He is a just God in the sense that no evil- 784
doer ever escapes His judgement, yet the form this punishment assumes frequently appears to men to be capricious and unpredictable. Sometimes vengeance is not immediate but falls on the children of a guilty person. Very often misfortune seems utterly undeserved by the sufferer himself and must be simply ascribed to the will of God which passes his understanding; even other men, who seldom find it difficult to refer a misfortune suffered by another to the sin committed, will sometimes agree that the measure of God's punishment is hard, particularly when the life of a small child is taken. God the 776
Father, then, appears to the Sarakatsani under two aspects; 781
first as He who provides and cares, He who is merciful, approachable and near at hand; but secondly as the judge and avenger, distant and without pity. Under the second aspect there is a sense of ambivalence, even resentment, in the attitude to God, not unlike the tension and strain that enters the relations of a Sarakatsanos with his earthly father. He cannot

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796 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resis-
781 tance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ένα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ Ἀδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collabora-
[577] tor in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 The second category of personal sins relates to family life,
829 and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes
59 and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of
783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a com- 783
munity where masculine values are paramount, it has led 577
the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women 562
must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt.

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from 783
within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. 152
Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve 156
identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic [754] hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral [577] sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form.

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not 783
unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of 828
guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with

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the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

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Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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778 [971] The object of the Devil, then, is the moral corruption of men, or where this is not possible, their physical destruction. 'The Devil has many feet', the Sarakatsani say, that is he works out his evil in many ways, assuming whatever physical appearance is suitable for his purpose. His power is immense, and particularly in the wilderness of the mountains and forests outside the circle of men's homes protected by the grace of God; but [825] even these he sometimes enters. In keeping with his degenerate nature, he appears frequently in the form of an animal, particularly as a black dog, donkey or hare. Sometimes he is half man, half animal, with the horned head of a goat or wild pig. When he assumes human form it is generally as an old man with a face black 'like an Arab's', and lame. In one instance he appeared as an Orthodox priest in red robes. Often he pretends to be a Sarakatsanos.

Some manifestations of the Devil are plural and of either sex. Bands of male demons (σαταναραίοι) with their leader, the black-faced limping Devil, sometimes surround and torment a lonely shepherd. The female demons are referred to as the 'ladies who bring good luck' (οἱ καλότυχες), a propitiatory euphemism which indicates their power. Like their masculine counterparts, these ladies prefer the mountain tops and forests or a lonely meadow in the plain. Very often they join the male demons in an orgiastic feast, the ladies of good luck wearing long white dresses, the men in kilts of the same colour. On a night when there is wind one often hears the Devil's music in the high crags. Otherwise, when they are not feasting or provoking humans, they pass their time eternally spinning and very occasionally one comes across a spindle-weight[1] which one of them has dropped.

Devils come from and disappear into the air which is thickly populated with spirits both good and evil, although in the imagination of the Sarakatsani the evil forms predominate. One of the tasks of Christ on earth was to cleanse the air of evil spirits so that the souls of men could find a way upwards to God. High winds, storms, whirlwinds are manifestations of demonic power. Evil spirits of the air (τὰ ἀεριά) may attack men and animals invisibly or without taking a more definitive

[1] On the sites of prehistoric settlements.

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[1]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [231]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountainside. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
[788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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man to maintain it. God and the Devil fight a pitiless and 776
continuing battle for the souls of men in which the three 771
elements are the grace of God, the cunning and subtlety of the Devil, and the will of man.

The Sarakatsani consider man's nature to be a trichotomy 828
of spirit (πνεῦμα), soul (ψυχή) and body (κορμί, σῶμα). Although 774
the views of different informants are not always clear about 771
these conceptions (for instance some people see no difference between spirit and soul) nevertheless certain simple assumptions appear to be generally accepted. Spirit and soul together form a union with the body, yet between the first two elements and the last there is a degree of tension. The body is a product of material and sexual generation and is only redeemed when it is informed by a nobility of spirit and soul. Conversely, when the spirit and soul are dependent on the values and passions of the body, honour is lost and communion with God is interrupted. Spirit refers to the intellect plus the conscience (συνείδηση). Its natural inclination is to prompt a man's will (θέληση) to lead his soul upwards to God. It is associated in a man's mind with the [776]
Holy Spirit (Ἅγιο Πνεῦμα) whose nature is imperfectly understood as some divine energy. Evil befalls where for one reason or another the power of a man's spirit is not guiding his actions. Of a Sarakatsanos who shot his brother accidentally while cleaning a pistol it was said that 'his spirit was not concentrated'. And it was added, 'the Devil pulled the trigger'. The soul is the divine element in the individual human personality. Perhaps spirit and soul are the active and substantive aspects of the same thing. Both tend in an upward direction, but if the individual as a total personality does not incline his will towards God they become corrupted by their union with merely material things; and this is the end sought by the Devil.

It may be added that where a high value is given to the 828
related notions of honour, strength, and manliness, the body 771
cannot be considered as evil in itself,[a] but only under the aspect of its subjection to sensual passion. Man, then, who is by nature noble, normally moves towards a closer communion with God but is held back partly by the sinful condition of the world

[a] In this connexion it is interesting to note that the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece.

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[835] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the 776
knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the 783
man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes [829]
of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as the physical and political environment is concerned, they are able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of 775
the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and 776
women which return from the grave in a hideous distended form often to terrify members of their own family. They are persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide, drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first, the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them, form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil, remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed, in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of 754
the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it 776
implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, 783
and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility, nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

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754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδὶ νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched, 755
relief is generally found in a procedure which first identifies the possessor of the evil eye and then counteracts its influence. A bowl of water is taken and a hair of the bewitched person (or a strand of the sheep's fleece) is placed under the bowl. Small pieces of wood carbon are taken from the fire and after the surface of the water has been crossed three times the first fragment about the size of a small finger nail is dropped into the water. The operator, who is almost always a woman, puts [756]
to the piece of carbon the name of a person she may suspect. If the carbon floats the person in question is not guilty, if it sinks one evil eye at least is known. If more than one eye is suspected the process is continued. When the operator is satisfied that the worst has been uncovered, the sick or otherwise afflicted person is crossed with the water in the bowl forty times on the brow, the hands, the feet and the afflicted part if pain or other symptoms are localized. Finally, the patient drinks a little of the water from the bowl.

In putting names to the pieces of carbon the operator is guided by various considerations. Who, to her knowledge, has recently seen the afflicted person or animal? And, of these, who is generally noted for an envious nature, or has a reputation for unconscious bewitching, or is simply disliked by herself and her family? If none of these proves to be guilty, other names chosen at random are put to the carbon. But this rarely happens. From observations on five different occasions and a certain amount of personal experiment it appears that about one fragment of carbon in every five sinks. Therefore the guilty person almost invariably is among those whom the operator considers to be likely possessors of the evil eye. And this confirms the validity of the procedure.

Most people are probably found to be guilty of unconscious 754
bewitching at some time in their lives. If the victim is a relation, [755]
the bewitcher will generally co-operate to counteract the influence of his eye by giving a hair which is added to the draught administered to the patient. If the sufferer is unrelated, he will probably not learn of the fact, certainly not in a direct manner. Certain persons are generally believed by the community to have a powerful evil eye which they exercise from feelings of conscious envy. These persons may be of either sex and generally come from poor families of low prestige whose

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people.
[292] They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any
596 person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye
754 is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention.

152 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige
554 which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements,
579 honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity. 777 781 [282]

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη). 777 794 778 788

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign 788 [264]

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788 expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any
[778] other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault
[789] of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion
776 with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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776 about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a
782 merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are
776 very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

776 If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint
782 (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it
778 before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

776 A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often
782 very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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than other Saints. Makryiannis, a hero of the Revolution, tells 776
in his memoirs how, being very poor, he entered the chapel of 782
his patron Saint to offer a silver candlestick if only he might be granted a set of fine clothes and pistols. Sarakatsani behave similarly. Without the least embarrassment the approach is one of *do ut des*. The relations between Saint and worshipper [771]
resemble somewhat those of patron and client. But although it is easy to see how the Sarakatsanos projects to some degree the experience of his social relations into his religious life, it is also true that the latter transcends the former. You may bribe a lawyer to act dishonestly but you cannot do this to a Saint. He will not aid in wickedness nor where the suppliant, however great the gift he bears, approaches without a contrite heart. On this point all insist.

Man acquires help and protection not only through personal petitions to the divine Beings in the spiritual hierarchy, although this is the mode of communion which is sought in all critical matters. It is thought that by the grace of God divine 778
power enters and issues from a number of material objects. Contact with or possession of these sacred objects and substances are believed to be defences against attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men and general misfortune. The power immanent in the Word of God is released when the priest reads a passage over an afflicted person or when a worshipper kisses the Book. The incense breathed in church, the possession of a candle which burned on the representation of Christ's tomb at Easter, the sign of the cross on a sick man's forehead when made with oil from a lamp which has burned before an icon, all these have 'power'. Blessed water brought from church at the feast of Epiphany is sprinkled over the sheep. Salt, incense, box-wood when these have been blessed and 'read over' by the priest during the service on the Thursday of Holy Week, are kept throughout the next year—loci of divine strength. *Antidoron*, blessed bread, which is the remainder of the offered loaf after the seal has been cut from it for the communion cup, is similarly conserved. However, these materials are not simply charms. Their efficiency, as with all the manifestations of divine aid, depends on repentance and a 'good heart'.

God is in communion with men not only spiritually through 000

787 God is in communion with men not only spiritually through grace but intelligently through messages, generally warnings of physical danger which may be avoided and premonitions of misfortune or death which may not. Many men claim that just before they escaped some disaster a Saint appeared to warn them of its approach. Dreams, divination of a sheep's shoulder blade, the behaviour of various animals and birds, are all interpreted as messages from God.

771/782 In all these modes of communion a man is concerned fundamentally with establishing a relationship with God or His spiritual subordinates in order to obtain help and protection in the many difficulties which his family faces. If he is able, he must raise himself some of the way towards God; for if he succeeds in at least displaying his will in this direction there is the hope that the power of God will descend to him. The means of a poor shepherd to do this, immersed as he is in his material troubles, are slight. He may achieve a small offering and a day's fast and sexual continence before presenting an important petition to a Saint. Always he must represent to himself that he repents his sins: and he must have a 'good heart'. A 'good heart' is the will to strain towards closer fellowship with God. In this context, however, repentance and a good heart imply only weakly and indirectly the idea of fellowship with other men. As in social systems of patronage, so in their everyday religious life each family strives to achieve a particular and exclusive relationship with subordinate spiritual beings and through them to draw down to their aid more of the divine power than other families.

771/776 But the grace of God, the favour of God, comes to men only through the sacrifice of Christ. It will not have escaped notice how little His name has appeared in this brief review of cult. [782] Sarakatsani, at least, seem to direct few prayers to Him. In their religious belief God has two hypostases or persons, Father and Saviour. When they refer to God, Θεός, they normally mean the Creator, Father, Protector, and Punisher of men, present everywhere yet separated from them morally by an immense distance. Christ is the Saint, Ἄης, or the Master, ὁ Ἀφέντης,[8] that is God in the person of a man like themselves, who sacrificed Himself that other men might overcome the

[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'.

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separating barrier of sin which was the original work of the Devil and Adam. The first of these terms reflects the sanctity of Christ, the second His concern for the well-being of men; both refer to His life under the limitations of the human condition. In their own experience the Sarakatsani see the reflection of the sufferings of Christ. From the moment of His birth He was persecuted and humiliated, yet He did not lose dignity or nobility. Nor in similar circumstances, the Sarakatsani believe, do they. 'Christ is our brother', they sometimes say. He made the first shepherd's flute (φλογέρα). He rounded up the wild goats, beasts of the Devil, and tamed them by placing His seal on the joints of their forelegs. He stands always by their side. They have only to think of Him and make the sign that recalls His sacrifice. Similarly, they believe that the Sarakatsani have always been the followers, worshippers, brothers of Christ. When the gipsy forged the five nails of the crucifixion for the Jews, it was the Sarakatsanos who stole one and drove it up the offending blacksmith's behind.

Christ is the key figure in Sarakatsan religious belief, and the events of the 'Great week' of Easter are the transcendent experiences of religious life. These I shall not attempt to describe in detail, but something must be said of the dramatic atmosphere which makes this complex of rites and customs quite unlike any others in the religious calendar. Normally villagers are exceedingly casual in church, and even the Sarakatsani, who are more devout in the outward respect they show to sacred objects, are quite pragmatic in their attitude and remarks about religious affairs even when they are anxiously presenting an important petition. In contrast, the dramatic intensity of emotion which seizes the community both in church and outside during this week makes an immediate impression on the observer. There is an air both of anxiety and anticipation. The historical events which the liturgy commemorates on the different days of the week are not treated as such. They are re-lived, people participate in them. They know what will happen, He will rise again; yet they are anxious. The women discuss the events in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times. As the drama proceeds the women in chorus make their simple and troubled comments, 'They have seized Him', 'He is being judged',

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796 781 'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is [751] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back 796 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is 769 for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the [252] souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

796 781 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[6] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[6] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξβ'.

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil. 771 976 996

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of 831 577 884 [791]

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577 991 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 But men are also divided from God and from one another 783 by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of 776 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother- 574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less 771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed 781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter 796 is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [829] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead. 771 776

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin. 783 788 771

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, κάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[235] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 771 783 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 [1.56]

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsglingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
CONSTANTINE TANGAS		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tsglingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Ways shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zyoos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				310	
3.													
Gregory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

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5.												
‡ Const. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	with protected rights
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Throcharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	separately in the summer
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myrsounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	land now leased to them by the villagers after
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	a compulsory Government order. Raftis
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	grazes separately in the summer
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	land leased by villagers
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tyelegas or Leader of the raid	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

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13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Chiarisis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Detsikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

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APPENDIX II

311 LAND UTILIZATION IN THE ZAGORI EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES

	%
Cultivated areas (including arable land and orchards)	2·16
Previously cultivated land, now barren	3·13
Open pasture land	25·74
Forest or bush pasture	26·05
Forests	36·65
Roads, ditches, village sites, barren land, etc.	6·27
Total	100·00

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, 1956–7

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APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954–5

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This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

[804]
[436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	3,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

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Income	*Drachmas*
511 596 434 190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

[424] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

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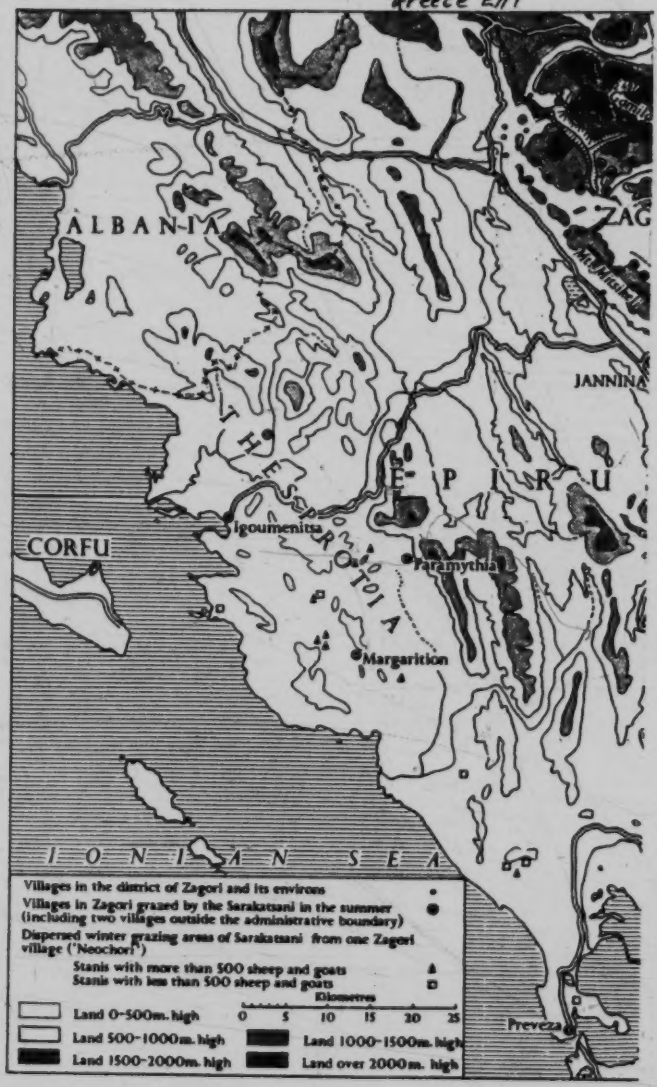

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

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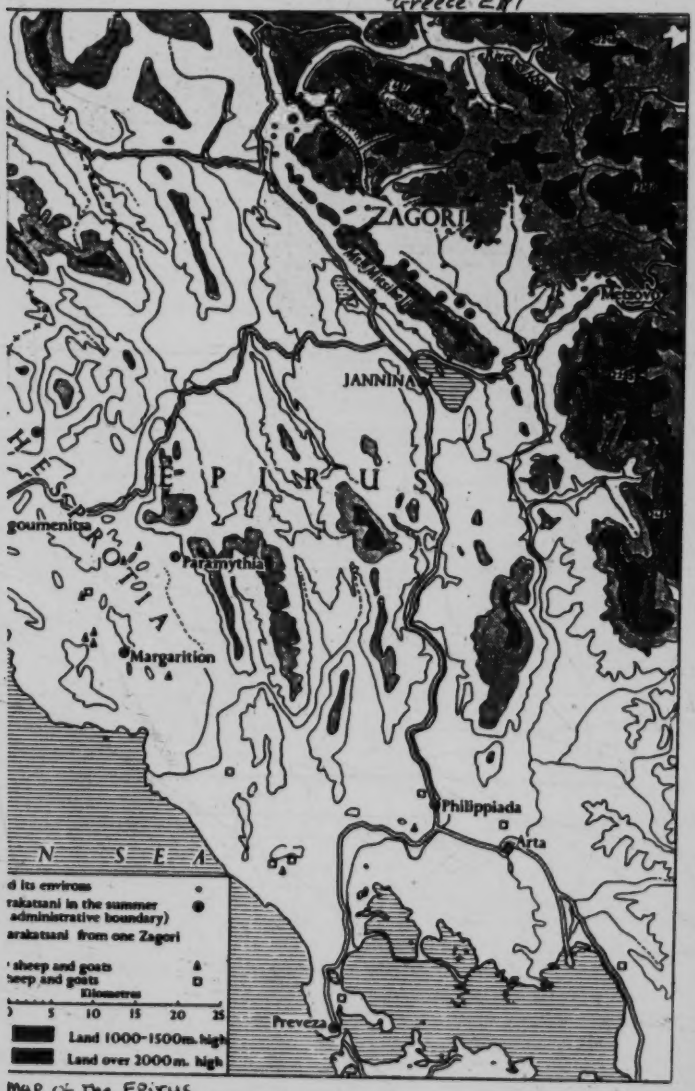

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

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1: Campbell

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602

/For information on inter-personal relationships between various Sarakatsani kindreds, see category 612./

/Information on the "stani" or "company," a group of several related families consisting of at least four adults and generally between fifteen to fifty persons of all ages, organized together as a means of best managing the flocks, will be found in category 474./

1: Campbell EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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[title page]

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THE ATLANTIC EXTRA

THE BLACK DEPARTERS

An Adventure in Greece

BY PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR

114 PATRICK LEIGH FERMOR *was one of two young British officers who led one of the most spectacular individual exploits of World War II. Wearing the uniform of German noncoms, they kidnapped a German general, hid him in the hills of Crete, eluded weeks of search by the Germans, and delivered him to* [10] *the British command at Cairo. Here Mr. Fermor tells of his adventures with the Sarakatsáns, a group of nomads who wander over northern Greece.*

[p. 73-A]

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Greece EH1

G 114 [103]

PERHAPS because it was my first Greek town after a few years of absence, I had taken a strong liking to Alexandroupolis. Large as it is, there is nothing overpoweringly polished about the citizens of this Thracian town; rather the reverse.

G 517 275

Many of the limitations of a new provincial town pervade it; and the long evening hours of the officers and civil servants sitting in the *kaphenia* are spanned by familiar anecdotes and yawns and yet another coffee. The tedium of unchosen and unchanging company lurks there, and for some fastidious ones, the acute pain of listening to the same jokes and the same stories again and again.

S 484 291

All at once, however, the boredom of the dusty evening street was halted by the passing of a wild, solitary, and alien figure that no streets or houses should ever have confined; it was a presence as inappropriate in these tame surroundings as a wolf in a main street of Byzantium. A rough black pillbox was tilted askew on his matted and whiskered head. He wore a black double-breasted waistcoat of homespun goat's hair, tucked into a black sash, below which a hairy and broad-pleated black kilt jutted stiffly to his knees. Black tights of the same stifling stuff covered his long legs, and he was shod in those Greek mountain shoes which turn up at the tip and curl back in a broad canoelike prow and end in a wide black

[p. 73-B]

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
[482] looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few mo-
ments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
[131] to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
[114] them in March the following year, when I was
riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
[122] in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
[131] seen them again and again, all over northern
[221] Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope moun-
[342] tains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
[492] halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs ex-
(161) cept, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
they return after their half-yearly journeys in
[101] search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
135 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

[p. 74-A]

195 nomads with the widest range of migration. The
221 sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up
131 after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

195 Enormous though these journeys were, they
131 were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for,
221 until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of
101 Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So STRONG is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

S 123 pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The S [492] *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his S lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall can- 123 dles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white 585 satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. S 123 Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell S into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, [57] my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros:* "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

S THE carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge 122 track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage G in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coach- 497 work was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky riverbeds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides G seemed far below. Every so often we passed soli- [648] tary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

G A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the 497 moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 292 [302]

[p.76-A]

585 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed
292 black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of con-
[531] fused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and
[123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday,
[576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor;
[539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with
[516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

585 knees, others leaned back against the wall or the
[518] divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *kombolói* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo,
[413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks.
[233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafis grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall;
[532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black
291 kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their
585 soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for
[576] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years.
[191] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

177 THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly
192 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made
233 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They
[777] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnóla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid [252] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted [263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred mag-
[252] nificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
[609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikórpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Orí!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

585 533 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sudden ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 539 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makarondes* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makarondes*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chicago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

575 DURING the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily screak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Geramata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 583 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber. The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

[p.78-B]

S 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet,
583 but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
S the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
[513] many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular
patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
S 585 looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black
and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall,
with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with
her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the
bride stood motionless. On either side of her on
the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-look-
S [576] ing girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kalorizikí!*"
("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined
her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable.
Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move
a fraction when other latecomers arrived and
hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were effigies in an ethnological mu-
S [292] seum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

G 292 In those Greek villages where the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
G [184] as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder mountains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
000 deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[text continues on p. 79-C]

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Sikarayid village

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[p.79-B]

000 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 All was different here. Not only was there no
292 silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West
[286] and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came
[531] from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying
[301] or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor.
[306] Their forearms and legs were encased in geo-
[531] metrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these
[531] clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

[p. 79-C]

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

149 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 THERE was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 Her husband conducted her through an ex-
535 tremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never
[584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of
585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps
831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy.
[602] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating
[836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her
535 chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[254] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[562] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting,
comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unex-
ploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences
are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles
toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humor-
ously boastful and teasing comparisons about their
married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat,
hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are
covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of
male earshot, while at a distance their husbands
and fathers and descendants smile indulgently
at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil
dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and
song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hos-
pitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated
many times and driven home by a clashing of wine
tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for
a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget
London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome
fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning com-
pelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we
climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride
in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p. 81-B]

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones.
[354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B]

776 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
[789] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
[237] ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
[588] der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daoutí*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large
[221] twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they
[825] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
[142] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
[231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
[372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas*' son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[761] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[301] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[771] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[775] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[789] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

[p.85-A]

S
181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal strait-jackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

S
114 I first caught a glimpse of them in December, when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of
[101] Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw them again in early spring four months later near
G [669] the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their
S carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the
[361] birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After light-hearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [235] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

S 123 K 669 a movement or revolution — but little more. (It occurs to me now that they may have been prudently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. S 123 When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidí, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

S [262] [263] By the time we had finished the hot milk with black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay S [272] panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of S [276] scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

ooo There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
[251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost pre-lapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

[p.87-A]

/123 enjoy on equal terms as accomplices, fellow hedonists and fellow victims. It is exciting for a stranger when he begins to understand that the armor which has been irking him and the arsenal he has been lugging about for half a lifetime are no longer needed. A feeling of miraculous lightness takes their place. On that particular evening this exhilaration was reinforced by other things; my mind was full of the events of the day, the smell of gunpowder, the cannon fire at dawn which had achieved the innocence of fireworks as the bangs had echoed upstream — the first glimpse, in fact, of warfare. By then, I felt I had almost taken part in the battle. The hooves hammering over the loose planks of the bridge still rang in my ears, and the songs on the long ride. On top of this came the beautiful ascent through the foothills, the sunset arrival at the encampment, and now, the voices and laughter and the gold fire-lit masks of the nomads in this hut in the dark mountains, the tiredness of limb, the feeling of being blessedly lost in time and geography with months and years hazily sparkling ahead in a vista of unconjecturable magic. The fusion of all this made it seem that life, at that moment, had nothing more to offer.

533 But it did have something more, and at once.
[123] Yorgo, the old man's grandson, who had taken my horse and me under his wing (planning to guide us next morning on a shortcut over the hills to a point where we could swoop down on the army again), fished out a long bone flute. The music that began to hover through the hut was moving and breathless. It started with long and deep notes separated by pauses and then shot aloft in pro-

[Text continues on p.88-A]

[p.87-B]

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tracted patterns of great complexity. Repeated and accelerating trills led on to sustained high notes which left the tune quivering in midair before plummeting an octave to those low and long-drawn initial semibreves. Notes of an icy clarity alternated with notes of a stirring, reedy, and at moments almost rasping hoarseness. Then, after a long breath, they sailed again into limpid and piercing airs of a most touching softness, the same minor phrase recurring with diminishing volume, again and again, until the final high flourishes presaged the protracted bass notes once more, each of them preceded and followed by a lengthening hiatus of silence. One can think of no more apt or more accurate reflection in sound of the mountains and woods and flocks and the nomads' life.

Less lulling music cannot be imagined. But, overcome at last by the day's doings, I must have fallen asleep in the middle of it and been covered with a cloak where I lay. I woke up an hour after midnight to find the hut in the dark except for the embers of the fire and empty of all but the lightly snoring patriarch on the other side. Yorgo's hooded departing back was outlined for a moment in the doorway against the stars. There was a murmur of voices in the cold outside as the shepherds, like monks before the night office, assembled for the first milking; this was the equivalent of matins in their pastoral book of hours. Then silence fell, and after a minute or two, a faint stirring of bells and of waking flocks was hushed by the returning currents of sleep.

Now, a little reluctantly, I must call a halt to these postscripts and flashbacks and return to the point where we began to deviate from the main thread of this narrative among the tassels and the buttoned upholstery of the carriage rocking back with us through the Thracian darkness between Sikarayia and Alexandroupolis.

Not many minutes had passed before the guard worked his perilous way along the duckboard outside and climbed in, not to punch our tickets, but for a chat. We were his only passengers. He was a dark, jovial, round-faced refugee from Smyrna.

"Well," he said cheerfully, offering cigarettes, "did you find out where they hide their pots of gold? Any for me? I could do with it, at this job."

We told him about the wedding. As I had already absorbed one or two hazy notions about the possibility of the extremely ancient descent of the Sarakatsáns, I asked him what he thought.

"I don't know," he said amiably, "and, what's more, I don't care. I hate the ancient Greeks. We had to learn all about them at school — Plato, Socrates, Pericles, Leonidas, Aristotle, Euripides, Homer, and all that stuff. No, I don't *hate* them, that's too strong. But what have they got to do with me? Perhaps we descend from them, perhaps we don't, what does it matter? And who did they descend from, pray? Nobody knows. They were Greeks, and so are we, that's all we know. I come from Smyrna — there's an ancient Greek city for you — and I may be more Greek than the Greeks in Athens, more Greek than your Sarakatsáns, for all I know. Who cares? I probably do descend from them, but that's not the point. *Greece is an idea*, that's the thing! That's what keeps us together — that, and the language and the country and our history, of course, and the Church; not that I like priests particularly, but we owe them a lot. And those old Greeks, our celebrated ancestors, they're a nuisance, and I'll tell you why. *They haunt us*. We can never be as great as they were, nobody can, and they make us all feel guilty. We can't do anything, people think, because of a few old books and temples and lumps of marble. And clever foreigners who know all about the ancients come here expecting to be surrounded by Heracles and Apollo and Hermes and gentlemen in helmets and laurel leaves, and what do they see? Me — a small dark fat man, half bald, with a mustache and eyes like boot buttons!" He laughed good-naturedly. "To hell with them! Give me the men of the War of Independence who chucked out the Turks; give me Averoff, who presented us with a battleship out of his own pocket; give me Venizelos, who saved us all and turned Greece into a proper country. What's wrong with *them*? If we weren't such fools and always quarreling among ourselves, if we could have no wars or revolutions for fifty years — fifty years, that's all I ask — you'd see what a country we'd become! *Then* we could start worrying about the Trojan horse and working out our relationship to Pericles and finding out whether the Sarakatsáns descend from the ancient Greeks!"

I saw his point, especially about being hampered by eternal comparison with his nebulous and illustrious forerunners. For some, the ancients are a source of inspiration and a matter of vague pride, because the outside world sets so high a price on them; to others they are a perpetual irritation. What about Byzantium? — that's where our traditions date from, a modern Greek may think, not from Pericles holding forth on the Acropolis, not from Diogenes' barrel or the tent of Achilles. What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?

126 *Photographs of the Sarakatsáns by Joan Eyres Monsell.*

[P. 88 B]

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/General information on feasting, dancing, music and drinking, accompanying the Sarakatsani wedding held at Sikarayia will be found in category 585./

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Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediterranean;
The Sarakatsani of Greece
[Pasteurs-nomades méditerranéens; les
Saracatsans de Grèce]

by Geōrgios B. Kabbadias

Paris: 1965
Gauthier-Villars

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1978

[title page]

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000/i/ Work published in cooperation with the National Center of Scientific Research

NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Sarakatsani of Greece

/ii/ Applied Sciences of Humankind Series, Paul Albou, Director

/iii/

Georges B. Kavadias

NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Sarakatsani of Greece

Photographs and drawings by the author

Paris

Gauthier-Villars

1965

128 /iv/ A detailed bibliography will be found at the end of the present work. We beg the reader kindly to refer to it, the bibliographical information given in the footnotes being in abbreviated form.

000 /v/ To the sacred memory of my father

To my mother

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Foreword

121 The work of Georges Kavadias, which we present to the public today, is the first in a series that will be devoted to the Applied Sciences of Humankind. This may astonish some who consider the sciences of Humankind and sociology to be identical in their basis and in their application. Our point of view is different: for us, the sciences of humankind cannot be founded only on the traditional social sciences; they most certainly include these but they must extend beyond them while enriching them. They endeavor to grasp, by a multidisciplinary approach, the complexity of reality, hence the contradictions which are resolved in practice. Originating from diverse epistemological or methodological considerations, these contradictions--which show the dialectical character of the human phenomenon--are, paradoxically but emphatically, the basis of a global interpretation which alone is capable of guiding the specialist,

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121 whether investigator or practitioner. By an applied science of humankind we mean, actually, not the exploitation of knowledge, which would give rise to procedures and tricks, but rather the increase of this knowledge (hence of our power) by the application of the most rigorous scientific methods to the solution of concrete problems of economic and social life. Now, what is more concrete than the monograph by Georges Kavadias? Is anything more applied--in the sense we have just pointed out? In this essay, which has yielded its author very flattering distinctions, the sociologist and economist, the psychologist and specialist in technical assistance, the ethnologist and jurist--the administrator and the scholar--will find material for profitable reflection. Professor Leroi-Gourhan shows, below, the interest of this work. We will confine ourselves to pointing out the importance of the transformation which the sciences of humankind have undergone today--where theory no longer disavows the practice that gave rise to it and illuminates it while perfecting. The fine work of Georges Kavadias illustrates perfectly this new orientation.

Paul Albou.

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Preface

Man has never grown tired of contemplating his image, has never lost his suriosity for his own past. The prehistorian, the archaeologist, the ethnologist, of the present century, are only the instruments of this eagerness to know, the scientific mutations, in the age of the exact sciences, of the travelers and epic narrators of old. Curiosity perhaps, but perhaps necessity as vital as that of light and warmth; for if techniques require only agents, the civilization which invents techniques

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121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social 121 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals: 122 one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the 128 third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding. Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which, assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community, hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed. To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

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121 that is passing completes its ruin in its last representatives, but it is essential for society that their experience be recorded, for in ten years or in a hundred all that will remain will be an aspect of human consciousness masked but not obliterated by modern life, lacking any evidence other than that gathered by ethnology.

To reason coldly is, furthermore, not characteristic of ethnology which must experience its evidence directly: life is inseparable from affective warmth when one works with human material. Georges Kavadias has lived his experience of the Sarakatsani with his heart and with his intelligence, each in turn becoming the servant of the other. Having [114] seen him, with his wife, in the field, I know what passionate solicitude he brought to the research, and I know all that the present book represents in years of direct collecting followed by those of formulation. About this strange world of transhumant shepherds of Balkan and Hellenic Europe we had only data that were fragmentary and relatively inaccessible. It is the first time that a work on this subject appears in a perspective which includes all the spheres of life and their relationships. May it fulfill the role which its author hoped for it: to be at once a homage to the world of the Sarakatsani and an element in the construction of a true image of man.

André Leroi-Gourhan,
Professor at the Sorbonne.

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• Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots.]

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/1/ Introduction

121 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece:
178 the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113] 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. 1, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113] 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence; as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

/1 cont./

[2] Nevertheless, these two positions do not seem incompatible. According to a very discerning statement by C. Lévi-Strauss: "because anthropology calls itself social or cultural it aspires always to know the total man, seen, in one case through /2/ his productions, and in the other, through his representations." (3)

[13] 3. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Place de l'Anthropologie dans les Sciences Sociales et problèmes posés par son enseignement, in Sciences Sociales, etc., published by UNESCO, p. 113.

In any case, let us add, and this represents our position, it aspires to know man "in context"; hence to deepen the knowledge of man as such--his reactions and his collective productions as well as his cultural works, likewise collective--man in his universe, both natural and human--given, modified or created by him--and struggling to fulfill his life.

This "synthetic" position, is inspired by the teaching of Marcel Mauss--which, from all evidence, likewise inspired C. Lévi-Strauss (4)--

4. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction à l'oeuvre de Mauss, p. XXV ff.

but it is not based on the authority of the master, nor yet on an "interdisciplinary" ecelecticism, which would be absurd. Our decision to approach the problem in a multidimensional manner arises from the very nature of things. Granted that the social and the cultural are inextricably and to a very large extent interlocked, it is obvious that if one does not wish to confine oneself to a sterile nominalism and to leave obscure extremely important aspects, one is obliged to study both together, and to bring to light both their specific characteristics and their mutual relationships. This is the only way to achieve our aim, /namely/ the knowledge of the total Sarakatsani man.

However, a question still remains to be discussed. Can a monographic study such as ours expect to be accepted within the framework of anthropology which aims, according to G. Balandier, to elucidate the general

/2 cont./
[121] properties characterizing the life of man in society? (5)

5. Ibid., p. 102

Or should it, rather, be content with a more modest ambition, that of all ethnographic monographs, to describe more than to explain? In other words, starting from a particular case, can one hope to touch the general?

We believe that, all things considered, we may reply in the affirmative. If the descriptive work proper to every monograph is accompanied by certain comparative statements and if, moreover and above all, it is followed by an explanatory essay, certainly its conclusions will be considered to have anthropological value. /3/ Not because they reveal the universal "socius," but a partial socious, entitled to be integrated with the former and to contribute to its elucidation. Let us remember that if general anthropology has not yet advanced a great deal it is because explanatory monographs are relatively few in number. It seems to us that between the traditional ethnographic monograph and that of inspired by anthropology there is a very obvious gap which justifies a separate category for the latter. The present investigation therefore aspires to take its place among these works.

However, a final aspect which forms of our reflections on our general position ought to be explained: what is culture?

As far as we know, none of the definitions of culture proposed by the different sciences of man can be considered as generally accepted. The following works provide eloquent illustrations. First, Civilisation-
[113] le mot et l'idée, published by the Centre international de synthèse (Première semaine internationale de synthèse--II Fsc.), Paris, la Renaissance du Livre, 1930; and second, A.L. Kroeber and Cl. Kluckohn[sic!]: Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions /cited in English/, Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Obviously, we do not propose to recommence the discussion. Such a task goes far beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the necessity of delimiting our subject, of justifying our plan and explaining the

/3 cont./

121 orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

[113] 6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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121 182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

/4 cont./

121 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and
182 try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

[361] On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved
[222] are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/5 cont./

121 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their
182 existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement
361 in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in
182 Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired
174 by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

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7. A. van Gennep: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg: "Les Saracatsans", p. 211.

considers them (on the basis of a hypothesis) as descendants of the Turks settled in the country.

b) The Italian, A. Baldacci (8)

8. A. Baldacci: Itinerari Albanesi /Albanian Travel Diaries/, p. 106 and 254.

maintains that the Sarakatsani are originally Latin (Italiotes), who have become Hellenized.

c) The Rumanian, N. Jorga (9),

9. N. Jorga: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg, p.243-45, and Histoire de Roumains de la péninsule des Balkans, p. 36.

calls them Rumanians who settled in Illyria (present-day Albania), and eventually became Hellenized.

d) The Yugoslav Const. Jirec'ek (10), The Hungarian,

10. C. Jirec'ek: Gesty do Bulgharsky, p. 220.

L. Thalocsy (11), the German Karl Oestreich (12) and the Bulgarian P. Ts'ilef (13), propose that the Sarakatsani are Hellenized Arumani.

11. L. Thalocsy: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel /Contributions to the History of the Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula/, p. 60.

12. K. Oestreich: Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien /The Population of Macedonia/, p. 287.

13. P. Ts'ilef: Les Saracatsans, p. 51 f.

The Rumanian authors P. Papahagi (14), T. Papahagi (15) and T. Capidan (16), likewise adhere to this last theory with this difference that they locate the origin of the Sarakatsani geographically in villages inhabited by the Koutsovalaques in southern Albania.

14. P. Papahagi: Numiri Etnice la Aromani, pages passim.

15. T. Papahagi: Compte rendu sur: C. Höeg, p. 260 f.

174 [113] /6 cont./

16. T. Capidan: "Sarakacianii," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

174 114 However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

174 114 113 That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Keramopoulos (29), N. Beès (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σκέψεις περί Σαρακατσανῶν, p. 58.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσόβλαχοι, p. 81.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσανοί.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιογραφία περὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ C. Höeg, p. 200-203.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ἐργάτες, p. 5.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Καστοριά : Σαρακατσανικὰ ἐθιμοτυπικά, p. 108.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 146-147.
35. Ἰ. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Πατριαρχικαὶ Μελέται, p. 19 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλάχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 108.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσανῶν.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐνδόξου τῶν Σαρακατσανῶν, p. 94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΗΛ : Σαρακατσάνοι, A. I p. 5 - pl.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

/7 cont./

174 114 Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

[113] 40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city: Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113] 41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/, also speaks of it, three times; book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmaridès), Savromatès, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

/8 cont./

174 114 What reinforces our objections is the fact that even down the centuries, when the cities no longer existed, we do not find any trace liable to justify this conception. The absolute silence which covers the supposed existence of the Sarakatsani for century after century only confirms the theory that their appearance is much more recent.

Furthermore, the second argument of Madame Hadjimichali based on Sarakatsani art, furnishes no proof either, in view of the fact that it concerns geometric art which one finds almost everywhere (in Kabylia, in Morocco, in Finland, in Peru, in Polynesia, etc.). Moreover forms based on geometric designs can be repeated, without this fact constituting proof of continuity. For these forms are limited by definition.

/9/ Thus it seems that this argumentation is not acceptible.

174 On the other hand, a careful and searching analysis of the idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani in conjuction with a certain number of facts which we shall enumerate below authorizes us to say that we are concerned with a group of sedentary Greek peasants who, from all evidence, were uprooted from their homes during the fourteenth century following an event thereof an unknown nature, and who sought refuge in the mountain region where, in order to survive, the began to practice herding and, as a consequence, nomadism.

This theory which has been proposed by the Greek scholar D. Georgakas, cited above, (42)

42. See p. 14

rests on a number of facts:

1. The idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani is one formed in the northern part of the country before the fourteenth century. Since the Sarakatsani live isolated from other Hellenes, it would be inconceivable to suppose that they existed earlier than their language. If they had, how could we explain that the latter does not include more archaic elements, since this is the case among the populations of some Greek islands and among the Greeks of the Trebizond region? Nor can their isolation be subsequent to this date.

/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into [173] [162] the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellènic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of [113] [114] this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

/10 cont./
174 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore"
113 (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès
114 (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque .

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

113 /12 cont./
--The study, or several studies (in Greek) by a pharmacist, B. Skafidas who, working as an amateur, has gathered considerable ethnographic material: a) "Les Saracatsans ou les Saracatsanais"; b) "Les Saracatsans--leur vie, leurs moeurs, leur coutumes".

These studies, of which the second duplicates the first and completes it, are genuinely interesting, although sometimes the author seems to consider some of the phenomena recorded by him as characteristic of Sarakatsani life when in reality these are customs followed by other social groups as well. Although the non-expert reader must consult these works cautiously, the contribution of Monsieur Skafidas is real and accomplished.

We shall mention next the study by Madame Joannidès-Barbarigou, ethnographer of merit on the staff of "Archives Folkloriques de l'Académie d'Athènes," on "Huttes des Saracatsan" (published in Greek). Although short, the study is good because of its clarity and precision and is regrettable that its author did not have an opportunity to work more thoroughly in this field. Nevertheless, this work, though brief, is valuable and very interesting.

114 Finally, it is necessary to mention particularly the numerous works on the Sarakatsani by Madame A. Hadjimichali, a Greek ethnographer of renown, culminating in her most recent very lengthy work.

Madame Hadjimichali lived several years among the Sarakatsani and her work is considered authoritative, not only in Greece, but in international ethnographic circles. We believe that modern Greece owes her special recognition for her contribution to the enormous task of the study of Neo-Hellenism. (45)

> 45. We mean by this term the social and cultural life of Greeks from the eighteenth century to our day, a period during which the nation is moving towards its independence and its renaissance.

113 It seems regrettable to us that her large work in Greek which/13/ bears the general title Les Saracatsans has still not been published in

/13 cont./

113 its entirety. Only the first part has appeared in two volumes, of which the first volume deals with general topics, and the second with professional life, building, food getting and the technique of manufacturing wooden objects, with comments on the decorative motifs carved into these objects.

In any case, Madame Hadjimichali announces, as soon forthcoming, the publication of two more large volumes of the work, devoted to weaving and clothing, along with the corresponding techniques; to the relation between life and work; the family; the different stages of life; religious worship and beliefs; magic and superstition; folk medicine; tales, songs and finally dances.

The volumes that have appeared represent a very rich collection of material, especially valuable since a number of traits, long recorded, have already disappeared, wiped out by the rapid modernization of the Sarakatsani.

114 It is truly regrettable that Madame Hadjimichali did not have recourse, at the time of her investigation and the drafting of her book, to a sufficiently searching analysis to match her great talents and undeniable calling. Thus, the solutions to many problems going beyond simple description have remained obscure. One might even add that the description of certain phenomena would be different if the author had considered them more systematically. On the other hand, in a great number of cases her interpretations of observed phenomena cannot be accepted.

May Madame Hadjimichali, as well as other investigators we have mentioned, kindly forgive us for these remarks which do not mean that we do not appreciate their work, of that we do not have great respect for the authors.

As P. Sorokin says of science: "...it appeared with criticism, has grown with criticism and it lives with criticism...Otherwise, instead of a scientific sociology we will have a pseudo-scientific complimentary art having nothing in common with a real science." (46)

114 /13 cont./

[113] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is
[114] because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

[129] Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are
[121] either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

/14 cont./

000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/ PART ONE

/14b/ /blank/

/15/ Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « πόλις » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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/17/ Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of

16 Sarakatsani Society and Culture

114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying
123 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on
124
127

/17 cont./
16 published data. (1)
123
124
127 and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

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842
562
[582]

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

[582]
[114]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

[125]
[178]

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

[217]

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and 586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden. 587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem- 221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with
[113] their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
221 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
361 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[191] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
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10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

***

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 621 474 612 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to the chief, and the whole to the Tsóligato.

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 [176] In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

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361 233 474 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word, of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 233 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
199 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/24 cont./

128 The pages that follow will show how Sarakatsani society deals with these problems. From another standpoint, they will illustrate the process of interaction of Saraktsani civilization with its morpho-ecological base. Thus the problem of the integration of this partial aspect with the whole will find its solution.

/25/

Chapter II

The Technology of the Sarakatsani

121 Properly speaking, technology is a psychosomatic process. This process, which asserts itself in a given natural environment and a given social framework (1) presents the following characteristics:

(113) 1. See André Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, pp. 355 and 361.--M. Mauss: Les Techniques et la Technologie, in: Mayerson, L. Febvre, A. Aymard, etc: Le Travail et les Techniques, p. 71-78.--A. Varagnac: L'homme et les techniques pré-machinistes in: J. Cassou, G. Friedmann, C. Durtain, M. Bloch, J. Luc, A. Varagnac, etc.: L'homme, la technique et la nature, p. 54.--M. Bloch: Technique et Évolution sociale, op. cit., p. 30. --J.A. Mauduit: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135.--K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, French translation p. 74-75.

1. It enables /one/ to dominate and exploit the forces and possibilities offered by nature.

2. Its development is a function of these, on the one hand, and of society on the other hand. The latter determines at one and the same time the needs to be met and the manner of doing so, by accumulating knowledge, beliefs and experience acquired in the course of time, as well as by providing the agents entrusted with various tasks.

And it also asserts itself in creations and inventions.

Thus, in technology, nature and society meet.

In order to study it, one may consider technology as a process of action on inert material for the purpose of manufacturing various

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

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The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 313 824 312 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.

Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 824 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 323 285 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

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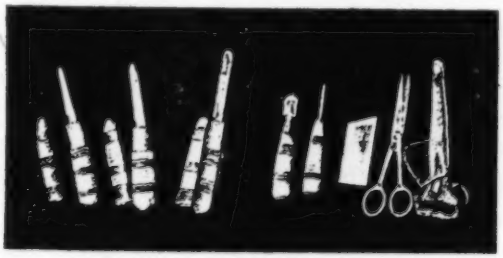

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/30 cont./

5. Ibid., A, II, p. 355.

352 [114] This cradle probably no longer exists, for we ourselves, in the course of our investigation in the field, were never able to find one anywhere.

/31/

Fig. 4

The only type of cradle that we came across among the nomads did not differ to any extent from that used by the peasants, and it is always made with boards (fig 4).

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/32 cont./

415 hollows on its upper side. The bread is put into these after kneading, and left to rise before baking (fig. 7).

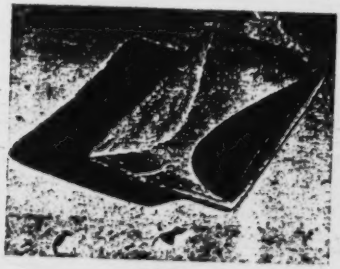

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

The plastiri is a circular tray 60 centimeters in diameter on which the Sarakatsani women knead the dough of unleavened bread. It is likewise on this tray that they flatten out the fylla or pastry leaves for flat-cakes (see below, chapter on food) (fig. 8).

412 /33/ The plastis which is used to stretch out the pastry is a sort of rolling pin 70 centimeters long and three centimeters in diameter (fig. 8).

415 Kitchen utensils and dishes

412
415

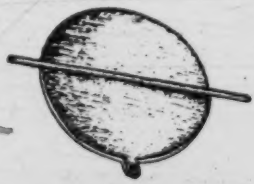

Fig. 8

/33 cont./

415 Since nearly all the utensils of this sort are metal--and are therefore not made by the Sarakatsani themselves--the only things left to describe here are:

412 The Kafki, a kind of wooden bowl cut out in quantity. It is used
415 at times as a mortar, at times as a single plate set in the center of

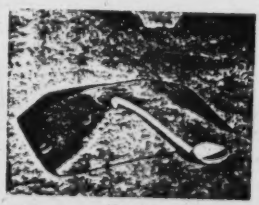

Fig. 9

the table within reach of all the diners; individual plates are unknown.

412 The spoons and spatulas of wood, likewise made in quantity, are used for eating, as well as to stir the contents of cooking pots (fig. 9).

415.

Fig. 10

/34/ The glasses, or rather the cups, are also made of wood.

The klidhopinako, finally, is a sort of double bowl, of wood, the two parts of which fit together hermetically. That is why this object often serves as a food container by the shepherds, who can thus carry liquid and warm food during their long watches in the pastures (fig. 10).

3: Kabbadias--43 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/34 cont./

415

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

3: Kabbadias--44 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/35/

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Fig. 14

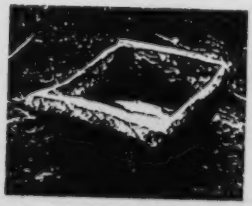

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

Fig. 17

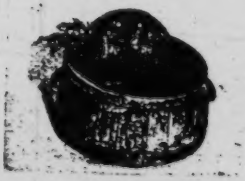

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

/36/

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

415
234
824

/37 cont./
of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21).

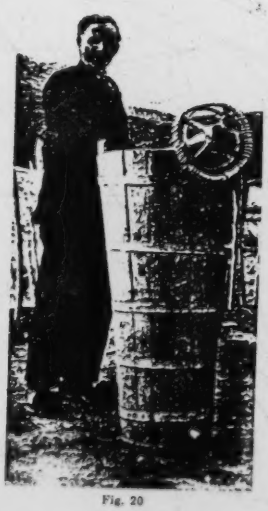

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
25 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

283
824
→

Fig. 23

/38 cont./

283 Equipment related to weaving and wool

This equipment includes:

The distaff: there are two kinds of distaffs found among the Sarakatsani.

[824] The first is merely a tree branch 60 centimeters long which ends in a three-pronged fork onto which the tuft of wool is fastened (fig. 23).

/39/ The second is made up of two parts: first, a branch of the same length as that we have described makes up the vertical part of the distaff; a small, board fastened perpendicularly to the preceding part forms a cross ready to receive the tuft (fig. 24 and 25).

[531]

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142]
[291]
←

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

[286]
→

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

{291}
{51}

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/42/

286 /42/ The weaving loom: there are two kinds of looms among the
[432] Sarakatsani. The first is made by them, while the second is bought from peasant artisans (fig. 30 and 31).

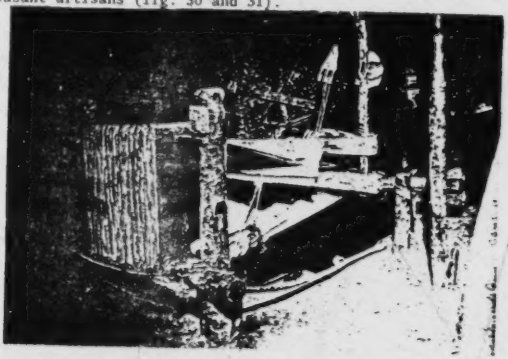

Fig. 30

The requirements of this study are such that it is the first type of loom which will be described here, especially since the second /type/ is not integrated in the traditional life of the Sarakatsani.

This loom is very simple. (7)

7. For a description of this loom we are using the terminology and outline given by A. Leroi-Gourhan in L'homme et matière, p. 239 f., while keeping the originality appropriate to our subject.

It is composed of six posts driven into the ground in two parallel rows and placed opposite each other as though delineating a rectangle. These posts are of unequal height. The tallest are in the center; those placed in front of the weaver, very short, measure approximately 20 centimeters, while the posts placed at the opposite extremity are almost 70 centimeters high; those in the center reach 1.50 meters.

286 /43/ /43/ Two cylindrical pieces 90 centimeters in length, rest horizontally on the pair of posts at the two ends. These each have a groove approximately 60 centimeters long into which the wrap is

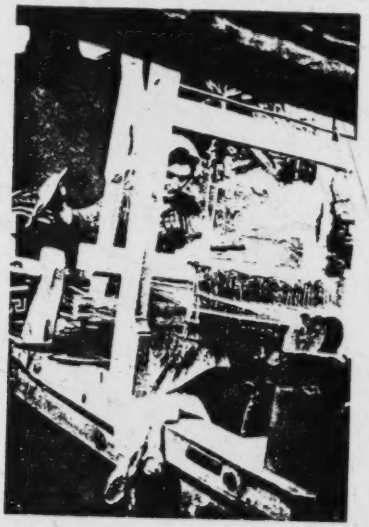

Fig. 31

first drawn and then rolled. These pieces which can turn or be locked by a very simple mechanism form the cylinder of the loom and the beam on which the woven fabric is wound.

However, here it is necessary to mention a novel detail: the posts intended for the beam bearing the warp sometimes show a /44/ second groove toward the lower part. It is in this groove that one then places another cylinder of wood (small tree trunk) called the upper beam, which serves to hold the threads of the warp.

286 /44 cont./

One of the two ends of each bean is pierced transversely. And it is by introducing of a stalk into this hole and attaching it by means of a cord that one obtains the simple mechanism for locking and turning mentioned above.

On the two high center posts another small tree trunk is set and from it are suspended the parts that serve to raise the threads alternately, and by means of which one weaves, that it to say, the two heddles on the one hand and the batten on the other.

The batten which holds the comb that presses together the threads of the weft at each passage through, is itself attached at the top to two sticks of wood called swords /?/.

The heddles (each framed along their entire length by two stalks of reed) are set in motion by ascending and descending movements and suspended by ropes, or rather by a harness, on pulleys. [432] They are made by the Sarakatsani themselves, whereas the batten is bought commercially.

The servicable breadth of the heddles, and consequently that of the batten and of the weave that can be produced, is approximately 60 cnetimeters.

The movement of the heddles is controlled by two pedals, two treadles parallel to the warp, the alternate action of which brings about the spreading apart of the threads of the warp, thus permitting the introduction of the shuttle, on the center quill of which is wound

Fig. 32

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[171] 8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andklui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

239 Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/45 cont./

233

Fig. 33

Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton [177] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions [529] are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

236 [527] /46 cont./
all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] [232] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to relieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in [412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

A [See p. 56--Analysis]

/47 cont./

236 her feet;. With her right hand the carder holds the upper board by its handle. Finally, with the left hand, she brings the tufts of wool between the toothed surfaces of the boards.

Sorting: it is done in the course of the carding. The longest strands are put aside as the carding proceeds and are reserved for the manufacture of the better fabrics, those which are used for making clothing. The short strands are for other uses.

[283] It is also during the carding that the wool is prepared in advance for spinning; each two or three cardfuls make a distaff-feel.

283 Spinning: the bunches are then placed on the /48/ distaff. Once this is loaded, the Sarakatsani woman starts to spin by using a spindle. (10)

10. The three stages of this operation among the Sarakatsani, as elsewhere, are: drawing out, twisting and winding on. See A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, p. 259.

The handling of the spindle varies according to the quality of the yarn one wishes to obtain. If one wishes to prepare fine yarn for clothing, the spindle is suspended by the thread itself and turned freely in the air (fig. 26).[A] On the other hand, if the thread

A. [See p. 49--Analyst]

/48 cont./

283 is intended for making covers, velentza, as well as rugs, the spindle is turned by the hand of the spinner, and this process, called drougha, produces a thicker thread (fig. 36).

[291]

Fig. 36

It is obvious that the position of the distaff is different in each of the two instances.

The wool of goats is always spun by the second method.

The yarn intended for the warp of the textile to be produced is twisted less than that used for the weft. Moreover, when a very fine thread is required, the Sarakatsani women place themselves at the top of a rock and let the spindle fall into space.

/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands
482 are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks,
313 her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water, in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in
386 rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start
386 with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

/49 cont./

283 the preparation of the loom.

386 The rest of the procedure "dyeing with aniline colors" is not of particular interest ethnographically, hence it will not be treated here.

386 The Sarakatsani also dye the fabrics intended for the making of garments. The technique that applies to it will be described in a separate paragraph.

The preparation of the loom.

286 When these various procedures are finished, the yarn is ready to be woven. However, before setting to work, the women must prepare the loom.

These preparations include:

--mounting the warp,

--installing it on the loom;

--finally, preparing the shuttles.

/50/ Mounting the warp is a task both complicated and delicate, which requires a series of micro-procedures.

The most important procedure is that which consist of warping the loom.

In order better to understand the detail of this procedure let us suppose that the warp is but a single thread.

Five pegs approximately 30 centimeters high are planted in the ground according to the arrangement indicated in the following diagram:

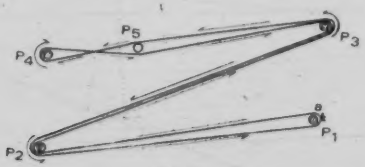

Fig. 37

/50 cont./

286 When the pegs have been set, the weaver starts to wind the yarn around them. She starts from point a of peg P 1. The yarn is wound around the other pegs as indicated by the arrows. It crosses between pegs P 4 and P 5, after which it is brought back to the point of departure where it is knotted at its initial extremity. The worker has thus obtained a closed circuit, through the crossing back of threads at one point.

The description of the operation pertaining to a single thread permits us to understand what actually happens.

Since a warp customarily has 500 to 600 threads, it is obviously impossible to wind them one by one. Thus, the weaver takes bunches of 25 to 30 at a time. This bunch of threads is called a "head." In order to put them on the loom she uses the idiastra, the instrument we have already described (fig. 27), which serves a double purpose: on the one hand, to facilitate threads. The latter are threaded into the holes of the idiastra and their ends are fastened to peg P 1.

Thus, a double circuit of threads is obtained which is made up of 12 components on each side.

/51/ The weaver holds the idiastra in her right hand by one of its handles and vertically in relation to the ground; she begins to draw the threads around peg P 2 which is on the right. There, she changes hands and, taking the idiastra in her left hand, she proceeds to P 3, passing around it so that the idiastra remains at the left. She changes hands again and, now holding the idiastra in her right hand, she arrives at peg no. 4 which she leaves to the right, winding around peg no. 5, carries the threads to peg no. 4 and hence goes to the left, and returning successively to pegs 3, 2 and 1. Thus, between pegs 4 and 5 the threads are crossed. The procedure recommences until the number of threads desired are placed in postion and crossed. The nappe /span?/ of the warp is approximately 60 centimeters wide and its length depends on the fabric one wishes to produce. In general, among the Sarakatsani, the nappe is long. (1)

A,1,5:@ p.49--Analyst]

/51 cont./

286 11. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 293.

Let us now pass to the phase in the preparation of the loom which consists in transferring the warp onto the loom and involves another series of micro-procedures.

[291]

Fig. 38

The warp threads are first tied together at three points with a string. These points are set by pegs P 1, P 4 and P 5 (the branches of the crossing).

Then the warp threads are lifted from the pegs, plaited almost like hair, so that they can be put aside until the time when they are used (fig. 38).

Next, on the two posts that are 80 centimeters high and set in the ground at approximately one meter intervals one puts the beam--the one which is placed at the end of the loom opposite the weaver. /52/ It is on this beam that the plait of warp threads will be wound.

286 /52 cont./

To this end one inserts the top of the outside loop of the crossed threads into the slit in the beam (see description of the loom pp. 51-54) and wedges it into this slit with a stick.

In order to preserve the crossing one then introduces, on either side, two sticks (two reeds) three centimeters in diameter and two meters in length. Then one undoes the plait as well as the fastening and starts to turn the beam on the posts while keeping the warp very taut. Thus the warp is wound, while the crossing of the threads, preserved by the sticks, (12)

12. The same sticks whech are also used on the loom serve as spreading rods. A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 294.

moves forward little by little to the opposite end.

This process is followed by what is called beloniasma which is equivalent to rentrage /?/. What is involved here is the insertion of the warp threads into the heddles placed on the other side of the two sticks and consequently beyond the point where they are crossed. The threads of the warp are inserted, one by one, alternately into the noose of each heddle, after which they pass across the teeth of the beater and end at the beam where they are firmly secured.

When the warp is mounted on the loom, the latter is ready for action.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention further details, for the process of rentrage varies according to the fabric one wishes to produce.

For a simple fabric which is made with two heddles, one passes the threads two by two across the teeth of the beater.

For the kaltsoskoutti fabric, a name which may be translated "knit weave" one passes the threads three by three.

/52 cont./

286 There remains the preparation of the bobbins for the shuttle.

283 We have already said that the yarn, whether dyed or not, is
286 wound into balls. For it to be transferred to the quill of the shuttle. it must be given the shape of a spindle. The women therefore wind the yarn on the distaff and remove it as soon as it is loaded, so that the yarn wound around itself forms a cylinder, and the quill is placed into its cavity.

286 And this final micro-process completes /53/ the preparations for weaving, which we shall now describe in detail.

Weaving - procedures and products.

In general, weaving presupposes the passing of the shuttle through the "shed" of the warp, the successive working of each of the treadles

/53 cont./

286 moving the two heddles, and one or more thrusts of the beater; these steps are necessary whether the fabric is intended for garments, blankets or rugs.

Using this classic method, the Sarakatsani produce various kinds of fabrics:

A simple fabric in wool or in cotton and wool.

The kaltsoskoutti fabric meant chiefly for the making of women's skirts and men's leggings.

The velentza blanket, made with thick sheep wool yarn that has been twisted by the "drougha" method.

The toslia rugs woven half in sheep wool, half in goat wool.

The coarse goat wool fabric used to make shepherd capes.

Peculiarities are to be noted in connection with the weaving of twill of the flokotti and karamelotti blankets and of rugs called thiliasto or fouskotto. These peculiarities reside sometimes in a variation of the number of heddles and consequently the number of treadles, at other times in the method of weaving.

Let us examine first the twill weave, the very closely woven serge (woven in a diagonal). To obtain it, one places on the loom four heddles to which correspond four treadles.

In order to facilitate the description of the following process, let us number the treadles from left to right. We thus have treadles number 1, 2, 3, and 4. The weaver works treadle no. 1, opens the shed, passes the shuttle through and strikes the beater. Without raising her foot, she works treadle no. 4 and continues as before. Then she shifts her feet and steps on treadle no. 2, then treadle no. 3 without releasing no. 2, passing the shuttle and striking the beater successively after each movement of the treadles.

The flokotti blanket imitates, so to speak, the hide of /54/ the sheep. One should picture a thick wool shag, the hairy side of which looks like fur (fig. 39).

/54 cont./

286 In order to produce this shag the weaver first passes the shuttle from two to seven times through the shed while of course, successively working the treadles. Then she slips through the "shed" a weft which makes a peculiar ball. Once the weft is inserted from

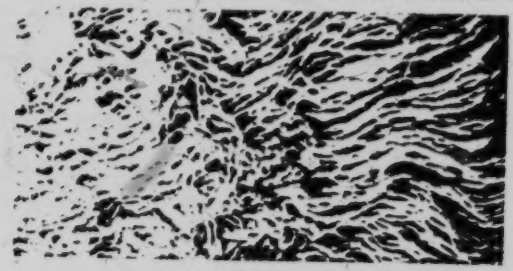

Fig. 39

one end of the warp to the other, she pulls it out by inserting the fingers of the left hand between each couple of threads of the warp, to a height of five centimeters. Thereupon she gives two or three strikes of the beater. The loops of thread thus formed, very compact, remain unaltered.

The procedure is repeated until the flokotti weave is finished.

As soon as this blanket is completely woven, the loops are cut at a certain point with scissors.

The rug called thiliasto or fouskotto is in fact only a variation of this kind of blanket. Here the procedure is the same, except for one detail. Inasmuch as the diameter of the small loops forming the shag is reduced to one centimeter, a rod which formerly served to load guns is pushed into these loops, in order to keep them in place before they are pressed together by the striking of the beater. And the distinguishing feature lies in the fact that one does not cut these loops which remain as they are.

/54 cont./

286 Finally, there are /55/ the karanelotti blankets, which have
531 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles, and consequently with the same number of treadles: moreover, several shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).

[171]

13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in L'homme et la matière, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

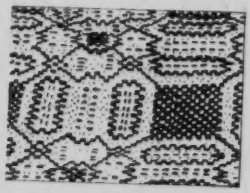

Fig. 40

286 Fulling.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a mandani.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

S /55 cont./
286 and the water /56/ falls on the fabrics (fig. 41 and 42). This procedure takes two or three days.

S The mandani is a wooden machine which consists of a large
286 cylinder and big hammers, also made of wood. When the cylinder turns,
G the hammers beat regularly each in turn. The operation of the unit is
286
402
[372]

Fig. 41

based on hydraulic power. The fabric slowly unrolls on the cylinder and the hammers beat it ceaselessly. A stream of water continually floods the cylinder containing the fabric, so that the latter is simultaneously exposed to the action of the water and the hammers. It is chiefly twill which is given this treatment.

The construction of this equipment is the work of peasants who also keep it in operation. It is therefore to the peasants that the Sarakatsani turn for the fulling of the fabrics and covers they make.

S /57/ The dyeing of fabrics
286
386

In order to complete the description of the techniques relevant

/57 cont./

286 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 42

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
[824] continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
[804] commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
[829] is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281
415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342
343 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal
824 shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/58 cont./

342 Metal is never used as a building material, not even in the form
343 of nails. The same holds true for stones or bricks. However, clayey earth is sometimes used.

To the problems of the dwelling, its outbuildings and shelters for the animals, the Sarakatsani has a single solution, always /59/ the same: the hut. For all the Sarakatsani building derive from the method of erecting a hut.

The dwelling and outbuildings.

342 The Sarakatsani are acquainted with two main categories of dwelling huts:

The round or circular huts surmounted by an almost conical cupola which, from a distance, makes them resemble wicker hives (fig. 45).

Fig. 44

The rectangular or "sloping" huts, (15) the base of which forms a rectangle (figs. 48-49).

15. According to the terminology of the Sarakatsani. They are called sloping in comparison with the circular huts which are also called "upright."

These categories include numerous variations, of which we shall speak after having described the fundamental types. Figure 44 shows these two types of huts.

/59 cont./

342 The round hut

Seen from the outside, it gives the impression of a solid created by a parabola around a perpendicular axis whose tangent is at the top of the hut (fig. 45).

From the ground to a height of 1.60 meters its diameter is about six meters. From this height upward the diameter starts to diminish progressively but rapidly, ending, at a /60/ height of approximately five meters, in a geometric point which forms the top of the hut. They /the huts/ therefore proceed "imperceptibly from the ground to the summit, they have neither walls nor roof properly speaking, but a conical surface." (16)

16. According to the typology of huts established by A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, p. 261, which corresponds perfectly to this type of Sarakatsani hut.

The entire construction rests on a framework composed of vertical elements and intersecting horizontal elements.

[291]

Fig. 45

/60 cont./

342
335 The vertical part is built of strong posts approximately 1.30 meters high, which are driven into the ground and thus constitute the foundations of the hut. That is why the posts must be planted at regular intervals (about 60 centimeters) on the circumference of the base, marked off beforehand on the ground.

The fundamental framework completed, one proceeds to the construction of the top, called "crown" which acts as the "keystone" assuring the balance and solidity of the entire building. /61/ It consists of a ring 50 centimeters in diameter, made up preferably of wicker stalks, slender, strong and flexible, that are twisted together.

Next, long, defoliated branches, one end of which is notched, are fastened to the crown which thus rests in the groove formed by the totality of the notches (fig. 46).

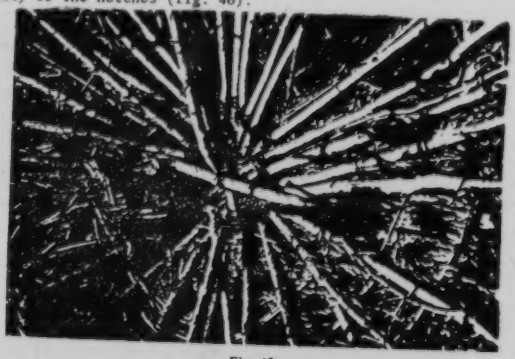

Fig. 46

Care is taken that the length of these branches, when they are attached to the posts previously mentioned, corresponds to the height that one wishes to give the hut.

If the length of these branches is insufficient, several of them are fastened end to end until the desired length is obtained.

/61 cont./

342 When the construction of the branch-crown combination (the frame-
335 work of the roof and part of the vertical framework) is finished, it is set in place. The crown is mounted on a long fork of wood and raised so that the fork, set vertically, rests on the ground in the center of the hut where it is firmly secured. After that, the free ends of the /62/ branches are fastened to the upper ends of the posts, the number of the first corresponding to that of the second.

However, the framework is not yet finished, for it requires horizontal elements.

Perpendicularly to the posts and parallel to the ground one arranges long, preferably slender, branches which one attaches with

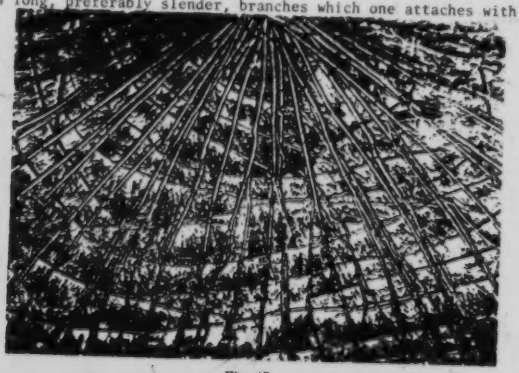

Fig. 47

plant cords to the vertical elements around which they turn. Actually, they are large circles which are placed over the vertical structure at intervals of approximately 30 to 40 centimeters (fig. 47) between the base and the summit.

342 The construction of the hut is completed with the construction of the covering, which may be divided into two phases.

/62 cont./

342 824 The first /phase/ consists of filling in the checker work formed by the intersection of the vertical and horizontal elements of the framework by spreading on them branches, foliage, even bushes in a thin and sparse layer that is kept in place by plant cords.

The second /phase/ consists of covering this first layer with bushes (holly, etc.) or with small branches of fir, /63/ plane tree, etc., previously tied into bunches, thay are placed vertically side by side all around the hut, beginning at the ground, and only to the height of the posts. From there to the top one proceeds in similar fashion but using aquatic plants (reeds, rushes, etc.).

It should be added that these bunches of aquatic plants, meant to insure the impermeability of the hut, are spread out in circular layers arranged in such a way that the lower side of each layer slightly covers the upper side of the one placed directly below it. This arrangement, which forms very distinct areas overlapping from top to bottom, in a succession of real tiers, promotes the running-off of rain water.

342 Finally, the construction described is supported by horizontal lacings--concentric rings wound around the exterior surface of the hut--which hold in place the covering and increase the stability of the construction, especially against the wind.

It sometimes happens, especially in the case of huts used for winter living in cold regions, that a second roof is added. That is [824] to say, a hood the size of the hut, made of bunches of rushes superimposed on one another, entirely prepared beforehand on the ground, is set in place by means of forks.

In order to complete the description, it is necessary to add that in the course of the construction an opening is left to permit entrance into the hut.

A closing, in the form of a dry hedge or of boards, acts as a door; a firm post is used as an upright.

/63 cont./

The rectangular hut, called "sloping"

342 This is a rectangular hut also called "house-hut" by the Sarakatsani because it looks like a village cottage but is entirely built of branches (fig. 48 and 49).

The materials used for this construction are the same as those that go into the construction of the round hut.

[335] This building, obviouly more complicated than the preceding one, for it includes vertical walls and a roof with two sides, rests on forks made of trunks or long branches of fir, plane tree, etc., specially selected and slightly shaped.

/64/ The dimensions of its rectangular base are on an average eight meters long by four meters wide, but they may vary according to the number of inhabitants.

342 335 After having traced on the ground the outlines of the plan, that is to say, a rectangle of the desired dimensions, one sets in the center of each of the two sides representing the width of the rectangle a fork approximately three meters high; then four forks 1.60 meters high are set successively at the four angles of this rectangle.

According to the length of the projected hut, one drives into the ground one, two and sometimes three additional forks of the same height along each of the big sides of the rectangle. Thus we have a total of eight, ten or twelve forks which constitute the foundations of the hut. Then the framework proper is erected (fig. 49).

On the two high center forks is placed a trunk which serves as ridge pole, while from one fork to the other one places a series of trunks, one after the other, in such a way that, by joining their upper ends, one obtains a tie-beam forming a rectangle parallel to that which was traced on the ground. Then, two small trunks or branches are placed obliquely on either side of the center fork which they join to the forks at angles, similar to rafters forming two gables. All these trunks and all these branches are fastened to each other or

/64 cont./

342 335 to the forks by plant cords or ropes.

Finally, the top of the hut, which ultimately takes the shape of a roof with two places slanting from the ridge is built parallel to the main rafters. It is made up of a series of long branches that serve as rafters, their number determined by that of another series of long posts set vertically in the ground. Actually, one plants on each of the long sides, at intervals of 40 to 50 centimeters, a certain number of posts 1.60 meters high ending in a fork. Now, to each of these posts which reach the height of the tie-beam there corresponds a rafter to which it is lashed in the manner we have already described.

It should be said here that the ends of the rafters sharply project beyond the tie-beams to form an overhang protecting the hut from rainwater.

For the construction of the low sides of the rectangle one also uses posts planted sometimes vertically, sometimes at an angle /65/ / Figs. 48 and 49 appear here/ /66/ so that, in the latter case, they delineate an arc at the base, the span of which represents the width of the hut and the height of which (approximately 50 centimeters) inclines outward from the center fork.

342 As a consequence, the two short sides of the hut are either rectilinear of parabolic at their base; it follows that the corresponding walls are flat in the first instance and convex in the second.

Finally, the covering of this framework remains to be described.

[824] Horizontal stalks are lashed to the vertical components at intervals

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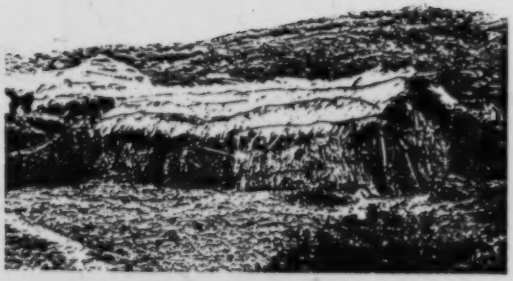

Fig. 48

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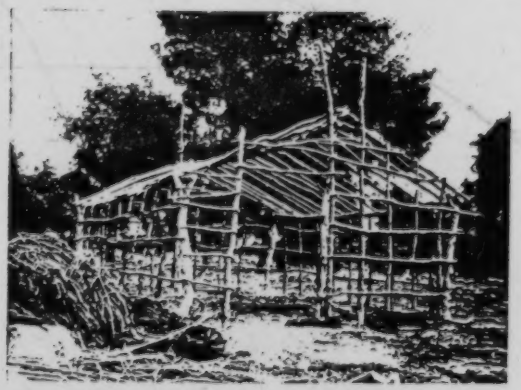

Fig. 49

/66 cont./

342

Fig. 50

342 of 30 centimeters, while on the roof long stalks are attached parallel
824 to the tie-beams. With bunches of branches and leaves, and proceeding in the manner described for the round hut, that is to say in tiers, one covers the walls and the roof. In addition, bunches of aquatic plants are spread on the latter.

It often happens that the walls themselves are finished off with a layer of these aquatic materials.

342 While the construction of the round hut provides a single opening
354 that serves as entrance, that of the rectangular hut also provides a window, sometimes even two. Depending on the size of the hut, the opening, 1.30 centimeters high by 80 centimeters wide, is situated /67/ either on the width (in the case of large huts) or on the length (in that of small ones), while the windows are situated either on the side opposite or the side contiguous to that of the door.

However, in most cases what we call "windows" are only narrow openings cut into the two small sides of the hut, particularly at the point where the large center forks join the ridge pole. Usually, the

/67 cont./

342

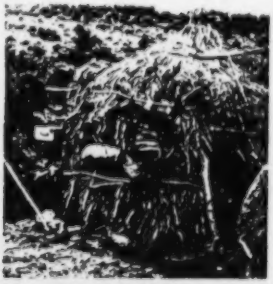

Fig. 51

[354] walls on these sides stop several centimeters below at this point, thus leaving an opening approximately 60 centimeters wide that is never closed (fig. 52).

The door proper is the same type as that of the round hut.

Variations of the two kinds of huts described (fig. 50 and 51):

Variations of the round hut: the diameter of these huts does not exceed 2.50 meters and in general they are from 1.80 to 2.20 meters high.

Their construction is really very simple.

/68/ Long stems, starting from the ground on a circumference marked out in advance, join at the ridge thus forming the vertical part of the frame, the general appearance of which reminds us of a wicker beehive.

Horizontal lacings attached to the vertical components spaced at intervals from the ground to the top, in the manner previously described. An opening permitting entry is always provided; it is closed by a door made either of branches, boards or a cloth.

/68 cont./

342 (324) Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

342 (354)

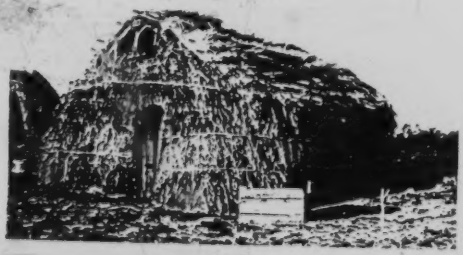

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

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[335]

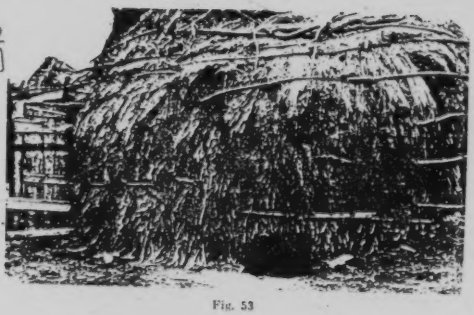

Fig. 53

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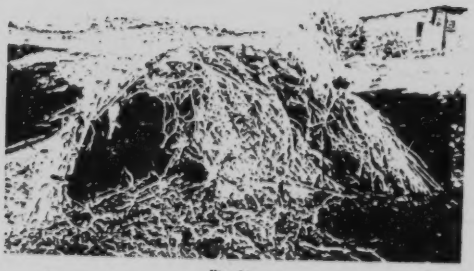

Fig. 54

/70 cont./

342 For the first /variation/ the basic materials consist of:
335

Fig. 55

a) Only two forks set in the middle of the sho sides of the rectangle drawn on the ground, that is to say, oppos each other.

b) A trunk resting horizontally on these forks.

These forks are approximately two meters high, whereas the horizontal trunk is from two to three meters long.

Long branches are then driven into the ground on the two large sides of the rectangle at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters; their height exceeds that of the forks. Their upper ends are tied to the horizontal trunk that constitutes the ridge pole; they thus form true crossed arches (fig. 53 and 55).

/71/ The side walls of these huts are always convex in shape.
342 Of course, the method used in the construction of the frame as well as the covering, scarcely differs from that of the buildings already described.

343 The second /variation/, that is to say the sloping huts built

/71 cont./

343 without forks, are even more simple. In general, their shape is no longer rectangular. Their base is more of an ellipse, the large axis

Fig. 56

of which is of variable length, according to circumstances. On the outline of this ellipse, always drawn on the ground in advance, the Sarakatsani plant long branches spaced 30 to 40 centimeters apart; the free end of each of these branches is lashed to that of the branch opposite it, so as to form a high arch from 1.50 to 1.80 meters. Basically, what is involved is a vaulted framework (fig. 54, 56).

An opening in these huts, which must serve as entrance door, is always provided for at one of the two ends of the big axis.

From the technical point of view there is no difference to be noted in the process of construction.

342 With respect to the use to which these two variations of the hut
343 are put, it is necessary to say, in anticipation of our analyses concerning utilization, that those which are based on forks are always intended for living quarters.

The others serve:

--as sheds or storerooms,

--to shelter looms,

/72/--as stable for the chief's horse,

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,

--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/72 cont./

343 419 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others, such as:

a) The frétzato.

b) The oven.

c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / Figs. 57 and 58 appear here/ A

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343] [354]

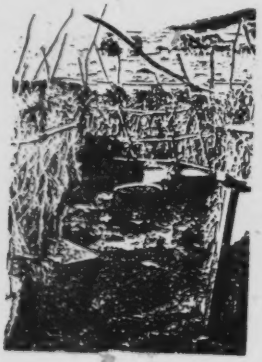

FIG. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

A (See p.80 Analysis)

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342
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Fig. 57

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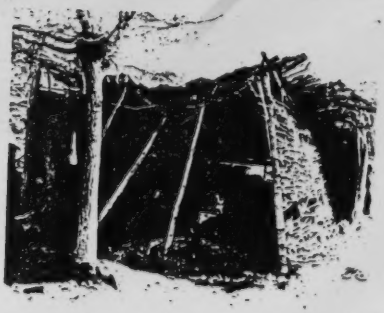

Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut,
417 specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

The "frétzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round
[343] or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger): then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 The second type of this construction is the "independent
417 frétzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki,",let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

/75 cont./

343 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters
417 high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the frétzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the
252 basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

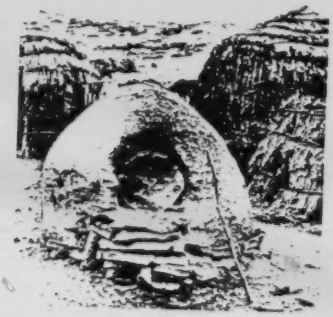

Fig. 60

/76 cont./

343 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long,
252 defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged
333 horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is
252 covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

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[361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/78 cont./

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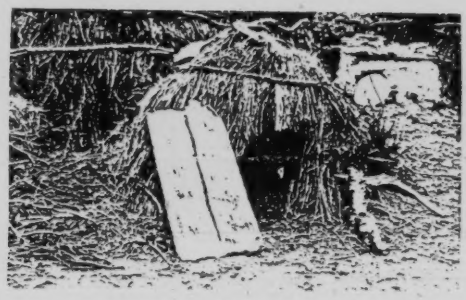

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings.

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

/79/

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Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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Fig. 63

/79 cont./

352 Often, a row of benches almost the same height and some 50 centimeters wide, called "the beds," is added to the low wall. These benches which run the length of the low wall and complete it, are made of small forks set vertically in the ground; interlaced twigs and branches laid on these form the servicable horizontal surface (fig.63).

354 In the round hut the hearth is placed in a definite spot which often, but not necessarily, coincides with the center of the hut.

On the other hand, in the rectangular hut the hearth is situated on that side of the two forks sustaining the rafters which is nearest the entrance.

/80/ In all these cases the hearth is more or less perfectly round in shape. The foundation consists of a series of rough stand flags set side by side and held in place with mud. The part of the hearth turned toward the entrance always has a border of a low wall of an equal mixture of earth and pebbles, from 35 to 40 centimeters

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Fig. 64

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare

[342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

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Fig. 65

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not [252] unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 417 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p.84--Analyst]

/82 cont./

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Fig. 66

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/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and
(824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

/83/

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Fig. 67

/84/

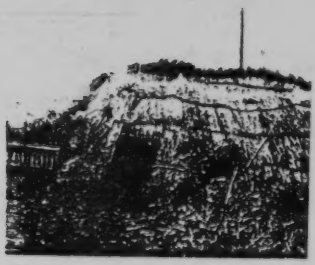

Fig. 68

/84 cont./

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Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very (824) much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

/85/

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Fig. 70

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343 /86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

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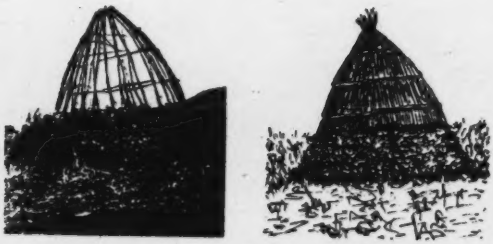

Fig. 71

shelters for the animals, let us mention the tsardhaki where the animals rest during the hot hours of summer days; this, of course, has a different shape from that set apart as a resting place for humans (fig. 72).

It is a kind of "kiosk" open on all sides and built from a certain number of forks of varying height, arranged in a circle, on which are laid horizontially /87/ long defoliated stems surmounted by foliage and boughs forming a roof. It is in this "kiosk" that the flocks seek refuge from the sun.

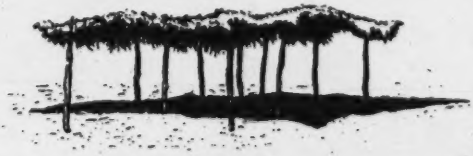

Fig. 72

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).[A]

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

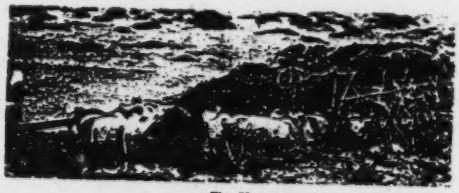

Fig. 73

233 /38/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have
231 large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their
235 number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them,
[492] The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

[A] [Fig. 75 appears on p 108--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice
233 herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different
128 phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to
232 whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[442] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/89 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which actually, give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to:

--the quality of the grass,

--species of animals,

--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.

--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
241 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
[439] rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233 232 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

(113) 20. P. Veyvret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

--the search for good fodder;

--the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;

--finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/91 cont./

232 question of that, at least within the framework of traditional life.
[154] Apart from precautions against the "evil eye" and witchcraft, these nomads do not hesitate themselves to undertake altogether empirical treatment and sometimes true surgery.

The most common sicknesses, according to the Sarakatsani nomenclature are:

Parmard. The sheep suffer from pains in their feet and can no longer walk; in addition, the ewes that are stricken with it cease producing milk. The treatment consists in preparing /92/ an infusion of elaterion (wild cucumber, family of American cucurbitaceae) which is administered to the sick animals.

Dragomara. The joints of the feet swell and suppurate. The treatment is the same as the preceding.

Fouskomma (tympanites). Here they resort to blood-letting by cutting a vein near the left eye. They also cut an ear or the tail of the sick animal.

Surgical operations consist of:

--setting dislocated or fractured limbs which are treated with ligatures;

--trephining /perforating/ the skull of the sheep. This procedure is applied when a small cyst forms in the head of the sheep, which makes them very excited (the Sarakatsani say that they become "insane"), using a technique the substance of which is as follows:

The shepherd most experienced in this type of intervention immobilizes the sick animal by tying its feet. Then he feels its head in order to determine the spot where he must enter. He thereupon shaves the wool and removes it by using an iron heated in the fire. After which, with a very sharp knife he cuts the top of the skull at an angle and detaches the bone he has cut. He thereby obtains an opening

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving, Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in
233 the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real
234 cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as
484 is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation
361 of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new
[439] settlement.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233 --Unloading of the animals.
361 --Pitching of the tents.
484 --Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which [illegible] es on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the
[415] "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
281 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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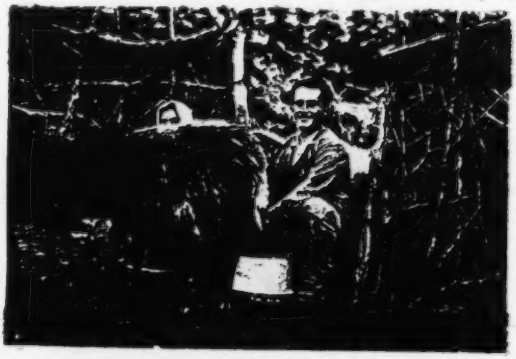

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/95 cont./

233 [432] sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 353 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).A [513] Piled one on top of another all around the hut and covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A, [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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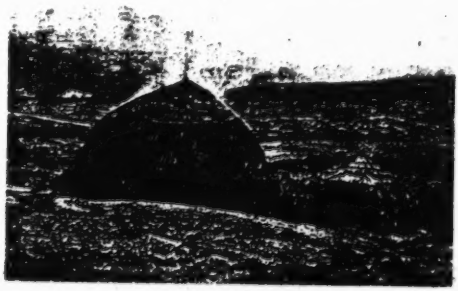

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a frétzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(574) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

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Fig. 77

[Men's Apparel]

/99 cont./

291 Sarakatsani clothing.

We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

(171) Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and (292) their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course,
531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been
178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79).A Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[101] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

A. [Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

29| apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental
178 Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it
(171) is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).*

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).*

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

29| The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.*

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118]

*[Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

/102/

142
302
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Men's Apparel

Fig. 78

Fig. 79

Fig. 80

Fig. 82

Fig. 81

Fig. 83

/Women's Apparel/

/103 cont./

29 [531] 1st The previously mentioned "tsarouchia", likewise ornamented with pompons though considerably smaller ones than those of the men.

2nd "Stockings" (fig. 87) that cover the legs only to the knee. [531] These stockings are knitted in geometric motifs, but only in black on white.

3rd By way of underclothing the women wear in winter a pair of pants stopping at the knees and woven of goat hair, to protect them from the cold, especially when they are obliged to cross streams on foot.

4th A wool undershirt protects the bust. On top of this undershirt they wear a very short shirt (it reaches to the hips) made of a cotton fabric. It has relatively short sleeves, that are very full and pleated. The scantiness of this shirt constitutes a health measure. If it were longer, the lower part would be in danger of becoming wet during the crossing of streams; now, drying next to the skin could cause serious health problems.

5th The dress proper includes: a very wide skirt falling to the [531] feet, pleated and decorated with white embroidery in geometric designs. This skirt is fastened at the waist by a leather belt (fig. 88).

[531] 6th A bib, likewise embroidered with geometric motifs, as a rule black on white, protects the chest and reaches down to the waist (fig. 86).

7th From the wrist to the elbows the forearms are covered with "stockings" identical with the stockings that protect the legs.

8th The vest, three varieties of which we have described, is also a part of the women's apparel, but only in two forms. On the one hand, there is a simple black vest, which does not button in front /104/ /Women's Apparel Figs. 84-88 appear here/ /105/ thus leaving the bib showing and, on the other hand, a longer vest the back of which is ornamented with two false sleeves embroidered and open, starting at the shoulders. It is rather a kind of short coat, as its name also suggests: "kontokapa" (fig. 85).

9th An ornamental collar, pleated and likewise embroidered, completes the dress. /Fig. 89 appears here/

3: Kabbadias--119 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

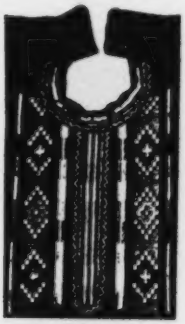

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 85

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

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Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

[531]
[765]
[888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

301 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from [531] those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the [301] relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, velentzoula).

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291 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider 294 Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)A are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

A, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

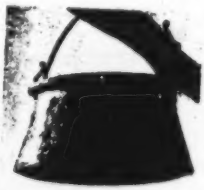

Fig. 91

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

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Fig. 94

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/112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

/112 cont./

252 262 with water and gathers up the small balls which form spontaniously. Water is brought to a boil. A small quantity of oil or butter and then seasoning are added. Sometimes these pellets, are fried in oil together with onions.

"Tripsàna," "papàra," and "kousmari" are dishes prepared chiefly by shepherds during their stay in the sheepfolds far from the dwellings. Here we have an exception to the rule (23)

23. See below, pp. 177-179.

which demands that culinary work be reserved for the women.

Now we come to the preparation of pastries, the most characteristic of which are the following:

The pastry with grasses: between layers of dough well rubbed with oil or butter and placed in a flat receptacle one spreads a layer made up of a mixture of edible wild aromatic herbs finely chopped, onions, cheese, butter or oil seasoned with salt and pepper and slightly cooked beforehand in a saucepan.

/113/ Another mixture may also be substituted, likewise cooked beforehand and containing cheese, milk, butter and flour. In this case the pastry which is called "galatopitta," is considered a treat.
/Fig. 95 appears here/

For the "striftopitta" or "psaropitta" the method of preparation is completely different. One starts by kneading a dough with a flour base whereupon one divides it into several parts. Each part is carefully worked with the "plastis" on the "plastiri" (fig. 95) until one obtains a circle approximately 60 centimeters in diameter, as thin as a sheet of paper, which is called /114/ "fylla" (leaf). Let us say parenthetically that these "fylla," placed one on top of the other in a receptacle may take the place of the various layers of dough in the preparation of the pastries already described. Then one prepares a mixture of white cheese and "trachanas." (24)

/113/

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142
412

Fig. 95

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[191]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/114 cont./

252 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to
262 speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter,
[527] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time
[574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which pre-
[252] suppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64). In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

A,/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/115 cont./

372

Fig. 94

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

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With regard to cooking, various methods can be distinguished:

Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the"ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
[412] by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15)[A] in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

[A] /Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134)

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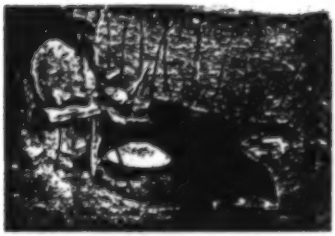

Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

292 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

292 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

292 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when 273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening 415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A,/Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B,/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be
182 formulated:

177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is
182 their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 To this characteristic another should be added, namely the
182 traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations
177 practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we
[176] were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
[171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28)

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

in the highest degree.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/121 cont./

105 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the
182 imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of eff ctive arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study succesively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

594 /124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.

[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the 612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful 596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 <u>Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions</u>.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [753] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an [613] exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/126 cont./

582 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction
613 of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the
182 same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the
582 Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth
613 degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and
173 defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and
613 never beyond that. (3)
173

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

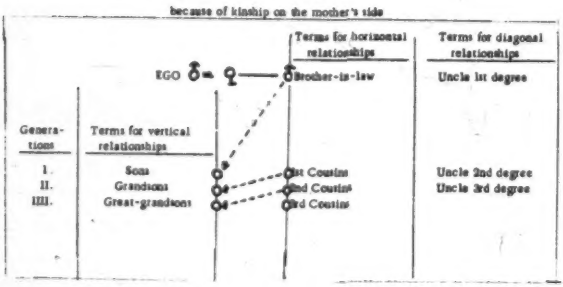
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and
(602) his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates
(613) for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

/128 cont./

582 602 (613) system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses; second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:... reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

582 /129 cont./
Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)
582

7. In the official law as well.

two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious [788] ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to [191] this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

/130 cont./

608 That is why the participants afterwards call each other stavradelphia, that is to say "brothers in the cross."

The stavradelphia owe each other fraternal love and a solidarity which sometimes exceeds that of natural brothers. As to their only sister, they owe her protection and support in all circumstances of her life.

The ethnic origin of the participants, or better still, their belonging to different cultural groups, does not constitute an obstacle to the fraternization. For this act may be carried out not only between Sarakatsani, but between Sarakatsani, peasants and even Koutsovalaques. We should keep this in mind because it will permit us to understand the multiple functions of marriage among our herders.

608 582 Be that as it may, marriage is, of course, prohibited between the stavradelphia and their sister.

It is likewise prohibited between one of the participants and the sisters, cousins and other natural kinsmen up to the sixth degree of another participant, for the latter occupies the place of a true brother in the family of the former.

Fraternization "in the cross," therefore, concerns not only the participants, but also their respective families. Thus there is created "a whole corporation with numerous ramifications." (10)

10. D. Loukopoulou: Ibid., p. 211.

* * * *

582 /131/ From all that has gone before we may conclude that the system of prohibitions examined above prescribes a negative behavior in the sense that the Sarakatsani knows perfectly well who the individuals are who cannot be considered as potential spouses; but he never knows who the individual is whom he will marry. The marriage rules of Sarakatsani society do not prescribe marriage of one of its members with a specific person.

[583] Consequently, it is certain that we are faced with a generalized system of exchange of women, (11) the existence of which plays a very important

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the
[583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
43 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality:
R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 62 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socfally as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 581 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ <u>The Principles of Married Life.</u>

585 602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[520] [494] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a dialogue between the future spouses:

[533] [539]

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 (516) custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
(178) but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

(551) The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
(553) that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
(586) perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
(182) what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
(533) the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
(538) says:
(539)

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

(593) Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
(594) expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/140 cont./

585 602 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," 848 surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that 562 everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her 613 descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, 602 let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the 833 sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the 602 family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework 834 of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, 831 especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
> [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
> despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
> extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

[593] [152] [182]

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (of my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between
594 the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form
593 of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and
[428] the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision
594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

594 593 /147 cont./

obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539] 24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 593 and make the best of it.
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/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/150 cont./

596 613 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4).A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596 421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended [613] family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

A. /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

3: Kabbadias--168A E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/150 cont./

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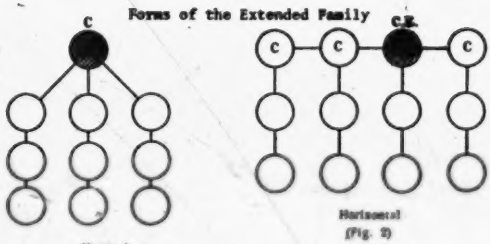
613

TABLE No. 4

Forms of the Extended Family



Vertical
(Fig. I)

Horizontal
(Fig. II)

C = head

C. E. = elected head

/ 151 cont./

596 share of the fortune from their father and move away.
421

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended
421 family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle
428 which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance.
428 The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families.
(612) It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have
(171) received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/153 cont./

596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners. However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

596 461 474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

/154 cont./

596 461 474 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 434 474 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dispostion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 434 474 454 556 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And [571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 474 556 571 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have repercussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/ a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
596 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
474 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
434 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
233 However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 494 689 434 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.

[431] However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of [illegible] importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsa[illegible] [illegible]t absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. [illegible] old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 494 689 431 182 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect, that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman, and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 494 434 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 494 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
121 as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
596 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
474 their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
[594] and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsáni society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tsélígato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
[594] 34. The model of this type of living-together already
[213] existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
[171] Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

/159 cont./

596 364 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken [562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from [233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of 462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats [233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to [235] the women.

[36] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in [22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The [484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men, [322]

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical
233 criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

--The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept [233] work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of [964] members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

--The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are [256] occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or [286] mandani.

--The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish [656] administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
134
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
596 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
594 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
[561] which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
554 give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
[584] of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[178] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very
[584] significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also, are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [596] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/167/

596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

527 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil
[789] eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must
593

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

/168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by
596 comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
578 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
[126] moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
[128] means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs, both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
596 474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
[594] extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/169 cont./
596 626 [113] exercised by the family.

39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XXe siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the [867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the

[594] one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.

171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)

113 42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[174] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 191 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Starechina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Nevakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Bouchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Starechina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Starechina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is

[B29] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and

191 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

/174 cont./

596 171 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113] 51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, C. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Cage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

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/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 494 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agrotícha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 424 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 427 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./

233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.

(54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 199 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 499 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 404 426 233 424 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 199 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 199 554 404 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 499 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

596 474 /176 cont./
ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

596 474 554 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. [428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the [868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

/177 cont./

596 474 554 However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

474 [596 Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

474 675 The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not [432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 596 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/179 cont./

[474] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
[59] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[629] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(889) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(695) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/182 cont./

474 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the
596 same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families
675 take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

182 As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made
[474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
171 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

* * * *

/184 cont./

619 186 [474] Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 474 596 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

177 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

179 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign
[171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all,
596 which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families;
594 a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
[177] and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
474

This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[571] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/190 cont./

474 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic
182 level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and
433 consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tséligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not un-
439 mindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a <u>specialized</u>
73 <u>economy.</u> It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[934] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/192 cont./

436 437 474 562 [489] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

[471] Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani 433 476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani 438 439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities 462 434 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. 433 562 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/192 cont./

462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
342 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly
562 related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
177 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

S 671 128 /195 cont./

Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

* * * *

S [195] In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

S 671 191 Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

G 671 195 1. See particularly: Ἀπό τῆς Λογίας Παραδόσεως εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κάβκα. — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

S 671 171 /196 cont./
(chapter 5, 51) which allows all conquered peoples the right of extra-
G 671 175 territoriality, and to exercise a policy of tolerance toward the
institutions of the vanquished, (2) granted privileges to the Greek population.

2. A. Toynbee: Histoire, pp. 193-200, gives a good account of Ottoman administrative ideas.

S 671 171 The Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Church (the only organi-
zation of the Hellenes which survived the disaster) thenceforth assumed
G 671 795 175 the legal functions of the Hellenic nation and represented an authority
to which the Christians could turn in order to settle their dispates.

However, this new ecclesiastical authority, at any rate during the first century of occupation, remained more theoretical than actual: first, because no method was provided for carrying out the verdicts rendered; second, because it dealt chiefly with questions pertaining to family and inheritance law, hence its domain was very limited.

On the other hand, during this same period, Turkish law required that all other questions be brought before the Turkish tribunals. Moreover, in order that a certain number of acts and /197/ covenants concluded between Christians by legally valid, they were obliged to take on the form provided by Turkish law.

G [688] Nonetheless, injured patriotism and distrust of their occupiers on the part of the resident Greeks, lax and inefficient organization of the Ottoman administration, finally the establishment of excommunication by the Church in the form of sanctions against those who refused to conform to its verdicts and who preferred to appeal to the legal process of the infidel enemies were sufficient motives for the Greek population to turn more and more to ecclesiastical law. And so the powers of the latter expended in time.

The law applied, moreover, continued to be the Byzantine law, included in the legislation of the Emperors, as well as the Cannon law of the Orthodox Church.

S 671 171 G 671 175 Parallel with this movement another took shape. The development of a

S /197 cont./
671 local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges
171 resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered
G according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as
671 the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)
175

Κ. Cl. N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Τινά περί τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν τριχωρίων. — Ν. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ : Τό Ἑλληνικόν Δημόσιον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΣΟΠΟΤΟΥ : « Γῆ καὶ Γεωργοί τῆς Θεσσαλίας ». — G. TEHERKOMB : *Le notion juridique de l'indépendance.*

S A third movement must still be added: justice administered by
671 arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.
171

G As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law,
671 the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the
175 Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters
692 already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: Βυζαντιναὶ Γράμματα Τουρκικά.

S Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was
671 immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private)
175 first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

S At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the
671 official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the
175 rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals
G had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual
671 law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided
175 the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.
[692]

S /198 cont./
671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S
[128] We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175] /199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
[688]

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
199
[688] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
622 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
199 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

G /200/
671 /200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: «[illegible]» with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life.
S It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also
671 favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external
177 law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same princi-
S ples,despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis,
[174] absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of
[114] data.

G Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within
671 the framework of the second period:
175 When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new
S state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to
[671] the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.
[177]

G The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely
648 disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took
729 many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have
641 all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on
671 their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

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has developed gradually and in step with the organization of the administration.

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However, the actual and practical introduction of public law among the /201/ Sarakatsani was disastrous to their way of life. The obligatory contacts with the sedentary population (army, dependence on villages), participation in political activity (elections, participation in local administration), the social policy of the State (integration of the Sarakatsani into agricultural cooperatives, concession of building sites, etc.), the legal control of their lives (application of the penal law, application of rules of public order), etc., have created conditions altogether unfavorable to their culture. Moreover, to the extent that our herders became legally villagers and found themselves involved in relationships and situations to which public law was applicable, they were obliged to conform to it and to adopt arrangements issuing from official private law.

Now the latter was also disastrous for Sarakatsani life, because it was promulgated, not in terms of their kind of life or of other kinds of traditional life that existed in the country, but according to principles of legal science formulated by lawyers, hence by technicians, who more often preferred faultless scientific constructions to what popular opinio necessitatis had developed in the course of centuries.

In this leveling and colorless juridical ambience Sarakatsani law has no chance to survive. Thus, the legal dualism of which we spoke at the beginning is yielding little by little to a monism, that of official law, public as well as private.

The day when this monism will be generally imposed is not far off. And that very day will sound the knell of the Sarakatsani, as such, since that law is deeply grafted to social reality.

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/201 cont./

121 671 The preceding account is based entirely on the presupposition that the Sarakatsani have a law which is their own. Thus our task at present is to discover this law, to describe it, to stress its peculiarities, in a word, to establish its existence and its limits.

/202/ SARAKATSANI LAW STRICTLY SPEAKING

IN SEARCH OF THE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION

AND DIFFERENTIATION

The only truly legal manifestations that we find when we examine Sarakatsani life are the obstacles to marriage, the prohibition against sexual relations outside marriage, the contract with the Tsélligas, arbitration, and finally crimes and misdemeanors.

However, are these truly matters of law? And if so, must one conclude from them that the legal life of the Sarakatsani is limited to these? Or must one rather concede, along with certain theorists, that the non-existence of courts and organized forces for the application of sentences shows that these herders are without any law? (7)

(113) 7. See W. Seagle: The quest for law/cited in English/, pp. 34, 60-69.

Or, finally, must we, along with other theorists, accept the opposite opinion which holds that our nomads have law, since they have customs, and that the totality of their customs represents the law of their society? (8)

(113) 8. See E. Sidney Hartland: Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 5. "Primitive law is in truth the totality of customs of the tribe"/cited in English/.

These alternatives show very well that in order to be able to adopt a position we must try to explore the life of the Sarakatsani from some workable criteria.

The general theory of law offe. several methods of approach to legal matters, based on the characteristics of the latter, which we hereby

/202 cont./

121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.

671 First, each point of law has a normative character. However,

121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this

183 critierion cannot be used by itself.

671 It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[171] [113] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10) .

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

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11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584]

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

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14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in therealization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

/204 cont./

121 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states
671 of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of
183 persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

[113]

of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

121 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the
671 other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

/204 cont./

121 the presence of agents of law forces people to conform to it when no
671 infraction has been committed (and before such an infraction). Coercion isolated from sanction, therefore constitutes one of the criteria of law.

However, although a social guarantee represents the chief criterion of the law, this criterion is utilizable only in combination with the totality of the criteria mentioned. For constraint, whatever its form, is not necessarily linked to law.

* * * *

/205/ Now, somewhat anticipating of our conclusion, we shall state immediately that the application of these criteria shows that the Sarakatsani have law, much more rich and complicated than appearances indicate, and that this law bears the imprint of the originality of their lives.

671 We propose now, for the convenience of the analysis, to present
128 first the totality of the disclosed rules and principles, classified, not according to the classificatory criteria of evolved laws inadequate in the case that concerns us, (18)

18. See J. Lips: Government, chap. X, p. 487.--O.W. Holmes: cited by Hoebel, ibid., p. 20: "The past gives us our vocabulary and fixes the limits of our imagination." /cited in English/

but according to the issues on which these rules are based. We shall make two subdivision: one devoted to non-criminal law and the other to criminal law. This distinction is based on what the Sarakatsani themselves say, although non-conformity to non-criminal law carries punishments and thus resembles penal law. Before going on to the second subdivision we shall try to show that everything we consider law truly possesses this character. For criminal law, this problem does not arise, the punishment bearing out the nature of the relevant rules.

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67 We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation
[128] of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family
429 council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well
768 as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management
602 of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father, who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter
[474] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same
[596] Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 768 562 429 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian" of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec- [602] tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 593 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes the form of strict law. (19)

> 19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 593 428 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/207 cont./

671 exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited
593 share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and
[428] thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

474 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in
675 Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the
671 Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

/208 cont./

474 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani
675 society and its cultural system.
671

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the
691 questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.
627 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always
692 obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who
691 are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society
[197] is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between
692 members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties
621 concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).
[602]

If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and
[474] the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/208 cont./

691 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other,
692 according to circumstances and the case at hand.
627

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their
627 opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already con-
696 stituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

627 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may
696 make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

494 First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one
675 of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter
627 has not properly fulfilled his obligations. In return, the participant
692 expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the
[686] "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tsóligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
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21. K. Karabida: Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
[596]

Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tsóligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tsóligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

121 /210 cont./
676 in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there
692 will no longer be any doubt about their nature.
629 We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

(124) Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/211 cont./

121 696 692 629 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to the good will of those concerned.

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing. 696 692 629 626 [686] [494] We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis) --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./

696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
622 Mauss. (27)
626

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[494] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
621 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/213 cont./

627 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological
692 influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality,
627 on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external
696 causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this
(113) concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/. --O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

* * * *

626 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this
627 mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it
692

/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12. Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
691 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and
/one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

673 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
674 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
682 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the
627 blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.
628

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important
628 lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted
613 several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which
[581] seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682
627 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stéreá Hellas) recently

/217 cont./

682 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of
627 Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the
[602] vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is
627 not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Other-
628 wise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be
182 ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed
682 out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies,
627 that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by
628 enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members,
182 the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta
682 mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave
627 one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals,
581 by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively.
182 They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
[171] it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[126] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[774]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[555] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

/222 cont./

685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 Calumny and defamation.

626 Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

[113] 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

/223 cont./

[67] [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources [596] is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/225 cont./

681 Among the Sarakatsani, sanctions and coercion, always social, can only exceptionally be organized (groups when they impose isolation, individuals according to the instances enumerated), since, ordinarily, there are no special agents or coercion. They /i.e. sanction and coercion/ are either provided for (customs) or spontaneous, and they are only exceptionally imposed directly by physical force, the case of sanction of crimes and misdemeanors constituting a peculiarity which we must consider separately.

But there is more. Though sanction is the result of an infraction and strikes the one who has committed it, though coercion is a function that assures the application of sanction, though, finally, both sanction and coercion always go together in evolved societies, coercion never being thought of independently from sanction, among the Sarakatsani coercion may intervene and act without any sanction having been formulated beforehand. Its aim, in 671 that case, is no longer the application of the sanction, but direct applica- 681 tion of the rules of law. It is a little as though in our societies the police directly required citizens to conform to the rules of law without their first having passed through the channel of adjudication, of sentence and of sanction. As a result, and we must emphasize this very specifically, the sanctions listed are directed more toward prevention than toward repression.

Sarakatsani society prefers to protect itself in advance of any disorder by an appropriate and preventive maintenance of its law, rather than having to put right explosive and dangerous situations. However, when despite all, the latter flair up, Sarakatsani society does not hesitate to suppress them by resorting to sanctions of a penal order, physically inflicted. These sanctions are strictly applied, depending on the nature of the disturbance.

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/226/ We should now like to draw attention to the fact that sanction and coercion are most often <u>disguised</u> in Sarakatsani law.

This phenomenon, represents one of the chief characteristics of Sarakatsani society. Quite apart from its importance in the life of the society, we believe that it can in addition contribute considerably to the theoretical

/226 cont./

671 and anthropological approach to laws other than those with which our advanced
681 societies are familiar.

This phenomenon is not entirely unknown to theorists. But if some
121 of them have had an inkling of it, no one, to our knowledge, has treated
671 it in clear terms. (36)

36. We have mentioned some of these authors in connection with some definite point. We shall take up their theories in their broad aspects, our previous remarks being an integral part of what follows.

In order to introduce the discussion, it will be well to start with certain comments on the famous work of B. Malinowski: Crime and Custom in Savage Society /cited in English/ (37)

(128) 37. Our questions refer to a French translation included in: Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, to which our quotations refer.

(1926). The publication of this work, in addition to the influence that it has subsequently had on the anthropological theory of law, has made it possible to state the problem correctly.

What Malinowski does is to protest against the interpretations dominated by the ideas of L. Morgan--those of "Bachofen, of Post, of Bernoft, of Konler and others who were grouped around the periodical Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (p. 10), those which are found again "in the works of the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works and in some English works" (p. 11). "Basic to all these ideas," he says, "was the postulate that in primitive societies the individual is totally dominated by the group, the horde, the clan or the tribe, that he obeys the commands of his community...with servile passivity, so to speak, bewitched" (p. 11).

He also protests against E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Rivers, cited above, who speak of an "unconscious and intuitive regulation of social life...

/226 cont./

121 671 closely bound up with primitive communism" (p. 14), and against Hobhouse who states that "if we understand by legislation a totality of rules imposed by an authority to which one is not bound by personal ties of /227/ kinship or friendship, we are obliged to state that such an institution is incompatable with the social organization of savages" (Morals in Evolution/ cited in English/, 1915, p. 73, quoted by Malinowski, ibid., p. 15). And Malinowski asks himself: "Is there not, at least as far as certain rules are concerned, a mechanism of constraint, perhaps not imposed by an external authority but based on actual motives and interests and on complex feeling?" (p. 15). And a little farther on he adds: "The extreme difficulty of the problem is due... to the very complex and diffuse character of the forces that constitute primitive law" (p. 17).

Malinowski believes that he finds the solution of this problem in the "principle of reciprocity," the "principle of do ut des /I give so that you may give/ which plays a dominant role in tribal life" (p. 82). For him, "the rights of the chief over ordinary people, those of the husband over his wife or of parents over their children are not exerted arbitrarily and in a unilateral fashion, but in conformity with clearly defined rules and are made up of successions of strictly reciprocated services" (p. 37--italics mine). This is all the more true of exchanges of an economic order, called "kula" (p. 24). The whole rests on the symmetry of structure which "constitutes the indispensable basis of all savage society" (p. 24). If the individual conforms absolutely to this "give and take" which extends throughout all social life, recompense awaits him at the end in the form of economic benefits or the augmentation of his prestige. If he does not conform to it "it will not be long before he is banished from social and economic life and he knows this perfectly well" (p. 34). In sum, the "civil" laws, the positive laws which govern all phases of tribal life are therefore made up of a totality of dominant obligations, considered as rights by one party, as duties by the other, rigorously maintained by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity

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inherent in the very structure of society... Their efficacy has its source in the rational appreciation of cause and effect by the natives, as well as in a certain number of personal and social feelings, such as ambition, vanity, pride, the desire to make the most of oneself by displaying one's talents, and also attachment, friendship, devotion and loyalty towards relatives...Legality represents one aspect of tribal life, one side of its structure rather than a totality of /228/ independent arrangement, a mechanism existing by itself...Legislation is a specific result of combinations which affect obligations, this combination making it impossible for the native to evade his responsibility without having to suffer the consequences" (p. 45). And Malinowski concludes his analysis with "an anticipation": "Research will one day discover almost everywhere that reciprocity, systematic influence, publicity and ambition are the principal factors which, in primitive legislation, impose obedience to its rules and prescriptions" (p. 51).

It is precisely this "anticipation" combined with the general interest in Malinowski's theory which has obliged us to dwell so long on this author.

We shall not comment on his idea of absolutely symmetrical organization and the dual structure of "savage" societies, the central axis of the whole system, on which contemporary anthropology has not spoken the final word. (38)

38. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie structurale, chapter VIII, where the author asks: "Do dual structures exist?"

Nor shall we deny that a network of reciprocities exists in all societies, both archaic and modern, and that constraints which spring from them, especially since we have acknowledged them among the Sarakatsani in almost identical terms as those of Malinowski. Finally, we are absolutely convinced of the fact that individuals have personal obligations and responsibilities which they try to evade. However, reciprocity and constraint aside, we believe that there remains a gap which entities such as "vanity, pride, ambition, desire to make the most of oneself, attachment, friendship, devotion, loyalty, etc.", proposed by Malinowski, do not fill.

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121 If we address ourselves to these entities we run two risks: first,
671 to confuse legal life with moral life in the sense that to conform to the entities enumerated means to obey certain social values sanctioned by general approval. It does not escape us that this approval implies a utilitarian aspect of which we shall speak in the next chapter. But this approval is not sufficient to insure absolute obedience by the persons concerned. Non-conformism represents "minor" dangers--the individual often is content with a minimum of consideration /229/ on the part of society.

Moreover, from the methodological point of view it appears that if one accepts this interpretation, one leaves the sociological field in favor of a psychologism limiting itself to "motivations" (a reality which only very partially explains our problem).

The second risk is based on the "motivations" in question. Ambition, pride, vanity, attachment, friendship, devotion, etc., are driving powers which can operate in two ways. They can uphold law, but they can also turn against it. For these motives, vanity for example or pride, have the power to launch conflicts and disagreements, sometimes very acute, between individuals and groups, and other individuals or other groups motivated by attachment, loyalty or friendship toward the interested parties may continue them and in doing so aggravate them and render them disastrous. Malinowski does not tell us why vanity and pride would be dominated by law and justice and not personal by self-esteem or egoism, nor why the authority of law would prevail over rebellious individualism. There is a point here which shows very well that psychology explains nothing if it is not used within concrete categories and framework.

121 This is why we believe that if we assume the mechanism of sanction and
671 disguised coercion, we thereafter understand how individuals and groups obey
681 law; we avoid confusion with morals and the introduction of extraneous psychological criteria into the true life of law. As a result, we base the latter on objective reality, the pressure that the "social milieu" exerts

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121 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the
67 acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effective-
68 ness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it.

121 Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain un-
67 certain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness
[114] of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Further-more, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/230 cont./

121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law." For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the
[681] conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's[4] idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior, the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior. These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

4. /i.e., J.-P.B. de Joselin de Jong--Analyst/

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
671 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
681 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
671 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
671 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

/232 cont./

12 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is
114 only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one
67 has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category
67 of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society
67 /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is
68 part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this author may lead. We take as an example "the negative organized sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation, even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
671 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
681 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
671 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/234 cont./

121 there is legal obligation when there is a precise definition of obli-
67 gation and a precise definition of infliction and for punishment... Obligation is simply more rigid and more legal in the case of law" (p. 112). That is not all. Mauss proposes still another criterion. "All laws are considered good by definition; then again, conformity to laws is good; it is necessary to social life. Everything that is in conformity is good, everything that is antagonistic to this conformism is bad. One would therefore recognize the moral and legal phenomenon by the presence of the idea of good and bad, previously defined and always sanctioned" (p. 112).

121 Now for Mauss the distinguishing criteria of law are three in number:
67 precisely defined obligation; precisely defined infliction /of penalty/
68 and punishment, hence sanction; authority based on the good, including the value of conformity to rules. These ideas are not unknown to us. We have criticized them in the foregoing. Let us recall that up to a certain point we share them. However, we see ourselves obliged to remark that if one contrasts diffuse sanction appropriate to moral phenomena with definite sanction, fixed and organized, as appropriate to law, one leaves out manifestly legal phenomena such as obedience to arbiters which appears not to be enforced by sanctions and, what is worse, one risks linking these phenomena to morality. This is the case for example, for G. Gurvitch, when he gives priority to morality over law in patriarchal societies. But we shall speak of this in the next chapter.

We should like to conclude this theoretical test by pointing out that if we introduce into the arsenal of the theory of law the idea of disguised sanction and coercion we shall be equipped with a new, very effective criterion which permits us to follow paths that have hitherto been inaccessible.

It does not escape us that our argument is based only on one example and that consequently, before being more fully accepted, it must be tested in other social contexts.

/235/

121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group
676 agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/235 cont./

671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[627] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/237 cont./

577 12 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 83 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [684] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] [886] [604] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/239 cont./

5. This opinion is also shared by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 61 f. who, referring to some cases of banditry by the Sarakatsani, is largely generalizing. There are evil-doers everywhere. must agree that they are an exception. Their morality positively excludes it.

Having identified their principal values, we now understand that almost all of Sarakatsani life is imbued with morality and that it is almost always present, as is proper to types of social life that have not yet been depersonalized, but are based on direct, non-mechanical relations and have preserved their entire human depth.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the aspect of moral life that we have just examined does not determine solely and in the final analysis what one must do in daily life, but also what one ought to become, the moral qualities that each Sarakatsani must acquire and with which he must build up his own personality. The values described suggest a model that each man, woman and child must follow and carry out by conforming to it as much as possible. The components of this model we already know, but in different contexts. We must therefore try to synthesize them in a few words and into a coherent picture, despite the risk of repetition.

The Sarakatsani must be temperate, chaste and reserved in his acts, his manners, his language; respectful of the social hierarchy and the discipline prescribed in the rules by which his social life functions; dilligent in the obligations and the exercise of rights related to his role and his social status; he must conform to the prescriptions of tradition to the point of rigidity.

In particular, in order to measure up to his duties, the head of a family or of the Tséligato must show prudence and foresight, action and application in the management of common interests. /240/ As administrator he must show competence, generosity and justice; and as manager and as a

/240 cont./

577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

* * * *

577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

/240 cont./

577 (182) Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

* * * *

/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, (867) first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to (626) morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this, whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

/241 cont./

577 Now the idea of "honor" depends upon the moral requirements that Saraktsani society imposes on its members. These may be grouped under two headings: minor moral requirements and major moral requirements.

Under the heading "minor requirements" we include every case in which a comparative conformity of individuals or groups to rules, norms, moral
577 propositions, etc., is tolerated. In all these instances the persons
156 involved may conform to norms closely or less closely without dishonor. If a person /242/ succeeds only more or less in embodying the ideal symbolic image presented to each according to his condition, his status, his role, if a person does not succeed in reaching perfection in commercial, economic, or administrative skill (8) (provided he is not a Tsóligas), if

> 8. Underneath these attributes one finds a "morality of usefulness" according to the terminology of G. Gurvitch, the existence of which is attested by a consideration of the honor those enjoy who achieve it: Ibid., p. 149.

he is not capable of becoming a "rebel leader" or an "animal thief," etc., he is not dishonored, but merely not honored, not distinguished in the crowd. On the other hand, a person is dishonored if he makes no effort to practice "comparative" conformity, if he does not embody this "moral minimum," in other words, if he falls into complete amorality. Sarakatsani society has no room for amorality.

Dishonor also falls on the one who goes outside the fundamental rules of Saraktsani life. These are the major moral requirements that no one, under any pretext, has the right to transgress. Individuals and groups are inevitably dishonored if they do not conform to the rules pertaining to the creation and functioning of the family, the rules of chastity, of solidarity, of upholding tradition, etc. In all these instances such persons are exposed to general contempt.

However, the one who comes as close as possible tothe ideal symbolic image corresponding to the situation and who conforms strictly to the major moral requirements is honored by all.

/242 cont./

577 The Sarakátsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. (626) Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

/243 cont./

[577] [180] [67] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

609 First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic"

789 everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells.

754 For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life,

755 does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and con-

124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/247 cont./

123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
124 to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
[825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/249 cont./

842
531
262
585

Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).[A] The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

[A] /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. ~~[illegible]~~ .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] [825] [128] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortality; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
796

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
796 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the
(829) Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὕλης ἰατρικῆς λόγος, 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet [789] the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περί ἐμψ. κρουσίου σιλήνης,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

«ἄνοδος καὶ κατωτάτω»,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΩΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Αρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, IX, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
17 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house. «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινὰ Βίος, τ. VI, p. [illegible]

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(1116) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible], 60, 80, 8 et 5, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : [illegible] collected, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 249, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
797 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while.
Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably
repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family
lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A
where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, ~~shepherd~~ reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[262]
[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[176]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[191]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [171] [842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [171]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

233 825 789 [171] 527

[171]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 825 789 [777] [527] [171]

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 731 821 789 [221] [776]

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776

These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existance of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 171

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/259 cont./

796 191 the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Ἱκέται, 1, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις, II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλατωνίων, 6.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

796 [198] These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham 796 536 marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first [533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special [535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

/259 cont./

796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with
[831] great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its
796 sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali
17 gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I.
536 ρνγ'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
796 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed
789

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 5-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described 182 shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the 831 sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

789 [842] [233] [171]

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed 789 at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys 535 disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and 533 wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they 539 dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/260 cont./

796 and the multicolored viper
789 as a collar around your neck...
535 /261/ May the stones of this house
533 never loosen
[539] and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother".
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
/533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses

606 607 around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once

293 782 under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

171

789 /263 cont./

585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

[293] [782] [823] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden 789 825 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes 322 531 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the 233 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of 283 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance 777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the 236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

[A] /See p. 429--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
22

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
754 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[789] volent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Τουρκίνου Μάγκας: Περί Τρίφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[772] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. [illegible]

The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted.
[824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. [illegible], n. [illegible].

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung.
[411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
[823] the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[191] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, Τ. Β', p. 303 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikántzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι,

says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
(824) hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
(412)
(372)

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
(515) head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
(251) had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above [789] all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close 777 to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

3: Kabbadias--305A E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/269 cont./

776 in a way that is inescapable. (58) The young Sarakatsani mother /270/

777 58. A belief that goes back to the farthest Hellenic antiquity. The moires spin one's destiny, Oddyssey, VI, 191, etc. Propitiatory offerings to the moires are generally carried out by the Greeks. See D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 8, who also cites the works of

[171] Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Παραδόσεις Α', p. 000, et Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, p. 36-37.

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[789] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.ΡΕΗ'

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a
regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
784 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
895 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
burned bit of the father's cloak.

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... νοτ 26 et 27.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναβαθμοί κα[illegible] Τάξις ἐκ[illegible] τῶν ἁγίων. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
574 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 165 et commun. — Ἰω. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 664. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 280 et suiv. — Ἠ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς θρέψεως, p. 80-88, etc.

844 /271 cont./
574 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
789 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
[783] to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
783 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
789 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
[788] nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
[842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
789 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
[527] then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I. ρμξ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child
[237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/271 cont./

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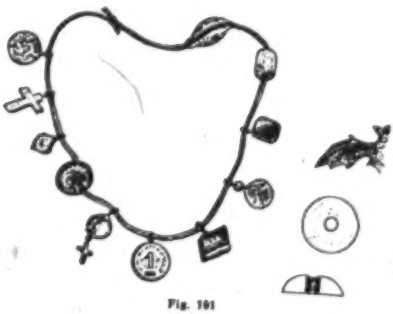

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[237]
[824] On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

/273 cont./

751 789 (237) (832) used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

(171) 66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible]

(178) It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 585 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.

(178) (785) First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches, aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

(176) And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[196] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
789
372

widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 824 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 825 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 372 825 233 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the
789 Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse
824 the evil. (73)

(796) 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons
(171) and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

M. ΨΗΛΑΟΣ : Περί δαιμόνων, Μ. Ρ. Ο. 1933, p. 978,

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone,
237 extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects
789 them further against the evil eye. (74)

74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often
(171) comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the
789 entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the
823 animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to
585 that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the
789 curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the
(784) animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [824] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean
[113] believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἐκ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: M. P. G. 61, 108. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : [illegible] ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : [illegible]

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. [illegible]

IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[539] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that
755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases.
755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox
824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

/278 cont./

755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes 789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new [754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

233 789 114

83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./
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[114] by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22] the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
233
[171] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

[821] Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

[791] There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the [793] person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism [789] against the spells. (86)

[755]

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

[751] Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate [789] objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

[825]

The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/280 cont./

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snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

(755)
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88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: ~~Ελληνικοί Θεσμοί~~ p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

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Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 /281 cont./
842 itself is also a magic act.
789

The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest
825 church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked
789 with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not
[783] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.
[718]

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. (Ἠπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us
[173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

825 /282 cont./
289 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.
787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune 90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΓΤΑΡΧΟΓ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented
[833] by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[755] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
773 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

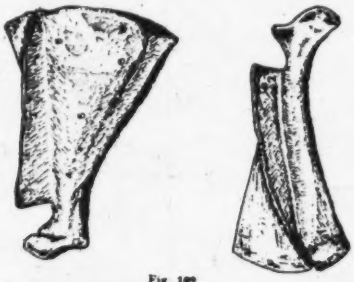

Fig. 102
Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: Παλαιόν Ἐρωτόκριτον, p. 19.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on Η. ΨΗΛΛΟΣ

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in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5.

(Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p. 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21, citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

[178]

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Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulder-blade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

* * * *

/285 cont./

128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

[124] In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/286 cont./

121 789 153 Sarakatsani magical thinking, to try to keep the ideas that emanate from it apart from the phenomena in which these ideas manifest theselves.

We shall therefore start by determining the fundamental ideas governing both the magic action and the means put at its disposal. There is here a static aspect which, as such, offers to our eyes only a limited view of our problem. In order to broaden it, its transposition to a dynamic perspective seems indispensable. We shall therefore examine under what conditions magic and the corresponding ideas are born, what is /287/ the process of their formation, what is the totality of ideas that accompanies their application.

That is not all. It is also necessary to see what the Sarakatsani idea is concerning their magic. We shall rediscover it included in their attitude toward magic. Then, by using the conclusions drawn from these observations, we shall proceed to an attempt to define the magic thought.

Finally, we shall compare magic thought and non-magic thought in order to emphasize the characteristics and the structure of the former, and we shall conclude with some critical reflections bearing on our interpretations and our conclusions.

The Postulates that Make Possible Magic Action.

The magical thought of the Sarakatsani puts forward certain fundamental ideas, true postulates, which serve as points of departure and a basis for magical action. We shall enumerate them:

The postulate of transmissibility. This is the conviction that virtues, qualities, characteristics, functions, etc., existing in the forces ruling the universe or in certain definite objects can be transmitted to men or to beasts if they /the latter/ are put in contact with these forces or these objects.

The postulate of the opposition of forces. In order to defend his person and his goods against threats arising from various sources

/287 cont./

121 (supernatural beings, hidden evils, evil eye, etc.), man can oppose
789 them with forces in his favor. The result is a mutual neutralization
153 of opposite influences which permits men and animals to keep safe from evil.

The postulate that forces will not destroy themselves. The fact that a person is a harmful force, or rather its symbol on themselves, suffices to hinder the latter from releasing its baneful influence: it cannot act against itself.

The postulate of simple removal. The evils, represented anthropomorphically, can be forced to remove themselves if one attacks their supposed senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.) in a disagreeable fashion.

The postulate of purification. If, despite the precautions taken, man or beast are attacked by magic influences, they are at the very least contaminated. A purification is /288/ possible by means of favorable forces which neutralize the contamination by exerting an opposing influence on it.

Finally, the postulate of representation of desired situations and effects desired. Sometimes, all that is needed in order to cause a situation or obtain a desired effect, is to represent them in one way or another, by gestures, words or dramatic scenes. In this case the representation is as good as the reality.

This postulate is connected, up to a certain point, with the conviction that man, in certain circumstances, is in a position to set in motion for his benefit the forces ruling the universe.

The most important of these postulates (98)

98. A certain number of examples illustrating them will be found below, p. 290.

is that of transmissibility, not because it is found in most of the rites and practices, but because it is one of the assumptions underlying the

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

789 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves

153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the

[826] case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of

[844] the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

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This kind of association also includes the juxtaposition in space of the two components of the magic action.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MAGIC IS CALLED UPON TO INTERVENE.

We may distinguish four categories:

a) Psychological: the Saraktasani must cope with problems of urgent necessity. In most cases the issues are vital.

b) Cultural: Sarakatsani knowledge and technology are incapable of solving these problems.

c) Social: it is Sarakatsani society, in large part, that defines the needs and makes them urgent. Furthermore, the social framework hampers the development of knowledge and technology. Thus it thwarts, albeit indirectly, the rational solution of problems.

d) "Human": man, like all the other species, must act upon his environment in order to survive. Magic is a means of dominating the world through the action that it inspires.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this classification:

a) Each of the conditions enumerated above may be isolated from the others only abstractly, which means that in reality all four make up an indissoluble whole.

b) These conditions are reduced in practice to strong motivations, at once intellectual, affective, socio-cultural and even instinctive (it is self-preservation which, basically, is involved), which set in motion the magical thinking and constitute an atmosphere favorable to its development.

It would therefore be erroneous to assert, as has been done on several occasions, that magic, as thought or as action, is based solely on man's fear and anguish before the unknown and the mysterious, on the thought of his weakness in the face of entities /290/ that are beyond him. Reality demands that we approach the study of magic on the basis of all the phenomena that underly it, in other words, in a multidimensional manner.

/290 cont./

121 789 153 THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMULATION OF POSTUALTES AND MEANS OF ACTION.

The postulates as well as the means of magical action are based on the observation of the sentient world. Transmissibility, mutual neutralization of opposing forces, non-self-destruction of forces, withdrawal from the painful and disagreeable are phenomena derived from the everyday /experience/.

Man, through his own experience of heat transmission from a warm body to a cold body, of the contagiousness of diseases, of putrefaction of organic matter placed near matter already decomposed, readily concludes that contact with an object possessing a desired property of quality is a sufficient means of acquiring it. (99)

99. This same ideas is also found in H. Webster: La magie "the magician is incapable of distinguishing the category of resemblance from that of identity... It is an axiom of magic that imagination is the equivalent or reality: Ficta pro veris accipi," p. 71.--However, Webster does not see that if the magician does not make the distinction between resemblance and identity, the reason is not a logical incapacity, but psycho-sociological factors, as we shall see later on.

Similarly, he concludes in favor of other postulates from analogous facts. If two men push a rock from opposite sides and they are equally strong, the rock will not roll. If a person wants to pass through a hedge of thorny shrubs, the thorns will make him turn back. And it is contrary to all probability to suppose that a source of any influence, especially when basically it is anthropomorphically conceived, can act against itself and in such a way as to destroy itself.

Thus, by deduction, man arrives at the two principal ideas of all magic, that of transmissibility, on the one hand, and that of the effectiveness of contact, on the other, and consequently /he arrives/ at all the others.

/290 cont./

121 At the base of all this may be seen an activity of the mind
789 developing from analogical reasoning, which makes possible the deductions
153 in question.

Nevertheless, how can one not ask oneself what impels the Sarakatsani to accept and apply practices supported only by analogical reasoning, not objectively /291/ verifiable? It is all the more impossible to escape this question since these herders have enough critical and rational mentality, as their technology and their social organization show, to test the efficacy of the procedures based on the ideas expressed above. Thus, the failure to verify postulates and procedures shows that in the process of their formation other factors intervene which make them a subject of general belief. It is not the established value of the analogical reasoning which imposes the postulates and the methods of action. It is the dynamics of these other elements which force their acceptance.

We are therefore faced with one of the most delicate problems of Sarakatsani magic which we must clarify before proceeding further. We believe the way to solve it is through the following hypotheses.

Everything may begin by chance. A coincidence, a combination of circumstances or some result taking place in the presence of two components, actually or presumably related, suffices for the relationship to be considered the cause of the effect.

It may likewise be supposed that man, under the emotional impetus arising from the need to face a problem for him and those around him that is serious and otherwise insoluble may decide to act by analogical reasoning. If a certain effect is produced, though it be illusory, or, what amounts to the same thing, if other factors intervene which, rightly or wrongly, seem to hinder the realization of the desired result, he will be led to believe that his procedure is effective.

In the third place, it is probable that a simple hypothesis based on analogical reasoning related to a treatment or any curative goal and

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121 put forward in a doubtful manner is assumed by an interlocutor, finding
789 himself in conditions favoring this type of reasoning, to be a
153 prescription or a method of action to be followed.

These examples, which could be multiplied, may give an inkling of how the nucleus of a future conviction originates.

Once this method is established, the collective consciousness of the grpup in which this phenomenon develops will pass judgment on it; it will accept it or reject it. But if /the method/ is accepted, the group will give it its prestige, its authority over individual consciousness, and will sacralize it.

/292/ Furthermore, duration, time will add its own confirmation. The comments, the narration, the repetition, will enrich the initial idea. In view of the fact that the beginnings of the initial experience are rooted in the past, manipulation will draw from it increased prestige. And insofar as technical or cognitive progress do not disturb it, the belief in its effectiveness will remain alive.

121 Obviously, all this is merely hypothesis, not diachronically verifiable since ethnographic observation has no way of studying traditional phenomena at the time they are born. Nevertheless, it seems to us that these hypotheses are governed by certain phenomena of an analogous order, which are produced in our societies and of which we herewith give a brief description.

First, analogical reasoning in connection with curative phenomena is not foreign to our "civilized" mentality. Some examples drawn from recent experience show this in a striking manner.

The introduction of antibiotics in the therapy of certain scientifically defined diseases was immediately followed by their immoderate use for everything, even for simple ailments for which they are not effective. The beneficial action of novocaine on arthritic pains of old people has led to the conviction that this medicine combats old age. At one time (100)

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121 100. In 1952.

the rumor spread in Greece that a plant, elaterion, constituted a means of treating cancer. And since in popular Greek elaterion is called bitter gherkin, it was believed that it could be used against diabetes "for it has a bitter essence which, as such, can neutralize the sugar in the blood."

In all these cases, passages from the known to the unknown under certain affective conditions is clear.

If practices of this kind do not become lastingly rooted in our society it is because the possibility of criticism and reply always exists: specialists and prestigious institutions are there to combat them, aided by contemporary methods of diffusion and popularization of scientific knowledge, and even by the state which neutralizes purveyors of falsehood.

Moreover, the members of our societies have, on the one hand, a much more "technicized" intellectual frame of reference than the /293/ members of traditional societies; on the other hand (a fact of major importance), they can "hope for another solution" that scientific research will propose sooner or later.

As for the process of the acceptance and propagation of these practices, which basically represents the social aspect of the problem, the mechanism of the birth and spreading of rumors in our societies is very revealing. We know that rumor has as its point of departure the combination of a cognitive fact and an emotional state. We also know, especially from the experiments of G.W. Allport and Leo Postman, (101)

101. G.W. Allport and Leo Postman: The psychology of rumor /cited in English/, p. 247. See also J. Stoeztel: La Psychologie sociale, pp. 249-255.

that rumors obey the principle of "sharpening" /cited in English/: the

/293 cont./

121 accentuation and enrichment of certain components of the fact spread by rumor, so that precisely because of this inflation, other components of the same fact are obscured and thus reality is distorted. Finally, 121 according to G. Durandin, "from the moment one knows that a thing was 789 real, one knows all the more that it is possible, and one is led to invent other things of the same type."(102)

102. G. Durandin: Les rumeurs, p. 17. See also p. 25; also his statement that roseate rumors "belong to the domain of magic thinking," p. 18.--Yet this author, by his statement, has merely established a parallelism of motivation which, according to him, is the same in both cases: "the roseate rumor represents the imaginative realization of a desire," he says (p. 18); and he implies that magic is only that. But he does not push his comparisons far enough to arrive at the role that the mechanism of rumor plays in the birth of magical beliefs.

Now, by combining these several assertions on "analogical practices" with the mechanism of the spread of rumors, we succeed in understanding how a fact becomes a model of action, a curative practice, even though it is based on fortuitous relationships and judgments: in each case where one event, occurring in a climate of emotional exaltation, is transmitted from mouth to ear, it goes through successive transformations in which desire and reality are confused, it is crystallized into a coherent account and finally becomes the object of general conviction.

At the end of this process one has helped in the creation of a myth. The conviction that one may obtain a curative effect by the means described, basically constitutes but a myth. It is precisely the mythical character of the conviction in question which prevents the verification of its effectiveness and which produces it. By following this course, man subdues the unknown and in so doing obtains hope and consolation. (103)

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103. On the relations of this myth which might be called a "social myth (through all myths are social) to the cosmological myth see below Chapter VIII.

/294/ This said, we must ask ourselves whether actually this parallel between the mechanism of the formation of "analogical" curative procedures observed in our societies and that of magical procedures of traditional societies is a fortunate parallel, and also whether our conclusions with regard to the first can be applied to the second, in view of the difference that exists between these societies.

We believe that the reply is affirmative:

Contemporary instances of analogical curing and the procedures of traditional white magic are called upon to serve the same needs. They originate under the same objective conditions, that is to say, where knowledge cannot intervene. They respond to the same psychological needs of security and deliverance from the anguish in the face of the unknown; therefore they manifest themselves in a climate which does not favor a distinction between the wished-for and the real.

Finally, the influence that society exerts is the same in both cases. The expectation of a solution in the past of the group as well as individuals comes before every creative event of practice and conviction. And at the moment this event takes place the channels of its diffusion--individuals, sub-groups, groups, etc.--are the same; they are called upon to take part in it and they actually do so, determining the same results.

Therefore, the inference from synchronic phenomena to diachronic phenomena is not arbitrary, and does not constitute a «μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος». Our hypotheses are legitimate and it seems to us that they do not distort reality. Consequently, we may definitively
(153) conclude that: 1st, both the postulates and the means of Sarakatsani magical action are based on analogical reasoning.--2nd, this reasoning born under

789 /294 cont./
121 the pressure of necessity and in an emotional climate that springs
[153] from it, then is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society by way of a mechanism very close to--if not identical with--that of the creation of rumors.--3rd, finally owing to these conditions, it /this reasoning/ is transformed into patterns of action--objects of an unshakable belief from which it derives its validity and the reason for it its existence. It then becomes myth which, while summoned to action and repetition, has no need for a foundation other than its own character of myth, since myth is never accompanied by doubt.

/295/ Nevertheless, we have not yet shown how two phenomena came about. These are, on the one hand, the postulate of the representation of situations and desired effects and, on the other, the represented contact.

121 Now, the acceptance of this postulate and this type of contact implies
153 once again the use of analogical reasoning.
789 If an effect is produced by bringing into contact two already existing components, why should not another effect be produced by bringing into relation one component (man or animal) with the representation of a situation or a desired reality?

Likewise, if material contact permits transmission and other effects, resulting from it why does contact merely represented not allow this?

The fact that the second component of the magical action as well as the means of action are merely symbolized in the representation is not a sufficient reason to consider this postulate and this means as qualitatively different from others. The relationship between symbol and thing symbolized is so intimate that finally symbol and thing symbolized become identified.

121 Thus we see that the process by which the postulate and the magical
789 means in question were formed cannot differ from that which has been accepted in connection with other postulates and means, despite the

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121 peculiarity of the original phenomenon which is only apparent. As
789 for the rest, this phenomenon, for the same reason as the other original phenomenon, is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society, and finally becomes a myth. But the social aspect and the mythical aspect are inseparable elements of all magic.

121 IDEAS GOVERNING THE APPLICATION OF POSTULATES AND PROCEDURES. CHARACTER OF THESE IDEAS. THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMOGENEITY.

The ideas governing the application of the postulate of transmissibility are developed on two levels, depending on the nature of the problems to be solved.

The latter are divided into two broad categories: fundamental problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, problems which are certainly important but presuppose that the first have been posed and resolved.

/296/ The fundamental problems are related to the sources of life (creation of a new life: fecundity) and to the functioning of nature (regeneration of nature: universal fertility).

The other problems concern the determination of sex, the acquisition of physical, physiological or biological properties, the acquisition of a state of being, the fulfillment of curative effects or of certain practical effects. (104)

104. The terminology which we have used here distorts reality up to a certain point since the Sarakatsani do not have the same classification of reality as we. Nevertheless, the examples and explanations that follow will permit an avoidance of misunderstanding.

In order to arrive at a solution of the fundamental problems the
[789] Sarakatsani, as we have seen, appeals to forces that his mythology has
[796] revealed to him: beliefs centered on the Mother-Goddess and her avatars. (105)

/296 cont./

121 789 776 105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [231] [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/297 cont./

121 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example,
789 with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

> 106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one
772 governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the
789 reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

/297 cont./

121 789 772 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

> 107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

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121 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it
789 aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world
82 based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously,
789 this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with
(153) analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

/299 cont./

121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

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789 /300 cont./
boys against anemia) requires a direct, if not material, contact.

* * * *

The ideas connected with the application of the postulates of the opposition of forces, of the non-self-destruction of forces and of purification, through the medium of practices which they inspire, are the same as the preceding ones.

These are forces evoked in connection with practices aiming at the neutralization of obscure and mysterious threats, and the forces, as we have said, always come from myth: the caul of the child and the log buried at the entrance of the enclosure, symbols of creative forces that neutralize the threats against life. The dogs' excrements and the /weights from/ the spindles of the fairies, worn as amulets, prevent demons and fairies from acting against the child, for the latter has appropriated their properties, and the forces will not act against themselves. Water, like fire or the earth is the source of life, these sources purify whatever is contaminated by evil spirits and remove the latter, for they are the opposites of the latter.

Once again the principle of homogeneity goes into effect, forces neutralizing forces.

The placement into contact obeys the same principle because it is practiced through the medium of symbols, as is fitting when one deals with forces.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the practices of simple removal seem to resist explanation on the basis of the ideas behind the action inspired by the postulates thus far enumerated, since, in order to remove the evil spirits considered as first causes, one has recourse to second causes--malodorous fires, thorns, noises, colors, etc. But this inconsistency is only apparent. Since evils are /301/ represented anthropomorphically, they are acted against as though they were men, second causes, hence through

/301 cont./
121 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner,
789 moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

(536) On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

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789 121 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is [781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something [794] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into 789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially, 153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are 789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

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121 789 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 789 788 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 789 811 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

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121 789 811 deduction through analogical reasoning. Thereafter it is put in concrete form and gives rise to certain postulates which are likewise pragmatic, and which determine the action.

This point of departure having been established, the magical thinking, in search of a suitable source of influence, oscillates between two poles which are not external to it, but are integrated in it, following closely the Sarakatsani scheme of classification of the different parts of the universe: myth and the perceptual knowledge of the external world and common sense. Magic thinking turns toward myth when it finds itself in the presence of fundamental cosmological and anthropological problems (life--fecundity--fertility) and also obscure forces and influences arising from first causes or representing them, which stand outside all experience and all knowledge. On the other hand, it is prompted by knowledge when it deals with all other problems relating to secondary causes.

Magic action is thus organized accordingly. The "placing-in-contact" is sometimes oriented toward mythic entities, sometimes toward perceptible or intelligible elements, depending on the ideas on which it is based. In order to act upon first causes /305/ it is necessary to proceed by mythic entities. To act on second causes, either may be used depending on the case. Hence the differences in the content of ritual and magical practices. Hence also the conclusion that magical action is possible only within a given category of reality, a fact which gives rise to a working principle, that of the homogeneity of the components of the action, of homogeneity of the property to acquire and the property to transmit.

However, magical thinking is thinking "under certain conditions." It is therefore engaged in, and consequently exposed to, various psychological, social and cultural dynamics which render its propositions and manifestations objects of social myths. The latter give it veracity and make unnecessary any effort to verify its statements through experience.

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121 789 811 The result is that magical thinking is a complex in which multiple elements, bound together by dialectical relations, meet and intersect: cosmological and anthropological myths, social myths, rational proceedings and elements (classification, knowledge, experience, judgment, reasoning), intentions, imagination, various "actual experiences" and motivations, affective and otherwise (desires, hopes, fears, anguish, as well as respect and exaltation in the presence of the mysterious, the grandiose, the transcendent), social dynamics collective elements, etc.--in a word, manifestations of all psychic and social phenomena.

All these elements are present in magical thinking and naturally in the action that it determines.

Magical Thinking and Non-Magical Thinking: Their Respective Structures.

The procedure and the structure of magical thinking being thus circumscribed, comparing it with non-magic thinking will prove relatively easy.

At the level of procedure, the two follow an identical process. Starting from certain premises, they advance by successive propositions to a conclusion.

On the level of their structures they are different. The difference manifests itself in the nature of their premises and the /306/ guarantees for the veracity of their conclusions, as well as in the general structure of their components. While, as a whole, non-magical thinking uses premises made up of rational elements and proceeds to rational and experimental verification of its conclusions, magical thinking involves mythical premises, and its conclusions are supported by myth. Between these two extremes there are intermediary situations which minimize the difference. Non-magical thinking also backs up its conclusions with social myths. And magical thinking bearing on rites of simple transmission contains premises and propositions with a rational coloring while buttressing its conclusion by the myth. These observations show that a certain continuity

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121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships, the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

* This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

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121 789 811 However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114 Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. VRAAOE: [illegible]

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

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789 114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [785] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [786] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

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789 114 of entering into the plans of man. From this disposition man was able to profit by extending his action beyond that which physical laws would permit" (p. 174). The fable-making function operates in two directions. Either, it manufactures gods and spirits, that correspond to religion, or it invents forces that are not purely mechanical and that yield to our desires and wishes and which correspond to magic (p. 173). In any case, it protects man from "whatever there might be in the exercise of intelligence which could depress the individual and dissolve society" (p. 217). As for magic strictly speaking, its operations do not obey theoretical principles (the rules of magic action), for "if primitive intelligence had begun conceiving principles at this point it would very soon have gone on to experimentation which would have demonstrated the falseness /of magic/." Principles come later on.../309/ "there is a logic of the body, an extension of desire, which is exerted well before intelligence has found a conceptual form for it" (p. 175). "Magic is therefore innate in man, being only the externalization of a desire that fills the heart" (p. 176). And Bergson adds, a little farther on: "Magic appears to us therefore to dissolve into two elements: the desire to act on anything, even on that which cannot be reached and the idea that things are charged, or let themselves be charged, with what we might call a human fluid" (p. 178). It is therefore contrary, in inverse ratio to science (pp. 178-182), and it differs from religion in that "the one claims to force the consent of nature and the other implores the favor of a god."

We are quite willing to agree with the idea that magic presupposes desire and that it protects man from discouragement. But we cannot reduce Sarakatsani magic either to instinct or to a fable-making function derived from it or from the logic of the body which, according to Bergson, in the final analysis guarantees the effectiveness of magic. For us, magic includes rational and mythical elements which are infinitely richer and more complex than any instinctive impulse. Motives must not be confused

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with their effects, the "fable-making function" with myth, which is an interpretation of the world, and desire, the "logic of the body," with social myths which lead to the belief in the efficacy of magic. Thus, it seems to us that Bergson's theory is not capable of interpreting Sarakatsani magic.

The explanation of magic advanced by Br. Malinowski is found chiefly in two of his studies: Magic, Science and Religion /cited in English/ (1925) and Myth in Primitive Psychology /cited in English/ (1926). In the first, Malinowski says that magic is based on desire and on affective elements: "All such acts...are prima faciae expressions of emotion" /quoted in English/ (p. 72). It is not created from an abstract concept about the existence of a universal force applicable in all concrete cases that occur--the mana (pp. 6, 77, and 78). If there is something universal in magic it is the uniformity of the process that leads to magical thought and behavior (pp. 78-79). The sociological analysis of the belief in magic shows that, under the influence of a strong emotion (vexations, dangers, fear, hatred, love, etc.), or from an obsessive desire, man reproduces in mimicry, through gestures, words or acts that which he desires (Extended expression of emotion /310/ in act and in word, p. 80 /quoted in English/). If a result is then produced, man believes that these same manifestations have created it. Then he thinks that during his emotional exaltation he had some sort of revelation which henceforth enables him to know how he must act in similar instances. This process determines the formation of rites and practices (p. 81). With respect to the problem of the acceptance of rites as efficacious despite the fact that they are not verified by experience, Malinowski gives us a psychological explanation. The memory of men always retains the cases that correspond to their hopes and represses those that refute them (p. 82). But there is more. Around each great magician a halo of glory is formed, woven from the accounts and commentories of his exploits, his successes, his

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789 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic.
114 Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with
773 worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical
114 efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

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789 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth
773 is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation,
114 a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "These stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory
114 of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world
773 and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if con-
114 fronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

/311 cont./

789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its
[778] efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

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789 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:
798 1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the
114 mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can
114 compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

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789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by a quasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 778 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). [155] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

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789 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as
778 a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still
114 very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is
114 because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

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789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
793 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
798 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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789 773 114 778 more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 114 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

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789 114 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One [124] of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our [825] questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/317 cont./

789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /318/ and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118)

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: Timée /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

(pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: Moeurs et Coutumes... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

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789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space (822) into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill-(823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 82 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron); elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
751 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

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789 182 152 154 121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual [562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
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the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[851] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[604] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious,
of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants
recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
592 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In
studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by
the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme
importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions
connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which
would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now,
it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are
rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward
the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit
from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand.
And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person,
it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act
and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive
situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegiti-
mate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical
instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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182 families and the Tséligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and
554 affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up
546 into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers,
788 thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

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789 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears
182 on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

[182] The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

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771 789 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
182 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
178 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

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796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
[178] the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
[171] for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
[484] to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
778 to fertility and abundance.

778 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tséligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like (532) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. K. A. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Λαϊκαί Λατρείαι..., p. 188, note 1. — Γ. ΜΠΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(191) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[887] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

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796 533 [532] [471] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Δ. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΧΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΤΥΛΟΛΑΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. [illegible].

[776] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
128

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

791 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and
811
177

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical
796 and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it
823 is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head
474 accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The
576 victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the
554 direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence
796 comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood
788 of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above
474
554

/331 cont./

796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
474 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[788]
[252]

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
[596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[776] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[782] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
782 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
776 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
755 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
782 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./
796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
755 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
782
262 Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585 we shall speak later on.
795
769 The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, (114) very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces. It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
191 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

/334 cont./

782 182 771 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p.ρμς'), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolégomena, p. 84.

[114]

782 771 171

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
77 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

> 13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/336 cont./

765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
152 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
764 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so

[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of

[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take

[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/338 cont./

764 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
775 of representation which determines magic action.
[776]
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [272] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 789 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. [761] [771] It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 602 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764
775 /339 cont./
776 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: ~~Ελλην. Λαικ. Λατρεία.~~ pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[796]

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
[782] disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[779] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY
791 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [594] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 794 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

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Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 108

771 /343 cont./
177 19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.
114 the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with
585 burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal
764 union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and
without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside
771 cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his
177 ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure,
so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building
of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the
holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

771 But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani
764 religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last
775 sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge with-
788 out having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society
prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is
kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and
partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism
of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection
with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

771 To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the
773 pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the
186 time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us
whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity,
the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

771 Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts
177 seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no
[793] Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us
by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice!
{538} Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing
{539} the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:
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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./

771 186 177 829 [429] who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand, since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 539 177 829 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another kind and very significant for our point of view.

--One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

/346 cont./

771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [194] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above 771 157 all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 96 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
114 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
171 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.٨٦) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

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771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

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Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

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811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 157 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 973 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

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811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (aràdhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

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805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
759 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

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757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
(237) applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon, is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

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128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

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828 KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

811 This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of (153) life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

811 We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology 114 is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

2. See G. Davey: Sociologues d'hier..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: La mentalité primitive pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: Early civilisation /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

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for us not to grant him the existence of a certain number of thoughts verified or inspired by experience, about his action To bend or harden a piece of wood by heating it comes neither from automatic instinct nor from simple observation. The latter is blind when it is not guided by intelligence. Likewise, it is impossible to believe that technical activity, like all other activities, does not affect intellectual progress. The life of man cannot be divided into compartments. His different "experiences" act on each other, homo faber /man the maker/ exerting his influence on homo sapiens /man the knower/ and the reverse. (3)

3. See, for example, A.-J. Piaget: La psychologie de l'intelligence, pp. 139-141 and passim.

We know very well that the concepts and ideas of the "primitive" are different from those which cause science to advance. But between instinct or automatism and scientific conceptualization there is no lack of intellectual life; an intellecutal life is exhibited there which truly merits this name, as is shown by the existence of effective, directed, consciously deliberate action. Of course, this intellectual life does not have the same breadth and effectiveness as science: it is none the less of the same nature as the intellectual, creative life of scientific knowledge, though its modalities are different. We have the impression (perhaps erroneous) that the authors cited have never had occasion to follow closely the working technique of a "primitive" and to discuss it with him. It is obvious that technology rests on understanding, the whole of which constitutes a sort of knowledge.

/354/ Knowledge, the bearers of which, as far as these nomads are concerned, are all the Sarakatsani. Its very creation occurs collectively. Borrowing the terminology of Gurvitch, but partly disagreeing with him on the forms in which this knowledge appears, (4)

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are
829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role
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829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
562 the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
596 the group and its good functioning.
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On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
811 reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
562 guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
197 benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
361 tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

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121 5. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 32

811 one could not do without if one hopes to enter this domain. In order that science may develop, J. Piaget says, (6)

6. J. Piaget: Epistémologie, vol. III, p. 261.

--See also the same author: Traité de Logique /Treatise on logic/, passim, and the comments of R. Bastide: Le Candomblé, pp. 240-241.

the human mind relies on classifications of reality, organized "into systems of concrete operation," which are translated into propositions, into hypotheses. Observation and experience ensure contact of the latter with reality. Next, one advances with the help of the "logic of propositions, joining concrete operations by means of new operations of implication or exclusion among propositions... "

811 /356/ In the case of the Sarakatsani, the classifications of realtiy to which the new operations lead have a double nature. First, we find once again mythical classifications. The different parts of reality are classed as wholes, not according to the principles of a scientific typology of phenomena, but in terms of mythical considerations.

811 There are many examples. Let us take the division of the world into

992 two parts: favorable and unfavorable, to which correspond other dichotomies dealing with the different aspects of life, namely:

Favorable	Unfavorable
East	West
Right	Left
Religious	Black magic
Curative magic	Obscure forces and influences
Life	Death
Health	Illness
Fecundity	Sterility
Birth of sons	Birth of daughters
Birth of ewes	Birth of rams
Fertility	Drought
Prosperity	Insolvency
Freedom	Slavery of imprisionment

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Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites [993] elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7)

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier:
Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of

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811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [993] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about [993] the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

993 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact 558 that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

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See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim, dealing with myth.

cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth, look at it from the inside.

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Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M. Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt: L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 281.

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event. Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and experienced before being comprehended intellectually and formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from concepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

/358 cont./

121 events." (11) He does not use logico-causal, discursive or analytical

11. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 27 f. We find in the author's work a comparative analysis of myth and science. --From another point of view M. Leenhardt: Ibid., pp. 170-171, gives us a very interesting description of the way in which myth surrounds its object starting from perception. However, this author maintains that myth is a product "of affective, objectivized thinking." In our opinion, it emanates from the "total psyche" in which, of course, affectivity is included. We believe that Leenhardt's qualification of mythic thinking as affective is due to the fact that it goes beyond rationality and discovers the roots or myth in the life force, and why R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 281, while citing Bergson, says that "the root of myth is always instinctive." Yet it is necessary to recognize that R. Bastide introduces further the idea that the "social" exerts an influence on myth, but /he does so/ in order to explain its proliferation and without going further. With regard to the point of departure of myth C. Levi-Strauss: Ibid., pp. 354-357 believes he is able to find it in "the messages," according to the theory of information. This hypothesis requires extended verification before being accepted.

thought, but an intuition through which he seeks to discover the primary causes of reality. The relationships to which he proceeds, develop with the help of analogical or anthropomorphic reasoning, but after his intimate contacts with the world have been realized. Thus the groups of ideas which he attains do not constitute /359/ "operational groups" similar to those one finds at the core of knowledge.

/359 cont./

|2| Myth never proceeds to demonstrate its statements. Yet it imposes them. That is because it does not address itself solely to reason, but to the totality of the human psyche. When man finds himself at an impasse in trying to solve a vital problem, myth offers him an image of the world, created by himself in his own way, an image which exerts on man an influence liberating him from his distress, which is caused by the unknown and by his suffering. Myth explains only by recreating reality. At the same time it inspires the conviction that what it states is true. For it is in a position to satisfy both the soul and the mind. From this point of view one may compare myth with the great works of art which, without proving anything, liberate man by foretelling the world and his destiny.

In a very large number of cases, cosmological myth is bound up with religion. (12)

12. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieux, pp. 52-57. Without wishing to take a stand on the problem so much discussed in its relation to "the sacred," we shall remark merely that religions also include cosmologies and that consequently there is here an area where knowledge, myth and religion meet.

Now, these points seem radically to separate myth from rational and positive knowledge adequately expressed. But on the other hand, it is true that these same points, bring myth extraordinarily close to intuitive knowledge expressed in a symbolic or significant form.

That is not all. Though it is certain that knowledge and myth are not identical, it is likewise certain that knowledge and myth converge, each in its own way, toward an explanation of the universe. There is thus between them a correspondence of aim.

These two conclusions, however, are not a sufficient basis for definitively associating myth and knowledge within the framework and

/359 cont./

121 on behalf of our initial hypothesis. It is still necessary to examine their reciprocal relations as they develop in the life of the mind.

* * * *

/360/ We can first show relations of opposition between knowledge and myth. Their respective conclusions are opposed insofar as they are categorical judgments of reality. Hence arises the problem of knowing which will prevail: knowledge or myth?

In a general way, observation shows that with each new conquest of knowledge, myth recedes further. Yet, as we have seen in connection with magic practices, it surrounds with its prestige the favorable results of knowledge and thus makes knowledge socially more effective. In this connection one may ask whether the term "myth" does not change its meaning when one goes from the first to the second of these assertions. Myth which gives way to knowledge is cosmological or anthropological myth. Myth supporting knowledge is a social myth in the sense described in magic. But this difference in quality does not correspond to a difference in its profound nature. If myth permits man to place himself in relation to the world and to find encouragement, confidence and security, it is easy to agree that the myth-support of knowledge fulfills the same functions. However, instead of creating an image and addressing itself to forces of other entities more of less personified, in order to explain the world, this myth places at the center of its statements the idea of an all-powerful science capable of explaining and dominating the world and consequently of relieving man of the burden of his problems. It is not the criticism of the possibilities of science which impels toward the birth of scientific myth, but the psycho-social factors which we have examined in connection with magic. These factors are so powerful that we see eminent scholars who should by definition be aware of the limits of science, adhere without reservation to scientific myth. (13)

/360 cont./

121 13. Jensen: Ibid., p. 48, gives the example of M. Planck.

Between these two kinds of myth there is therefore a difference of constituent elements, but once the elements of scientific myth yield to the process of "mythization," these two kinds become identical.

However, there remains the sociological aspect. The final outcome in the opposition of knowledge and myth is dependent on the socio-cultural context. Also of the kind of knowledge. If the context is favorable to knowledge, hence to rational thinking, /361/ knowledge will assert itself. If not, it is mythical thinking that will take precedence. History furnishes a number of examples of antagonism and competition between myth and knowledge, which, basically, is conveyed and manifested in the conflict of their bearers, of social groups with opposing ideological core, the one group being dominated by myth, the other by knowledge. The victory of one of the rivals will mark the victory of their ideology. Furthermore, insofar as new knowledge does not radically upset the existing social structure, it is readily accepted. If not, myth will resist. It will appear conservative. For the traditional social framework, concerned about its own duration and using myth as a solid support, is hostile to any change that would endanger the latter.

Nevertheless, the relationships between knowledge and myth are not exhausted in their mutual opposition. Myth very often profits from the success of knowledge. It utilizes knowledge to construct its own edifice by integrating knowledge within itself. Yet before using the latter it reinterprets it in its own way, to conform with its internal or external coherence. In the same way, knowledge profits from ideas and intuitions included in myth, in order to formulate its own working hypotheses.

/361 cont./

121 Myth never contradicts experience. In all cases in which it sets forth propositions that are not verifiable by experience or are contrary to experience, the phenomena that it evokes unfold in a specific context in which "all is possible." Consequently, it never results in non-sense which would repudiate it.

Now, this rapid survey of the relations of myth and knowledge shows that they obey a dialectic which not only includes an opposition of these terms, but also mutual involvements, complementarities and reciprocities of perspective, depending on the specific context in which they are integrated and to which they refer.

Having said this, it becomes obvious that myth and knowledge are not always incompatable and opposed, but that they cooperate closely in the life of the mind.

This assertion enables us to affirm, by recapitulating all our remarks on myth and knowledge, that the first may be considered a complement of the second. Furthermore and particularly, that both, while preserving their respective peculiarities, /362/ basically represent two phases of the same process, that which leads to a grasp of the world. (14)

14. It is significant that G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 122 and 126, speaking of kinds and forms of knowledge, does not give any room to "mythic" knowledge. However, he introduces it when he describes systems of knowledge in patriarchal societies such as the society of the Sarakatsani, qualifying it as "prosaic" (p. 128). We find the same qualification elsewhere: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 460, in connection with the same type of society. "Although the patriarch is at the same time priest, neither religion nor magic enter deeply into the life of these societies; in calm periods one may observe that their function is very

/362 cont./

12 prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[181] [182] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and experience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

/362 cont./

121 15. Thus M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 243, who, although starting from another experience, arrives at the same conclusion.

It is part of the human function that is commonly designated by the term "understanding". It presupposes neither a specific mentality nor a strictly traditional social framework. As long as there are /363/ problems that knowledge will not solve, and there will always be such, myth will make its appearance beside them.

Examples abound. We find them in the dialogues of Plato, wherever Socrates, the analyst without equal, seeks to grasp entities inaccessible to the logos. (16)

16. P. M. Schuhl: La fabulation platonicienne, passim.

We find them in "technicized" societies where science and technology advance side by side with social, political, governmental, historical myths promising to render life paradisical, side by side with miraculous therapies, with astrologers and fortune-tellers, spiritualism and Christian Science.

The marriage of rational thinking and myth is characteristic of man and will disappear only with him.

The Sarakatsani, profiting both from rational thinking and mythical thinking, is, in the final analysis, simply obeying the make-up of the human mind.

EDUCATION

86 The term "education" is taken here to mean communication and transmission of knowledge and of myth, the complement of knowledge. Now, as we know, it is direct and daily personal contact of youth with their elders (brothers, parents, grandparents) which ensures the transmission of knowledge during, and in connection with, common work, discussions, narratives, festivals, etc. (17)

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 474 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the
789 magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany
[178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the
789 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual
533 585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the
[531] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in
[535]
[538]

/366 cont./

789 533 585 which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must [531] experience, (2)

[535] [538]

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/366 cont./

789 company sings in her name and addresses the companions
533 of the fiance:
585
(539) --My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
53 peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
789 magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
53 amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the
198 general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and
(648) the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 635 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic 533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[233] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
[152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

531
532

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531
532
114

4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
[178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/370 cont./

53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function
462 or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
561 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

3: Kabbadias--432 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/370 cont./

531

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539 --The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
124 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with
539 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [773] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] The sound of the tzamara is soft and deep. The musician must play [516] seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyéra, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/373/

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291
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302
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Fig. 108

/374 cont./

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Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

[237] [183]

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

[178]

/375/ PART FOUR

/376/ REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121

After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

/376 cont./

121 It will be apparent that we shall explain the genesis of the components themselves.

It seems therefore that synthesis and explanation are on a par. They represent two aspects of a single procedure. That is the reason we shall consider them together.

This problem is not the only one that must be faced in this section. There is another at least as important: the formation of the whole necessarily involves the equilibrium of its components, an equilibuium which Sarakatsani society must maintain so as not to break up. It is therefore at the root of the problem of duration.

/377/ CHAPTER I

AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS, EXPLANATION AND DEFINITION

SOME REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

The integration of the thousand facets of Sarakatsani society and culture into a whole immediately raises the problem of method.

In order to grasp the living reality which is a "whole," we must put a little "fluid" into our observations, as Mauss has already recommended. (1)

1. Reported by P. Metais: Problèmes de Sociologie Néo-Calédonienne, p. 47.

Which means that the way to follow is to put into dynamic correlation all the socio-cultural facts about out herders.

However, if we take for granted that the society in question is composed of a hundred components, if we take these elements as factors in the mathematical sense of the term, and if we wish to establish concretely all their possible combinations, direct or indirect, we see that the number of their reciprocal relations reaches a dizzy figure--100! factorial of 100.

The problem becomes complicated almost to infinity if we wish to move forward toward the relationships of these components with the various

/377 cont./

121 wholes they form, toward the relationships of the wholes among themselves, toward the relationships of elements and wholes with the entire society, and so on.

It is obvious that a method which wants to be "positive" and examine one by one this immense number of relationships is an impracticable method. We must therefore find another which will proceed by "abstractions."

/378/ The "types" assembled from any socio-cultural reality, representative of this reality and its parts, already constitute a solution, the effectiveness of which has been demonstrated by the works of Durkheim, M. Weber and especially G. Gurvitch.

However, though these qualitative and discontinuous "types" are very useful in the study of the process of integration of partial phenomena into various wholes and of these wholes into the entire society, they are not effective when we propose to go a little further and reach the man living in society. For they are concerned only with social phenomena and with their mutual multiple relationships, and take only incidentally into consideration the man who creates these phenomena and who, all during his life, is subject to their constraint. In an anthropological study like ours, synthesis must take place at the level of the human reality underlying the phenomena.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OR PRINCIPLES GOVERNING SARAKATSANI LIFE.

Reality already comes to our aid. Viewing Sarakatsani society closely, we note that it seems to obey certain general principles, certain fundamental ideas which, to all appearances, are found at the basis of its creation, its peculiarities, its functioning, its regulation. These ideas are:

--Isolation and independence.

--Herding and nomadism.

121 /378 cont./

--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, it is impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

182 596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
182 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
62 vendetta.
602

Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[571] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[471] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[434] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
[454] Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
182 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
596 even have the right to a dowry.
562
428
583

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by
[613] the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which
182 means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
361 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
233 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
182 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
462 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the
182 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
291 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
261 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
181 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 /382 cont./
291
261 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
181 women).

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
671 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
671 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
(626) apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
591
181 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition, family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

/382 cont./

182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, 182 812 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 789 755 (789) The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

/383 cont./

182 789 955 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 53 789 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art, specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

/384 cont./

121 their roots into the demographic and ecological foundation, the legal and moral systems, magic, religion, knowledge, myth, art.

We may even go further and say that though a typology based on the morphological characteristics of these elements of Sarakatsani life has enabled us to classify them in our various chapters, another classification is equally possible on the basis of the ideas in question.

The ideas therefore constitute a frame of reference different from the preceding, and the phenomena may be integrated within it.

But how to explain this phenomenon?

We shall tackle this problem at its foundation.

Each element of a socio-cultural order is created on the one hand in terms of man and the human environment it must serve, and on the other hand /in terms of/ the pertinent socio-cultural or natural conditions that obtain in the context in which this phenomenon unfolds. It is therefore charged with a meaning of a socio-cultural order, emanating from the dynamic of its context, and a human meaning based on its peculiar characteristics as a means of satisfying man's needs.

However, the elements are never isolated from each other. As constellations they combine in different dialectical processes and tend to form larger wholes. Similarly, their meanings, linked together dialectically, also form wholes which are simply over-all meanings /385/ of the meanings of the elements. Consequently, they are generalizations with respect to their components. Finally, they represent the meanings of the whole of corresponding phenomena and they proceed from the dialectic integration of socio-cultural and human meanings of the elements within the wholes.

When we speak of ideas of principles, we refer to these meanings of the wholes. They appear progressively as the phenomena and the totalities of phenomenon appear, spontaneously, by trial and error or deliberately,

/385 cont./

121 but always dialectically, under the pressure of and in relation to individual or collective needs, the possibilities momentarily offered and natural or existing socio-cultural conditions.

They are therefore anterior to the phenomena, not historically, but from the standpoint of logic and meaning.

It follows that once these ideas are created, they express the phenomena (considered as their meanings) and dominate them. They are the axes on which the phenomena develop, the end points toward which they are directed.

That is why we have accepted the ideas in question as fundamental and have labelled them principles.

Sociologically speaking, these ideas have a polyvalent character. They constitute models for the arrangement, the organization and the functioning of Sarakatsani society and its elements--general models, to be sure, which inspire others more individualized and more differentiated. They also represent norms of behavior for groups and individuals, as well as moral values. Finally, they are sources of inspiration for every solution of the vital problems of our herders and consequently for their cultural works.

However, though characterized as models, norms or values, the ideas in question do not merely signalize the "levels" of models, norms and values of Sarakatsani social reality, but they also exceed them considerably. The confrontation which we introduced demonstrated that the ideas reveal the total social phenomenon of our herders from various angles and maintain with it the relationships of signifier to signified.

It seems, therefore, that the ideas enumerated constitute very important points of reference, both socio-cultural and human /386/ since they presuppose both, and that, on the basis of this fact, they prove very revealing.

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121 Thus, and this is our final reply to the two questions for the sake of which we deferred this reply, the ideas proposed as models integrating and actuating the phenomena, govern and dominate Sarakatsani life. And in view of their nature as "signifiers" of the wholes of phenomena, when we speak of them we speak of phenomena. They are therefore representative of the phenomena and consequently true "abstractions."

APPRAISAL OF IDEAS AS MEANS OF SYNTHESIS AND EXPLANATION.

Henceforth we can proceed from these abstractions without going over the phenomena which they summarize, hence we may circumvent the difficulties that we came up against in the beginning.

In order to carry out the synthesis we shall work on this level, in other words, we shall follow the process of integration of ideas into the "whole."

At the same time, the elucidation of this process will show us how the "whole" is formed. And what are its constituent parts, and still on the level of the ideas.

Finally, these operations are carried out on the level of man, on the human level of the corresponding phenomena. For, as we have already emphasized the ideas in question represent not only the "utilitarian" aspect of the various elements (to serve the needs of men), but at the same time they reveal the way in which man, the Sarakatsani, conceives his life in society.

In fact, man does not participate mechanically, passively, in the life of his socio-cultural environment. He reflects on it, he tries to understand it, to accept it, to justify it, to control it. Even where these processes are not absolutely conscious or consciously and systematically expressed, they happen all the same. They manifest themselves in

/386 cont./

121 conversations, attitudes, judgments, minor occasions of daily life where one may catch them and be convinced of their existence.

The thoughts that emanate from these processes reflect the entire society. They represent it and interpret it in the spirit of the men --its members--and eventually they determine action and justify everything that becomes crystallized. They are not conceived /387/ theoretically, but in relation to the social context and the meaning of its elements. They are experienced at the same time that they are conceived. Finally, they are organized around certain pivotal ideas.

Now, these pivots are merely the fundamental ideas governing the phenomena, the meanings of the totalities of the elements. Though we have revealed these meanings on the level of facts, recognizing them as social phenomena, we discover them in man in the form of fundamental organizing principles of his social thinking. It is exactly this correspondence which enables us to pass from the sociological and the cultural to the human.

AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS AND EXPLANATION

The process of integrating ideas does not develop in the absolute. Like every other complex socio-cultural phenomenon it obeys, as we know, three dynamics:

1. The dynamism that each of the ideas exerts on the others and inversely.
2. The dynamic of fundamental concerns of the society in which this phenomenon develops.
3. Finally, the dynamic of objectively existing conditions.

In order to arrive at a synthesis, we must therefore correlate these three categories of elements--ideas, concerns, conditions. But first let us turn to the last two.

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121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
[464] extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
[233] in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
662 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

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000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
793 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
773 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/390 cont./

182 conditions and ideas and, of course, all that each of them in turn
121 represents of underlying phenomena.

121 The final synthesis that we sought from the beginning is just this moving, living, dynamic and supremely significant chain.

Although conceived on the level of the individual and the fundamental social ideas of the Sarakatsani, it does not reduce the social reality to the cognitive or the "cultural," but corresponds to the total social phenomenon. It is true to the following discerning remark by G. Gurvitch that: "Society is within us and we are in /391/ society," and, what is more, to the very principles of anthropology.

Lastly, in a final image, this chain evokes the over-all configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture, the parts of which we have presented somewhat like a mosaic in the preceding chapters, and which we now restore to its inner unity by casting a little light on its articulations.

We shall wait to define this configuration in what follows.

As for the explanation, we believe that the picture of the correlation of ideas, conditions and concerns is so eloquent that specific comments are unnecessary. Of course, this applies to the explanation of the "whole." But there is more.

The same picture explains the formation of its parts, of the principle links of the chain, namely, how the fundamental ideas were adopted, how social man decided in favor of them, forced by certain conditions. However, in this connection it is essential to be specific.

When we speak of fundamental concerns which are transformed into motivations for action and into needs felt by the Sarakatsani, and of natural objective conditions, we consider neither the one nor the other as outside the Sarakatsani social framework properly speaking. Thanks to

/391 cont./

121 their reciprocal relations which we revealed above in their concrete form, concerns and conditions acquire a social significance; they are transformed under the influence of the Sarakatsani collective consciousness and they become social phenomena like all the others. As a result, we may legitimately include them in our explanatory reasoning, while remaining faithful to Durkheim is rule that the social is explained only by the social.

Thus we do not reduce the sociological explanation to a psychological and biological explanation, repeating the exaggerations of functionalism which have been so widely criticized. (3)

3. For a general examination of this problem see:
A. Devyver: Presentation des Argonautes de Malinowski, p. 18 f.

nor do we reduce it to a geographical explanation, the monism and inadequacy of which have likewise been condemned.

* * * *

/392/ In order to complete our observations on the "whole," its composition and its explanation, we must take into account another of its aspects.

Certain ideas exert a most important influence on others. Examining them from this point of view we find that independence, kinship and male primacy, as well as herding are more prominent than community, cooperation, cosmology, religion. And among the first it is kinship that predominates. It makes independence and herding possible, it polarizes cooperation and community and it inspires the subject matter of magic and religion.

It is the same with concerns and conditions. Among concerns it is socio-cultural and ethnic survival that influences in a decisive way the resolving ideas. (4)

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] [496] [771] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] [917] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

/393 cont./

121 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings
182 that might alter the picture.

121 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply
182 a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on
233 nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani
181 culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion
171 to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

/393 cont./

121 181 171 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 171 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

/394 cont./

121 171 7. O. Ostrogorsky: Histoire de l'État byzantin, French translation, p. 120, footnote 1.

It is precisely this village community which has given rise to the most lively controversies about its origins. For it has been interpreted by certain historians such as Zacharia, Vasiliev, Kij and Ouspenskij as an organization inspired by the Russian mir. On this particular point O. Ostrogorsky, the historian from whom we borrowed the preceding quotation, says distinctly, while criticizing the works of the authors mentioned, that the mir is late phenomenon; and he adds: "...a communal regime such as this, characterized by the community of fields, never existed in Byzantium, and if one wants to stick to the sources, one must agree that no community of this kind among the ancient /395/ Slavs is known; on the other hand, Byzantium and other countries and peoples along with it were acquainted, well before the Slavic invasion, of a community in the sense we spoke of above." (8)

8. See O. Ostrogorsky: op. cit., p. 165, footnote 5, the entire criticism with copious bibliographic references. See also R. Thurwaldt: l'Economie primitive, p. 345. "We know, moreover, that the family community of the southern Slavs was a relatively recent creation without deep roots in the past." This author cites as corroboration F. Kraus: Sitte und Brauch der Sud-Slaven, p. 64, and J.S. Lewinski: The Origin of Property, Etc.

Of course, these testimonies concern only the lives of free and sedentary peasants. About the pastoral life, to repeat, we know nothing. 171 233 However, ethnographic observation shows that in the Balkans nomadic herding was practiced chiefly by the Aroumain (Valaque), the Albanians (Arvanito-Valaque) and the Sarakatsani. The Bulgars and the Turks were ignorant of it, or almost so. And among the Yogoslavs it seems that in

/395 cont./

171 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it,
233 even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Κ. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ : Ἀγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas"
233 and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore
191 ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the
181

/396 cont./

171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and
182 ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

/397 cont./

578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories: Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 627 182 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions, the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tsiligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/398 cont./

578 121 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 571 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 182 155 626 183 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[494] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
77 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/400 cont./

to the Marxist theory, (3)

3. On the different meanings of the term alienation in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol, II, pp. 253-258. although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds. note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"]. The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

598 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

598 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their
275 realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the
182 means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.
183
121 As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists
[626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates
[177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional
178 elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing
182 the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 G 175 548 722 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

S /403 cont./
175 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
177 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
121 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
G 175 government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
648 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
722 were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
S of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made
[425] to disappear.

S The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

175 The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
177 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
233 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
474 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
429 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
178 started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
S Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
474 of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
233 obliged to seek individual solutions.
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177

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

S In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
177 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
175 registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
S consequences:
[656]

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S 177 175 /404 cont./
cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S 177 311 G 311 S [361] b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S 177 461 562 c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S 177 871 d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S 177 423 [452] [233] [241] The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures. Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S 177 423 656 G 656 423 At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result, all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on leased sites.

/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tsiligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

/405 cont./

177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

/406 cont./

177 (114) 5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

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CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the
812 grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth,
771 he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so
[761] that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon
that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter
[775] described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

/408 cont./

121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--
See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:
829 /409/
462

TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of cooperation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

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181

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
182 Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
626 tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
829 morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

/410 cont./

121 They show that the latitude offered the Sarakatsani to give free rein
181 to their originality, namely to their temperament, their talents, their imagination, is not very great. The latitude is provided in advance and obeys predictable models. This formula does not mean that our herders are automatons whose strings are pulled by their society and their culture, but merely that they are not supposed to go beyond certain norms. The fact that they are honored when they distinguish themselves in accomplishing certain tasks perfectly shows that Sarakatsani society knows how to appreciate talent and originality.
121 However, it does not permit the non-observance of the "prescribed."
181 This means that the Sarakatsani become "typical" individuals. (2)
22C

2. See M. Mead's distinction between "typical" and "atypical": Ibid., p. 268.

Those who are atypical are not tolerated. They are, in fact threatened with social banishment. Sarakatsani social molding is
121 therefore total. And, to express this statement on another level, we
181 might say that among them traditional cultural works /411/ flow into their psyches; in other words, their total social and psychological phenomena overlap almost completely. (3)

3. Inspired by G. Gurvitch.

Nevertheless, Sarakatsani society is interested not only in the molding of its members, but also in their destiny. It provides for them socially, it puts at their disposal its organization and its means. All the solutions of their vital problems that it has adopted converge toward "a primitive, socio-economic planning," according to a formula by Radin, (4)

4. See P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, pp. 99 and 201.

/411 cont./

121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-
[554] economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 181 156 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such. The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

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181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

/412 cont./

181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

* * * *

178 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel
178 about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

/412 cont./

178 human being.
121

Nevertheless, the means at the disposal of contemporary man by our urbanized and technicized civilization for /413/ an improvemnt of his condition also bear bitter fruits. The price of comfort and well-being is too often agony, insecurity, dehumanization of work, constant dissatisfaction, the rupture of ties between men, solitude, social injustice.

When one considers slums and shanty towns, when one consults the statistics dealing with certain diseases (neurosis and psychosis), prostitution or criminality, in countries in the process of rapid development, the picture takes on a disquieting glare.

Then, comparisons become inevitable. We are surely not advocates of the myth of the "noble savage" nor of maxims recommending "the return to nature." And we have no illusions about the condition of the Sarakatsani. However, one fact is certain: among them the phenomena of social pathology are unknown.

Thus, change among our herders, rapid and without any preparation that could lessen the brutality of the shock, fills us with great disquiet.

However, it is quite necessary to recognize and perhaps accept it: progress presupposes "human cost." "History," once the threshold of "tradition" is crossed, flounders but advances on muddy ground, drenched with sweat and, in some cases, with the blood of "human beings," the heirs of Prometheus.

/pp. 413-424 of foreign text not translated/

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— R. Ph. = Revue Philosophique de la France et de l'étranger.
— E. H. = Collection : Évolution de l'Humanité.
— B. F. Ph. L. = Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et des Lettres de Liège.
— Q. s. j. = Que sais-je?
— Ann. Soc. = Année Sociologique.
— J. H. St. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
— A. Ph. Dr. Soc. Jur. = Archives de Philosophie du droit et de Sociologie Juridique.
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[For additional information on the role of "arbiters" in the settlement of disputes, see Category 627.]

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[For additional information on the role of "arbiters" in the settlement of disputes, see Category 692.]

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[Although the Sarakatsani employ village priests, apparently of Greek origin, in various religious rituals, "by their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest "(p.399). Therefore references to the use of priests in the text have been left under the functional religious categories (e.g., 796, 788, 585, 782, etc.) with the further addition of Category 177 (acculturation and culture contact) to indicate the use of the non-Sarakatsani priest.]

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[For information on "magical thinking", see Category 811.]

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[For a theoretical discussion of the inter-relationship of myth and knowledge, see Category 121 (or Category 116, pp. 416-423).]

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Bowra, Dr. K. O. L. Burridge, Mr. E. Katsaros, Dr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. Zisimos Lorenzatos, and Dr. Philip Sherrard who read and commented on particular chapters. And to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College I express my appreciation for their patient support and encouragement.

It was my misfortune that feelings over the Cyprus issue became particularly embittered shortly after I began my fieldwork, with the result that my relations with the local authorities were always difficult. My movements were restricted and under surveillance. I was seldom able to persuade local officials to provide me with, or to help me obtain, any kind of quantitative or statistical information. Indeed, it is certain that without the generous support of the deputy Prime Minister Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, I would not have been allowed to remain. Within a week of his leaving office I was ordered to remove myself from the area and on this abrupt note my fieldwork ended. If one remembers the unhappy atmosphere which then existed, it would be unreasonable to complain of the reaction of some Greek officials and individuals to my presence and my suspect work. It is with all the more gratitude that I remember the kindness and practical assistance of many Greek friends, which they did not always give without risk. Particularly I wish to mention Mr. Sotiris Dakaris of the Greek Archaeological Service, and his wife. My debt to the Sarakatsani will be obvious from this book; and to none is it greater than to my friend Theodoros Gogolos.

I dedicate this book to my wife, Sheila Campbell, who shared the fieldwork in physical and political conditions which were often unpleasant, and who first won the confidence of a secretive people.

J.K.C.

Kifissia.
May 1962.

During my fieldwork I was visited by the Greek photographer 'Dimitri' and I am grateful for permission to use some of the photographs he took on those occasions. I am similarly grateful to Mr. Roger Vaternelle who prepared the map; and to Professor Bernard Kayser who made it possible for him to do so.

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PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only [101] certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among [101] Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara-
128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p.321]

XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter. 121 ● 771 577

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the villages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern. 794 [648]

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church. 796 794

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently 779

3: Kabbadias--1 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

000 /i/ Work published in cooperation with the National Center of Scientific Research

NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Sarakatsani of Greece

/ii/ Applied Sciences of Humankind Series, Paul Albou, Director

/iii/ Georges B. Kavadias

NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Sarakatsani of Greece

Photographs and drawings by the author

Paris

Gauthier-Villars

1965

128 /iv/ A detailed bibliography will be found at the end of the present work. We beg the reader kindly to refer to it, the bibliographical information given in the footnotes being in abbreviated form.

000 /v/ To the sacred memory of my father

To my mother

/vi/ /blank/

/vii/ Foreword

121 The work of Georges Kavadias, which we present to the public today, is the first in a series that will be devoted to the Applied Sciences of Humankind. This may astonish some who consider the sciences of Humankind and sociology to be identical in their basis and in their application. Our point of view is different: for us, the sciences of humankind cannot be founded only on the traditional social sciences; they most certainly include these but they must extend beyond them while enriching them. They endeavor to grasp, by a multidisciplinary approach, the complexity of reality, hence the contradictions which are resolved in practice. Originating from diverse epistemological or methodological considerations, these contradictions--which show the dialectical character of the human phenomenon--are, paradoxically but emphatically, the basis of a global interpretation which alone is capable of guiding the specialist,

/vii cont./

121 whether investigator or practitioner. By an applied science of humankind we mean, actually, not the exploitation of knowledge, which would give rise to procedures and tricks, but rather the increase of this knowledge (hence of our power) by the application of the most rigorous scientific methods to the solution of concrete problems of economic and social life Now, what is more concrete than the monograph by Georges Kavadias? Is anything more applied--in the sense we have just pointed out? In this essay, which has yielded its author very flattering distinctions, the sociologist and economist, the psychologist and specialist in technical assistance, the ethnologist and jurist--the administrator and the scholar--will find material for profitable reflection. Professor Leroi-Gourhan shows, below, the interest of this work. We will confine ourselves to pointing out the importance of the transformation which the sciences of humankind have undergone today--where theory no longer disavows the practice that gave rise to it and illuminates it while perfecting. The fine work of Georges Kavadias illustrates perfectly this new orientation.

Paul Albou.

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Preface

Man has never grown tired of contemplating his image, has never lost his suriosity for his own past. The prehistorian, the archaeologist, the ethnologist, of the present century, are only the instruments of this eagerness to know, the scientific mutations, in the age of the exact sciences, of the travelers and epic narrators of old. Curiosity perhaps, but perhaps necessity as vital as that of light and warmth; for if techniques require only agents, the civilization which invents techniques

/ix cont./

121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social
121 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals:
177 one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the
178 third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding. Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which, assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community, hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed. To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

/x cont./

121 that is passing completes its ruin in its last representatives, but it is essential for society that their experience be recorded, for in ten years or in a hundred all that will remain will be an aspect of human consciousness masked but not obliterated by modern life, lacking any evidence other than that gathered by ethnology.

To reason coldly is, furthermore, not characteristic of ethnology which must experience its evidence directly: life is inseparable from affective warmth when one works with human material. Georges Kavadias has lived his experience of the Sarakatsani with his heart and with his intelligence, each in turn becoming the servant of the other. Having [114] seen him, with his wife, in the field, I know what passionate solicitude he brought to the research, and I know all that the present book represents in years of direct collecting followed by those of formulation. About this strange world of transhumant shepherds of Balkan and Hellenic Europe we had only data that were fragmentary and relatively inaccessible. It is the first time that a work on this subject appears in a perspective which includes all the spheres of life and their relationships. May it fulfill the role which its author hoped for it: to be at once a homage to the world of the Sarakatsani and an element in the construction of a true image of man.

André Leroi-Gourhan,
Professor at the Sorbonne.

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/1/ Introduction

121 178 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece: the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113] 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. I, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113] 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence: as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

/1 cont./

[12] Nevertheless, these two positions do not seem incompatible. According to a very discerning statement by C. Lévi-Strauss: "because anthropology calls itself social or cultural it aspires always to know the total man, seen, in one case through /2/ his productions, and in the other, through his representations." (3)

[13] 3. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Place de l'Anthropologie dans les Sciences Sociales et problèmes póses par son enseignement, in Sciences Sociales, etc., published by UNESCO, p. 113.

In any case, let us add, and this represents our position, it aspires to know man "in context"; hence to deepen the knowledge of man as such--his reactions and his collective productions as well as his cultural works, likewise collective--man in his universe, both natural and human--given, modified or created by him--and struggling to fulfill his life.

This "synthetic" position, is inspired by the teaching of Marcel Mauss--which, from all evidence, likewise inspired C. Lévi-Strauss (4)--

4. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction à l'oeuvre de Mauss, p.XXV ff.

but it is not based on the authority of the master, nor yet on an "interdisciplinary" ecelecticism, which would be absurd. Our decision to approach the problem in a multidimensional manner arises from the very nature of things. Granted that the social and the cultural are inextricably and to a very large extent interlocked, it is obvious that if one does not wish to confine oneself to a sterile nominalism and to leave obscure extremely important aspects, one is obliged to study both together, and to bring to light both their specific characteristics and their mutual relationships. This is the only way to achieve our aim, /namely/ the knowledge of the total Sarakatsani man.

However, a question still remains to be discussed. Can a monographic study such as ours expect to be accepted within the framework of anthropology which aims, according to G. Balandier, to elucidate the general

/2 cont./
121 properties characterizing the life of man in society? (5)

5. Ibid., p.102

Or should it, rather, be content with a more modest ambition, that of all ethnographic monographs, to describe more than to explain? In other words, starting from a particular case, can one hope to touch the general?

We believe that, all things considered, we may reply in the affirmative. If the descriptive work proper to every monograph is accompanied by certain comparative statements and if, moreover and above all, it is followed by an explanatory essay, certainly its conclusions will be considered to have anthropological value. /3/ Not because they reveal the universal "socius," but a partial socious, entitled to be integrated with the former and to contribute to its elucidation. Let us remember that if general anthropology has not yet advanced a great deal it is because explanatory monographs are relatively few in number. It seems to us that between the traditional ethnographic monograph and that of inspired by anthropology there is a very obvious gap which justifies a separate category for the latter. The present investigation therefore aspires to take its place among these works.

However, a final aspect which forms of our reflections on our general position ought to be explained: what is culture?

As far as we know, none of the definitions of culture proposed by the different sciences of man can be considered as generally accepted. The following works provide eloquent illustrations. First, Civilisation-
[113] le mot et l'idée, published by the Centre international de synthèse (Première semaine internationale de synthèse--II Fsc.), Paris, la Renaissance du Livre, 1930; and second, A.L. Kroeber and Cl. Kluckohn[sic!]: Culture, a critical review of concepts and definitions /cited in English/, Cambridge University Press, 1952.

Obviously, we do not propose to recommence the discussion. Such a task goes far beyond the scope of this work. Nevertheless, the necessity of delimiting our subject, of justifying our plan and explaining the

/3 cont./

121 orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

[113] 6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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121 182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

/4 cont./

121 182 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved [361] are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the [221] Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/5 cont./

121 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their
182 existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement
361 in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in
182 Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired
174 by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

/10 cont./
174 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore"
113 (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès
114 (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

***

121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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114 /13 cont./

[113] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

127 As far as we are concerned, we have used the bibliography
128 mentioned in order to: 1) To present certain phenomena formerly existing that has disappeared at the time of our inquiry; /14/ 2) complete the gaps in our own inquiry; and 3) present interpretations which certain authors have set forth about some phenomena, and, occasionally, to discuss the differences between their point of view and our own. All these cases have been specifically indicated in our text.

128 On the other hand, as far as the descriptions are concerned, we do not cite the authors whose observations coincide with ours. That is
[114] because, once in the field, we worked as though nothing had been written on the Sarakatsani; we wanted to form an idea about them which was absolutely our own and study their life thoroughly in order to be able to explain it afterwards. Thus, our text was written from the material that we ourselves collected, with the exception of the cases mentioned above.

[129] Perhaps it should also be added that all the works cited are either descriptive or centered on linguistic analysis. Hence our own
[121] contribution consists of the "anthropological" study of the Sarakatsani which, as far as we know, has never been done till now.

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000 To conclude this introduction we wish to thank all those who directly or indirectly facilitated our task: The old Sarakatsani chiefs N. Tzoumanis, A. Katsoulas, J. Yannakis, P. Karaïskow and the teacher of Tchépélovo, E. Yannakos. Our friends, B. Koutsoumbas and G. Katsambékis, likewise Sarakatsani. The lawyers of Sarakatsani origin, Chr. Karaïskos and N. Tsiamis. The veterinarian M.A. Constandinidès, Madame Fr. Ioannidès, Monsieur and Madame Saliveros, Monsieur and Madame Clonaris, and many others whom we are not able to mention for lack of space but whom we think of with gratitude. May all these persons

/14 cont./

000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/ PART ONE

/14b/ /blank/

/15/ Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « [illegible] » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

/16/ /blank/

/17/ Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16 114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16 123 124 127 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on

/24 cont./

128 The pages that follow will show how Sarakatsani society deals with these problems. From another standpoint, they will illustrate the process of interaction of Saraktsani civilization with its morpho-ecological base. Thus the problem of the integration of this partial aspect with the whole will find its solution.

/25/

Chapter II

The Technology of the Sarakatsani

121 Properly speaking, technology is a psychosomatic process. This process, which asserts itself in a given natural environment and a given social framework (1) presents the following characteristics:

(113) 1. See André Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, pp. 355 and 361.--M. Mauss: Les Techniques et la Technologie, in: Mayerson, L. Febvre, A. Aymard, etc: Le Travail et les Techniques, p. 71-78.--A. Varagnac: L'homme et les techniques pré-machinistes in: J. Cassou, G. Friedmann, C. Durtain, M. Bloch, J. Luc, A. Varagnac, etc.: L'homme, la technique et la nature, p. 54.--M. Bloch: Technique et Évolution sociale, op. cit., p. 30. --J.A. Mauduit: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135.--K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, French translation p. 74-75.

1. It enables /one/ to dominate and exploit the forces and possibilities offered by nature.

2. Its development is a function of these, on the one hand, and of society on the other hand. The latter determines at one and the same time the needs to be met and the manner of doing so, by accumulating knowledge, beliefs and experience acquired in the course of time, as well as by providing the agents entrusted with various tasks.

And it also asserts itself in creations and inventions.

Thus, in technology, nature and society meet.

In order to study it, one may consider technology as a process of action on inert material for the purpose of manufacturing various

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

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The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these
312 the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/95 cont./

233 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62). A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A, [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (514) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(514) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

291
302
171

Fig. 77

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine), requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A,/Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B,/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we [176] were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/121 cont./

105 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the
182 imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study succesively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

594 /124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.

[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the 612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful 596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here . Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 594 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 593 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and [428] the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision 594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

594 593 /147 cont./ obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:

533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539]

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
593
594
829

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/157 cont./
596 474 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know 121 596 474 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 596 474 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is [594] [464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/190 cont./

474 182 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 433 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 439 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not unmindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/201 cont./

121 671 The preceding account is based entirely on the presupposition that the Sarakatsani have a law which is their own. Thus our task at present is to discover this law, to describe it, to stress its peculiarities, in a word, to establish its existence and its limits.

/202/ SARAKATSANI LAW STRICTLY SPEAKING

IN SEARCH OF THE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

The only truly legal manifestations that we find when we examine Sarakatsani life are the obstacles to marriage, the prohibition against sexual relations outside marriage, the contract with the Tséligas, arbitration, and finally crimes and misdemeanors.

However, are these truly matters of law? And if so, must one conclude from them that the legal life of the Sarakatsani is limited to these? Or must one rather concede, along with certain theorists, that the non-existence of courts and organized forces for the application of sentences shows that these herders are without any law? (7)

(113) 7. See W. Seagle: The quest for law/cited in English/, pp. 34, 60-69.

Or, finally, must we, along with other theorists, accept the opposite opinion which holds that our nomads have law, since they have customs, and that the totality of their customs represents the law of their society? (8)

(113) 8. See E. Sidney Hartland: Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 5. "Primitive law is in truth the totality of customs of the tribe"/cited in English/.

These alternatives show very well that in order to be able to adopt a position we must try to explore the life of the Sarakatsani from some workable criteria.

The general theory of law offers several methods of approach to legal matters, based on the characteristics of the latter, which we hereby

/202 cont./

121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.

67 First, each point of law has a normative character. However,

121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this

183 critierion cannot be used by itself.

67 It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers. (9)

[71] [113] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

121 /203 cont./
671
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[113]

11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584]

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

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14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

/204 cont./

121 671 183 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardózo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

[113]

121 671 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

/204 cont./

121 671 the presence of agents of law forces people to conform to it when no infraction has been committed (and before such an infraction). Coercion isolated from sanction, therefore constitutes one of the criteria of law.

However, although a social guarantee represents the chief criterion of the law, this criterion is utilizable only in combination with the totality of the criteria mentioned. For constraint, whatever its form, is not necessarily linked to law.

* * * *

/205/ Now, somewhat anticipating of our conclusion, we shall state immediately that the application of these criteria shows that the Sarakatsani have law, much more rich and complicated than appearances indicate, and that this law bears the imprint of the originality of their lives.

671 128 We propose now, for the convenience of the analysis, to present first the totality of the disclosed rules and principles, classified, not according to the classificatory criteria of evolved laws inadequate in the case that concerns us, (18)

18. See J. Lips: Government, chap. X, p. 487.--O.W. Holmes: cited by Hoebel, ibid., p. 20: "The past gives us our vocabulary and fixes the limits of our imagination." /cited in English/

but according to the issues on which these rules are based. We shall make two subdivision: one devoted to non-criminal law and the other to criminal law. This distinction is based on what the Sarakatsani themselves say, although non-conformity to non-criminal law carries punishments and thus resembles penal law. Before going on to the second subdivision we shall try to show that everything we consider law truly possesses this character. For criminal law, this problem does not arise, the punishment bearing out the nature of the relevant rules.

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474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
[596]

Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

121 696 692 629 /210 cont./

in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there will no longer be any doubt about their nature.

We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

(124) Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/211 cont./

121 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or
696 a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to
692 the good will of those concerned.
629

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing.
696 We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence
692 is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his
629 cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by
626 all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis)
[686] --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.
[474]

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/226 cont./

671 681 and anthropological approach to laws other than those with which our advanced societies are familiar.

121 671 This phenomenon is not entirely unknown to theorists. But if some of them have had an inkling of it, no one, to our knowledge, has treated it in clear terms. (36)

36. We have mentioned some of these authors in connection with some definite point. We shall take up their theories in their broad aspects, our previous remarks being an integral part of what follows.

In order to introduce the discussion, it will be well to start with certain comments on the famous work of B. Malinowski: Crime and Custom in Savage Society /cited in English/ (37)

(128) 37. Our questions refer to a French translation included in: Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, to which our quotations refer.

(1926). The publication of this work, in addition to the influence that it has subsequently had on the anthropological theory of law, has made it possible to state the problem correctly.

What Malinowski does is to protest against the interpretations dominated by the ideas of L. Morgan--those of "Bachofen, of Post, of Bernoft, of Konler and others who were grouped around the periodical Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (p. 10), those which are found again "in the works of the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works and in some English works" (p. 11). "Basic to all these ideas," he says, "was the postulate that in primitive societies the individual is totally dominated by the group, the horde, the clan or the tribe, that he obeys the commands of his community...with servile passivity, so to speak, bewitched" (p. 11).

He also protests against E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Rivers, cited above, who speak of an "unconscious and intuitive regulation of social life...

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121 671 closely bound up with primitive communism" (p. 14), and against Hobhouse who states that "if we understand by legislation a totality of rules imposed by an authority to which one is not bound by personal ties of /227/ kinship or friendship, we are obliged to state that such an institution is incompatable with the social organization of savages" (Morals in Evolution/ cited in English/, 1915, p. 73, quoted by Malinowski, ibid., p. 15). And Malinowski asks himself: "Is there not, at least as far as certain rules are concerned, a mechanism of constraint, perhaps not imposed by an external authority but based on actual motives and interests and on complex feeling?" (p. 15). And a little farther on he adds: "The extreme difficulty of the problem is due... to the very complex and diffuse character of the forces that constitute primitive law" (p. 17).

Malinowski believes that he finds the solution of this problem in the "principle of reciprocity," the "principle of do ut des /I give so that you may give/ which plays a dominant role in tribal life" (p. 82). For him, "the rights of the chief over ordinary people, those of the husband over his wife or of parents over their children are not exerted arbitrarily and in a unilateral fashion, but in conformity with clearly defined rules and are made up of successions of strictly reciprocated services" (p. 37--italics mine). This is all the more true of exchanges of an economic order, called "kula" (p. 24). The whole rests on the symmetry of structure which "constitutes the indispensable basis of all savage society" (p. 24). If the individual conforms absolutely to this "give and take" which extends throughout all social life, recompense awaits him at the end in the form of economic benefits or the augmentation of his prestige. If he does not conform to it "it will not be long before he is banished from social and economic life and he knows this perfectly well" (p. 34). In sum, the "civil" laws, the positive laws which govern all phases of tribal life are therefore made up of a totality of dominant obligations, considered as rights by one party, as duties by the other, rigorously maintained by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity

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inherent in the very structure of society... Their efficacy has its source in the rational appreciation of cause and effect by the natives, as well as in a certain number of personal and social feelings, such as ambition, vanity, pride, the desire to make the most of oneself by displaying one's talents, and also attachment, friendship, devotion and loyalty towards relatives...Legality represents one aspect of tribal life, one side of its structure rather than a totality of /228/ independent arrangement, a mechanism existing by itself...Legislation is a specific result of combinations which affect obligations, this combination making it impossible for the native to evade his responsibility without having to suffer the consequences" (p. 45). And Malinowski concludes his analysis with "an anticipation": "Research will one day discover almost everywhere that reciprocity, systematic influence, publicity and ambition are the principal factors which, in primitive legislation, impose obedience to its rules and prescriptions" (p. 51).

It is precisely this "anticipation" combined with the general interest in Malinowski's theory which has obliged us to dwell so long on this author.

We shall not comment on his idea of absolutely symmetrical organization and the dual structure of "savage" societies, the central axis of the whole system, on which contemporary anthropology has not spoken the final word. (38)

38. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie structurale, chapter VIII, where the author asks: "Do dual structures exist?"

Nor shall we deny that a network of reciprocities exists in all societies, both archaic and modern, and that constraints which spring from them, especially since we have acknowledged them among the Sarakatsani in almost identical terms as those of Malinowski. Finally, we are absolutely convinced of the fact that individuals have personal obligations and responsibilities which they try to evade. However, reciprocity and constraint aside, we believe that there remains a gap which entities such as "vanity, pride, ambition, desire to make the most of oneself, attachment, friendship, devotion, loyalty, etc.", proposed by Malinowski, do not fill.

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121 671 If we address ourselves to these entities we run two risks: first, to confuse legal life with moral life in the sense that to conform to the entities enumerated means to obey certain social values sanctioned by general approval. It does not escape us that this approval implies a utilitarian aspect of which we shall speak in the next chapter. But this approval is not sufficient to insure absolute obedience by the persons concerned. Non-conformism represents "minor" dangers--the individual often is content with a minimum of consideration /229/ on the part of society.

Moreover, from the methodological point of view it appears that if one accepts this interpretation, one leaves the sociological field in favor of a psychologism limiting itself to "motivations" (a reality which only very partially explains our problem).

The second risk is based on the "motivations" in question. Ambition, pride, vanity, attachment, friendship, devotion, etc., are driving powers which can operate in two ways. They can uphold law, but they can also turn against it. For these motives, vanity for example or pride, have the power to launch conflicts and disagreements, sometimes very acute, between individuals and groups, and other individuals or other groups motivated by attachment, loyalty or friendship toward the interested parties may continue them and in doing so aggravate them and render them disastrous. Malinowski does not tell us why vanity and pride would be dominated by law and justice and not personal by self-esteem or egoism, nor why the authority of law would prevail over rebellious individualism. There is a point here which shows very well that psychology explains nothing if it is not used within concrete categories and framework.

121 671 681 This is why we believe that if we assume the mechanism of sanction and disguised coercion, we thereafter understand how individuals and groups obey law; we avoid confusion with morals and the introduction of extraneous psychological criteria into the true life of law. As a result, we base the latter on objective reality, the pressure that the "social milieu" exerts

/229 cont./

121 67 68 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effectiveness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it. 121 67 [114] Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain uncertain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Furthermore, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/230 cont./

121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law." For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is
[681] one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's[A] idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior, the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior. These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

A, /i.e., J.-P.B. de Joselin de Jong--Analyst/

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
671 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
681 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
671 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
671 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

/232 cont./

121 114 67 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 67 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 67 68 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this author may lead. We take as an example "the negative organized sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation, even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 671 681 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social [626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved. [114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] [626] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 671 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/234 cont./

121 there is legal obligation when there is a precise definition of obli-
671 gation and a precise definition of infliction and for punishment... Obligation is simply more rigid and more legal in the case of law" (p. 112). That is not all. Mauss proposes still another criterion. "All laws are considered good by definition; then again, conformity to laws is good; it is necessary to social life. Everything that is in conformity is good, everything that is antagonistic to this conformism is bad. One would therefore recognize the moral and legal phenomenon by the presence of the idea of good and bad, previously defined and always sanctioned" (p. 112).

121 Now for Mauss, the distinguishing criteria of law are three in number:
67 precisely defined obligation; precisely defined infliction /of penalty/
681 and punishment, hence sanction; authority based on the good, including the value of conformity to rules. These ideas are not unknown to us. We have criticized them in the foregoing. Let us recall that up to a certain point we share them. However, we see ourselves obliged to remark that if one contrasts diffuse sanction appropriate to moral phenomena with definite sanction, fixed and organized, as appropriate to law, one leaves out manifestly legal phenomena such as obedience to arbiters which appears not to be enforced by sanctions and, what is worse, one risks linking these phenomena to morality. This is the case for example, for G. Gurvitch, when he gives priority to morality over law in patriarchal societies. But we shall speak of this in the next chapter.

We should like to conclude this theoretical test by pointing out that if we introduce into the arsenal of the theory of law the idea of disguised sanction and coercion we shall be equipped with a new, very effective criterion which permits us to follow paths that have hitherto been inaccessible.

It does not escape us that our argument is based only on one example and that consequently, before being more fully accepted, it must be tested in other social contexts.

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121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group
676 agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/235 cont./

671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[627] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

577 ## MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

121 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal. It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/237 cont./

577 12 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [834] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [888] [604]

/243 cont./

[570] [181] [67] [114]

law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor

[182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

/247 cont./

123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
124 to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
[825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/252 cont./

825 12 [831] character of a sexual symbol because of its connection with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc. According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις». M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς». Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G. Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. [842] We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινοῦ βίου, τ. VI, p. [illegible].

c) Modern Greece:

Ἐ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 842 821 825 823 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. [1116] Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Basilicorum, 60, 39, 5 et 6, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Πολιτικοκανονικὴ Διατάξεων συλλογή, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 340, etc.

/285 cont./

128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
289 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

[124] In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/286 cont./

121 789 153 Sarakatsani magical thinking, to try to keep the ideas that emanate from it apart from the phenomena in which these ideas manifest themselves.

We shall therefore start by determining the fundamental ideas governing both the magic action and the means put at its disposal. There is here a static aspect which, as such, offers to our eyes only a limited view of our problem. In order to broaden it, its transposition to a dynamic perspective seems indispensable. We shall therefore examine under what conditions magic and the corresponding ideas are born, what is /287/ the process of their formation, what is the totality of ideas that accompanies their application.

That is not all. It is also necessary to see what the Sarakatsani idea is concerning their magic. We shall rediscover it included in their attitude toward magic. Then, by using the conclusions drawn from these observations, we shall proceed to an attempt to define the magic thought.

Finally, we shall compare magic thought and non-magic thought in order to emphasize the characteristics and the structure of the former, and we shall conclude with some critical reflections bearing on our interpretations and our conclusions.

The Postulates that Make Possible Magic Action.

The magical thought of the Sarakatsani puts forward certain fundamental ideas, true postulates, which serve as points of departure and a basis for magical action. We shall enumerate them:

The postulate of transmissibility. This is the conviction that virtues, qualities, characteristics, functions, etc., existing in the forces ruling the universe or in certain definite objects can be transmitted to men or to beasts if they /the latter/ are put in contact with these forces or these objects.

The postulate of the opposition of forces. In order to defend his person and his goods against threats arising from various sources

/287 cont./

121 (supernatural beings, hidden evils, evil eye, etc.), man can oppose
789 them with forces in his favor. The result is a mutual neutralization
153 of opposite influences which permits men and animals to keep safe from evil.

The postulate that forces will not destroy themselves. The fact that a person is a harmful force, or rather its symbol on themselves, suffices to hinder the latter from releasing its baneful influence: it cannot act against itself.

The postulate of simple removal. The evils, represented anthropomorphically, can be forced to remove themselves if one attacks their supposed senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.) in a disagreeable fashion.

The postulate of purification. If, despite the precautions taken, man or beast are attacked by magic influences, they are at the very least contaminated. A purification is /288/ possible by means of favorable forces which neutralize the contamination by exerting an opposing influence on it.

Finally, the postulate of representation of desired situations and effects desired. Sometimes, all that is needed in order to cause a situation or obtain a desired effect, is to represent them in one way or another, by gestures, words or dramatic scenes. In this case the representation is as good as the reality.

This postulate is connected, up to a certain point, with the conviction that man, in certain circumstances, is in a position to set in motion for his benefit the forces ruling the universe.

The most important of these postulates (98)

98. A certain number of examples illustrating them will be found below, p. 290.

is that of transmissibility, not because it is found in most of the rites and practices, but because it is one of the assumptions underlying the

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

789 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves
153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the
826 case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of
844 the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

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121 789 153 This kind of association also includes the juxtaposition in space of the two components of the magic action.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MAGIC IS CALLED UPON TO INTERVENE.

We may distinguish four categories:

a) Psychological: the Saraktasani must cope with problems of urgent necessity. In most cases the issues are vital.

b) Cultural: Sarakatsani knowledge and technology are incapable of solving these problems.

c) Social: it is Sarakatsani society, in large part, that defines the needs and makes them urgent. Furthermore, the social framework hampers the development of knowledge and technology. Thus it thwarts, albeit indirectly, the rational solution of problems.

d) "Human": man, like all the other species, must act upon his environment in order to survive. Magic is a means of dominating the world through the action that it inspires.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this classification:

a) Each of the conditions enumerated above may be isolated from the others only abstractly, which means that in reality all four make up an indissoluble whole.

b) These conditions are reduced in practice to strong motivations, at once intellectual, affective, socio-cultural and even instinctive (it is self-preservation which, basically, is involved), which set in motion the magical thinking and constitute an atmosphere favorable to its development.

It would therefore be erroneous to assert, as has been done on several occasions, that magic, as thought or as action, is based solely on man's fear and anguish before the unknown and the mysterious, on the thought of his weakness in the face of entities /290/ that are beyond him. Reality demands that we approach the study of magic on the basis of all the phenomena that underly it, in other words, in a multidimensional manner.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMULATION OF POSTUALTES AND MEANS OF ACTION.

The postulates as well as the means of magical action are based on the observation of the sentient world. Transmissibility, mutual neutralization of opposing forces, non-self-destruction of forces, withdrawal from the painful and disagreeable are phenomena derived from the everyday /experience/.

Man, through his own experience of heat transmission from a warm body to a cold body, of the contagiousness of diseases, of putrefaction of organic matter placed near matter already decomposed, readily concludes that contact with an object possessing a desired property of quality is a sufficient means of acquiring it. (99)

99. This same ideas is also found in H. Webster: La magie "the magician is incapable of distinguishing the category of resemblance from that of identity... It is an axiom of magic that imagination is the equivalent or reality: Ficta pro veris accipi," p. 71.--However, Webster does not see that if the magician does not make the distinction between resemblance and identity, the reason is not a logical incapacity, but psycho-sociological factors, as we shall see later on.

Similarly, he concludes in favor of other postulates from analogous facts. If two men push a rock from opposite sides and they are equally strong, the rock will not roll. If a person wants to pass through a hedge of thorny shrubs, the thorns will make him turn back. And it is contrary to all probability to suppose that a source of any influence, especially when basically it is anthropomorphically conceived, can act against itself and in such a way as to destroy itself.

Thus, by deduction, man arrives at the two principal ideas of all magic, that of transmissibility, on the one hand, and that of the effectiveness of contact, on the other, and consequently /he arrives/ at all the others.

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121 789 153 At the base of all this may be seen an activity of the mind developing from analogical reasoning, which makes possible the deductions in question.

Nevertheless, how can one not ask oneself what impels the Sarakatsani to accept and apply practices supported only by analogical reasoning, not objectively /291/ verifiable? It is all the more impossible to escape this question since these herders have enough critical and rational mentality, as their technology and their social organization show, to test the efficacy of the procedures based on the ideas expressed above. Thus, the failure to verify postulates and procedures shows that in the process of their formation other factors intervene which make them a subject of general belief. It is not the established value of the analogical reasoning which imposes the postulates and the methods of action. It is the dynamics of these other elements which force their acceptance.

We are therefore faced with one of the most delicate problems of Sarakatsani magic which we must clarify before proceeding further. We believe the way to solve it is through the following hypotheses.

Everything may begin by chance. A coincidence, a combination of circumstances or some result taking place in the presence of two components, actually or presumably related, suffices for the relationship to be considered the cause of the effect.

It may likewise be supposed that man, under the emotional impetus arising from the need to face a problem for him and those around him that is serious and otherwise insoluble may decide to act by analogical reasoning. If a certain effect is produced, though it be illusory, or, what amounts to the same thing, if other factors intervene which, rightly or wrongly, seem to hinder the realization of the desired result, he will be led to believe that his procedure is effective.

In the third place, it is probable that a simple hypothesis based on analogical reasoning related to a treatment or any curative goal and

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121 put forward in a doubtful manner is assumed by an interlocutor, finding
789 himself in conditions favoring this type of reasoning, to be a
153 prescription or a method of action to be followed.

These examples, which could be multiplied, may give an inkling of how the nucleus of a future conviction originates.

Once this method is established, the collective consciousness of the group in which this phenomenon develops will pass judgment on it; it will accept it or reject it. But if /the method/ is accepted, the group will give it its prestige, its authority over individual consciousness, and will sacralize it.

/292/ Furthermore, duration, time will add its own confirmation. The comments, the narration, the repetition, will enrich the initial idea. In view of the fact that the beginnings of the initial experience are rooted in the past, manipulation will draw from it increased prestige. And insofar as technical or cognitive progress do not disturb it, the belief in its effectiveness will remain alive.

121 Obviously, all this is merely hypothesis, not diachronically verifiable since ethnographic observation has no way of studying traditional phenomena at the time they are born. Nevertheless, it seems to us that these hypotheses are governed by certain phenomena of an analogous order, which are produced in our societies and of which we herewith give a brief description.

First, analogical reasoning in connection with curative phenomena is not foreign to our "civilized" mentality. Some examples drawn from recent experience show this in a striking manner.

The introduction of antibiotics in the therapy of certain scientifically defined diseases was immediately followed by their immoderate use for everything, even for simple ailments for which they are not effective. The beneficial action of novocaine on arthritic pains of old people has led to the conviction that this medicine combats old age. At one time (100)

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100. In 1952.

the rumor spread in Greece that a plant, elaterion, constituted a means of treating cancer. And since in popular Greek elaterion is called bitter gherkin, it was believed that it could be used against diabetes "for it has a bitter essence which, as such, can neutralize the sugar in the blood."

In all these cases, passages from the known to the unknown under certain affective conditions is clear.

If practices of this kind do not become lastingly rooted in our society it is because the possibility of criticism and reply always exists: specialists and prestigious institutions are there to combat them, aided by contemporary methods of diffusion and popularization of scientific knowledge, and even by the state which neutralizes purveyors of falsehood.

Moreover, the members of our societies have, on the one hand, a much more "technicized" intellectual frame of reference than the /293/ members of traditional societies; on the other hand (a fact of major importance), they can "hope for another solution" that scientific research will propose sooner or later.

As for the process of the acceptance and propagation of these practices, which basically represents the social aspect of the problem, the mechanism of the birth and spreading of rumors in our societies is very revealing. We know that rumor has as its point of departure the combination of a cognitive fact and an emotional state. We also know, especially from the experiments of G.W. Allport and Leo Postman, (101)

101. G.W. Allport and Leo Postman: The psychology of rumor /cited in English/, p. 247. See also J. Stoeztel: La Psychologie sociale, pp. 249-255.

that rumors obey the principle of "sharpening" /cited in English/: the

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121 accentuation and enrichment of certain components of the fact spread by rumor, so that precisely because of this inflation, other components of the same fact are obscured and thus reality is distorted. Finally, 121 according to G. Durandin, "from the moment one knows that a thing was 789 real, one knows all the more that it is possible, and one is led to invent other things of the same type." (102)

102. G. Durandin: Les rumeurs, p. 17. See also p. 25; also his statement that roseate rumors "belong to the domain of magic thinking," p. 18.--Yet this author, by his statement, has merely established a parallelism of motivation which, according to him, is the same in both cases: "the roseate rumor represents the imaginative realization of a desire," he says (p. 18); and he implies that magic is only that. But he does not push his comparisons far enough to arrive at the role that the mechanism of rumor plays in the birth of magical beliefs.

Now, by combining these several assertions on "analogical practices" with the mechanism of the spread of rumors, we succeed in understanding how a fact becomes a model of action, a curative practice, even though it is based on fortuitous relationships and judgments: in each case where one event, occurring in a climate of emotional exaltation, is transmitted from mouth to ear, it goes through successive transformations in which desire and reality are confused, it is crystallized into a coherent account and finally becomes the object of general conviction.

At the end of this process one has helped in the creation of a myth. The conviction that one may obtain a curative effect by the means described, basically constitutes but a myth. It is precisely the mythical character of the conviction in question which prevents the verification of its effectiveness and which produces it. By following this course, man subdues the unknown and in so doing obtains hope and consolation. (103)

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103. On the relations of this myth which might be called a "social myth (through all myths are social) to the cosmological myth see below Chapter VIII.

/294/ This said, we must ask ourselves whether actually this parallel between the mechanism of the formation of "analogical" curative procedures observed in our societies and that of magical procedures of traditional societies is a fortunate parallel, and also whether our conclusions with regard to the first can be applied to the second, in view of the difference that exists between these societies.

We believe that the reply is affirmative:

Contemporary instances of analogical curing and the procedures of traditional white magic are called upon to serve the same needs. They originate under the same objective conditions, that is to say, where knowledge cannot intervene. They respond to the same psychological needs of security and deliverance from the anguish in the face of the unknown; therefore they manifest themselves in a climate which does not favor a distinction between the wished-for and the real.

Finally, the influence that society exerts is the same in both cases. The expectation of a solution in the past of the group as well as individuals comes before every creative event of practice and conviction. And at the moment this event takes place the channels of its diffusion--individuals, sub-groups, groups, etc.--are the same; they are called upon to take part in it and they actually do so, determining the same results.

Therefore, the inference from synchronic phenomena to diachronic phenomena is not arbitrary, and does not constitute a «μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος». Our hypotheses are legitimate and it seems to us that they do not distort reality. Consequently, we may definitively conclude that: 1st, both the postulates and the means of Sarakatsani magical action are based on analogical reasoning.--2nd, this reasoning born under

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789 /294 cont./
121 the pressure of necessity and in an emotional climate that springs
153 from it, then is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society by way of a mechanism very close to--if not identical with--that of the creation of rumors.--3rd, finally owing to these conditions, it /this reasoning/ is transformed into patterns of action--objects of an unshakable belief from which it derives its validity and the reason for it its existence. It then becomes myth which, while summoned to action and repetition, has no need for a foundation other than its own character of myth, since myth is never accompanied by doubt.

/295/ Nevertheless, we have not yet shown how two phenomena came about. These are, on the one hand, the postulate of the representation of situations and desired effects and, on the other, the represented contact.

121 Now, the acceptance of this postulate and this type of contact implies
153 once again the use of analogical reasoning.
789 If an effect is produced by bringing into contact two already existing components, why should not another effect be produced by bringing into relation one component (man or animal) with the representation of a situation or a desired reality?

Likewise, if material contact permits transmission and other effects, resulting from it why does contact merely represented not allow this?

The fact that the second component of the magical action as well as the means of action are merely symbolized in the representation is not a sufficient reason to consider this postulate and this means as qualitatively different from others. The relationship between symbol and thing symbolized is so intimate that finally symbol and thing symbolized become identified.

121 Thus we see that the process by which the postulate and the magical
789 means in question were formed cannot differ from that which has been accepted in connection with other postulates and means, despite the

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121 789 peculiarity of the original phenomenon which is only apparent. As for the rest, this phenomenon, for the same reason as the other original phenomenon, is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society, and finally becomes a myth. But the social aspect and the mythical aspect are inseparable elements of all magic.

121 IDEAS GOVERNING THE APPLICATION OF POSTULATES AND PROCEDURES. CHARACTER OF THESE IDEAS. THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMOGENEITY.

The ideas governing the application of the postulate of transmissibility are developed on two levels, depending on the nature of the problems to be solved.

The latter are divided into two broad categories: fundamental problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, problems which are certainly important but presuppose that the first have been posed and resolved.

/296/ The fundamental problems are related to the sources of life (creation of a new life: fecundity) and to the functioning of nature (regeneration of nature: universal fertility).

The other problems concern the determination of sex, the acquisition of physical, physiological or biological properties, the acquisition of a state of being, the fulfillment of curative effects or of certain practical effects. (104)

> 104. The terminology which we have used here distorts reality up to a certain point since the Sarakatsani do not have the same classification of reality as we. Nevertheless, the examples and explanations that follow will permit an avoidance of misunderstanding.

In order to arrive at a solution of the fundamental problems the [789] Sarakatsani, as we have seen, appeals to forces that his mythology has [776] revealed to him: beliefs centered on the Mother-Goddess and her avatars. (105)

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105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [231] [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/297 cont./

121 789 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example, with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

> 106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 792 789 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

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121 789 792 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

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121 789 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 82 789 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously, this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with (153) analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

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121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

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boys against anemia) requires a direct, if not material, contact.

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The ideas connected with the application of the postulates of the opposition of forces, of the non-self-destruction of forces and of purification, through the medium of practices which they inspire, are the same as the preceding ones.

These are forces evoked in connection with practices aiming at the neutralization of obscure and mysterious threats, and the forces, as we have said, always come from myth: the caul of the child and the log buried at the entrance of the enclosure, symbols of creative forces that neutralize the threats against life. The dogs' excrements and the /weights from/ the spindles of the fairies, worn as amulets, prevent demons and fairies from acting against the child, for the latter has appropriated their properties, and the forces will not act against themselves. Water, like fire or the earth is the source of life, these sources purify whatever is contaminated by evil spirits and remove the latter, for they are the opposites of the latter.

Once again the principle of homogeneity goes into effect, forces neutralizing forces.

The placement into contact obeys the same principle because it is practiced through the medium of symbols, as is fitting when one deals with forces.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the practices of simple removal seem to resist explanation on the basis of the ideas behind the action inspired by the postulates thus far enumerated, since, in order to remove the evil spirits considered as first causes, one has recourse to second causes--malodorous fires, thorns, noises, colors, etc. But this inconsistency is only apparent. Since evils are /301/ represented anthropomorphically, they are acted against as though they were men, second causes, hence through

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121 789 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner, moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

(536) On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes

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121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
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108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

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789 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action
121 of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is
[781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something
[714] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into
789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially,
153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are
789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to mam or animals.

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121 789 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 789 788 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 789 811 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

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121 789 811 deduction through analogical reasoning. Thereafter it is put in concrete form and gives rise to certain postulates which are likewise pragmatic, and which determine the action.

This point of departure having been established, the magical thinking, in search of a suitable source of influence, oscillates between two poles which are not external to it, but are integrated in it, following closely the Sarakatsani scheme of classification of the different parts of the universe: myth and the perceptual knowledge of the external world and common sense. Magic thinking turns toward myth when it finds itself in the presence of fundamental cosmological and anthropological problems (life--fecundity--fertility) and also obscure forces and influences arising from first causes or representing them, which stand outside all experience and all knowledge. On the other hand, it is prompted by knowledge when it deals with all other problems relating to secondary causes.

Magic action is thus organized accordingly. The "placing-in-contact" is sometimes oriented toward mythic entities, sometimes toward perceptible or intelligible elements, depending on the ideas on which it is based. In order to act upon first causes /305/ it is necessary to proceed by mythic entities. To act on second causes, either may be used depending on the case. Hence the differences in the content of ritual and magical practices. Hence also the conclusion that magical action is possible only within a given category of reality, a fact which gives rise to a working principle, that of the homogeneity of the components of the action, of homogeneity of the property to acquire and the property to transmit.

However, magical thinking is thinking "under certain conditions." It is therefore engaged in, and consequently exposed to, various psychological, social and cultural dynamics which render its propositions and manifestations objects of social myths. The latter give it veracity and make unnecessary any effort to verify its statements through experience.

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121 789 811 The result is that magical thinking is a complex in which multiple elements, bound together by dialectical relations, meet and intersect: cosmological and anthropological myths, social myths, rational proceedings and elements (classification, knowledge, experience, judgment, reasoning), intentions, imagination, various "actual experiences" and motivations, affective and otherwise (desires, hopes, fears, anguish, as well as respect and exaltation in the presence of the mysterious, the grandiose, the transcendent), social dynamics collective elements, etc.--in a word, manifestations of all psychic and social phenomena.

All these elements are present in magical thinking and naturally in the action that it determines.

Magical Thinking and Non-Magical Thinking: Their Respective Structures.

The procedure and the structure of magical thinking being thus circumscribed, comparing it with non-magic thinking will prove relatively easy.

At the level of procedure, the two follow an identical process. Starting from certain premises, they advance by successive propositions to a conclusion.

On the level of their structures they are different. The difference manifests itself in the nature of their premises and the /306/ guarantees for the veracity of their conclusions, as well as in the general structure of their components. While, as a whole, non-magical thinking uses premises made up of rational elements and proceeds to rational and experimental verification of its conclusions, magical thinking involves mythical premises, and its conclusions are supported by myth. Between these two extremes there are intermediary situations which minimize the difference. Non-magical thinking also backs up its conclusions with social myths. And magical thinking bearing on rites of simple transmission contains premises and propositions with a rational coloring while buttressing its conclusion by the myth. These observations show that a certain continuity

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121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships, the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

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121 789 811

However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114

Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐκστάσεις.

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

/317 cont./

789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /317 and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118)

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: Timée /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

(pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: Moeurs et Coutumes... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

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789 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc.,
121 as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space
(822) into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill-
(823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil
82 (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

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789 182 152 154 121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [562] [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/354 cont./

829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
562 the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
596 the group and its good functioning.
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621

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
811 reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
562 guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
177 benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
361 tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

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121 811 5. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 32.

one could not do without if one hopes to enter this domain. In order that science may develop, J. Piaget says, (6)

6. J. Piaget: Epistémologie, vol. III, p. 261.

--See also the same author: Traité de Logique /Treatise on logic/, passim, and the comments of R. Bastide: Le Candomblé, pp. 240-241.

the human mind relies on classifications of reality, organized "into systems of concrete operation," which are translated into propositions, into hypotheses. Observation and experience ensure contact of the latter with reality. Next, one advances with the help of the "logic of propositions, joining concrete operations by means of new operations of implication or exclusion among propositions... "

811 /356/ In the case of the Sarakatsani, the classifications of realtiy to which the new operations lead have a double nature. First, we find once again mythical classifications. The different parts of reality are classed as wholes, not according to the principles of a scientific typology of phenomena, but in terms of mythical considerations. 811 There are many examples. Let us take the division of the world into 772 two parts: favorable and unfavorable, to which correspond other dichotomies dealing with the different aspects of life, namely:

Favorable	Unfavorable
East	West
Right	Left
Religious	Black magic
Curative magic	Obscure forces and influences
Life	Death
Health	Illness
Fecundity	Sterility
Birth of sons	Birth of daughters
Birth of ewes	Birth of rams
Fertility	Drought
Prosperity	Insolvency
Freedom	Slavery of imprisionment

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See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim, dealing with myth.

cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth, look at it from the inside.

* * * *

121 Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M. Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt: L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 28[illegible].

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event. Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and experienced before being comprehended intellectually and formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from concepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

/358 cont./

121 events." (11) He does not use logico-causal, discursive or analytical

11. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 27 f. We find in the author's work a comparative analysis of myth and science. --From another point of view M. Leenhardt: Ibid., pp. 170-171, gives us a very interesting description of the way in which myth surrounds its object starting from perception. However, this author maintains that myth is a product "of affective, objectivized thinking." In our opinion, it emanates from the "total psyche" in which, of course, affectivity is included. We believe that Leenhardt's qualification of mythic thinking as affective is due to the fact that it goes beyond rationality and discovers the roots or myth in the life force, and why R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 281, while citing Bergson, says that "the root of myth is always instinctive." Yet it is necessary to recognize that R. Bastide introduces further the idea that the "social" exerts an influence on myth, but /he does so/ in order to explain its proliferation and without going further. With regard to the point of departure of myth C. Levi-Strauss: Ibid., pp. 354-357 believes he is able to find it in "the messages," according to the theory of information. This hypothesis requires extended verification before being accepted.

thought, but an intuition through which he seeks to discover the primary causes of reality. The relationships to which he proceeds, develop with the help of analogical or anthropomorphic reasoning, but after his intimate contacts with the world have been realized. Thus the groups of ideas which he attains do not constitute /359/ "operational groups" similar to those one finds at the core of knowledge.

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12 Myth never proceeds to demonstrate its statements. Yet it imposes them. That is because it does not address itself solely to reason, but to the totality of the human psyche. When man finds himself at an impasse in trying to solve a vital problem, myth offers him an image of the world, created by himself in his own way, an image which exerts on man an influence liberating him from his distress, which is caused by the unknown and by his suffering. Myth explains only by recreating reality. At the same time it inspires the conviction that what it states is true. For it is in a position to satisfy both the soul and the mind. From this point of view one may compare myth with the great works of art which, without proving anything, liberate man by foretelling the world and his destiny.

In a very large number of cases, cosmological myth is bound up with religion. (12)

12. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieux, pp. 52-57.

Without wishing to take a stand on the problem so much discussed in its relation to "the sacred," we shall remark merely that religions also include cosmologies and that consequently there is here an area where knowledge, myth and religion meet.

Now, these points seem radically to separate myth from rational and positive knowledge adequately expressed. But on the other hand, it is true that these same points, bring myth extraordinarily close to intuitive knowledge expressed in a symbolic or significant form.

That is not all. Though it is certain that knowledge and myth are not identical, it is likewise certain that knowledge and myth converge, each in its own way, toward an explanation of the universe. There is thus between them a correspondence of aim.

These two conclusions, however, are not a sufficient basis for definitively associating myth and knowledge within the framework and

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121 on behalf of our initial hypothesis. It is still necessary to examine their reciprocal relations as they develop in the life of the mind.

* * * *

/360/ We can first show relations of opposition between knowledge and myth. Their respective conclusions are opposed insofar as they are categorical judgments of reality. Hence arises the problem of knowing which will prevail: knowledge or myth?

In a general way, observation shows that with each new conquest of knowledge, myth recedes further. Yet, as we have seen in connection with magic practices, it surrounds with its prestige the favorable results of knowledge and thus makes knowledge socially more effective. In this connection one may ask whether the term "myth" does not change its meaning when one goes from the first to the second of these assertions. Myth which gives way to knowledge is cosmological or anthropological myth. Myth supporting knowledge is a social myth in the sense described in magic. But this difference in quality does not correspond to a difference in its profound nature. If myth permits man to place himself in relation to the world and to find encouragement, confidence and security, it is easy to agree that the myth-support of knowledge fulfills the same functions. However, instead of creating an image and addressing itself to forces of other entities more of less personified, in order to explain the world, this myth places at the center of its statements the idea of an all-powerful science capable of explaining and dominating the world and consequently of relieving man of the burden of his problems. It is not the criticism of the possibilities of science which impels toward the birth of scientific myth, but the psycho-social factors which we have examined in connection with magic. These factors are so powerful that we see eminent scholars who should by definition be aware of the limits of science, adhere without reservation to scientific myth. (13)

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121 13. Jensen: Ibid., p. 48, gives the example of M. Planck.

Between these two kinds of myth there is therefore a difference of constituent elements, but once the elements of scientific myth yield to the process of "mythization," these two kinds become identical.

However, there remains the sociological aspect. The final outcome in the opposition of knowledge and myth is dependent on the socio-cultural context. Also of the kind of knowledge. If the context is favorable to knowledge, hence to rational thinking, /361/ knowledge will assert itself. If not, it is mythical thinking that will take precedence. History furnishes a number of examples of antagonism and competition between myth and knowledge, which, basically, is conveyed and manifested in the conflict of their bearers, of social groups with opposing ideological core, the one group being dominated by myth, the other by knowledge. The victory of one of the rivals will mark the victory of their ideology. Furthermore, insofar as new knowledge does not radically upset the existing social structure, it is readily accepted. If not, myth will resist. It will appear conservative. For the traditional social framework, concerned about its own duration and using myth as a solid support, is hostile to any change that would endanger the latter.

Nevertheless, the relationships between knowledge and myth are not exhausted in their mutual opposition. Myth very often profits from the success of knowledge. It utilizes knowledge to construct its own edifice by integrating knowledge within itself. Yet before using the latter it reinterprets it in its own way, to conform with its internal or external coherence. In the same way, knowledge profits from ideas and intuitions included in myth, in order to formulate its own working hypotheses.

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Myth never contradicts experience. In all cases in which it sets forth propositions that are not verifiable by experience or are contrary to experience, the phenomena that it evokes unfold in a specific context in which "all is possible." Consequently, it never results in non-sense which would repudiate it.

Now, this rapid survey of the relations of myth and knowledge shows that they obey a dialectic which not only includes an opposition of these terms, but also mutual involvements, complementarities and reciprocities of perspective, depending on the specific context in which they are integrated and to which they refer.

Having said this, it becomes obvious that myth and knowledge are not always incompatable and opposed, but that they cooperate closely in the life of the mind.

This assertion enables us to affirm, by recapitulating all our remarks on myth and knowledge, that the first may be considered a complement of the second. Furthermore and particularly, that both, while preserving their respective peculiarities, /362/ basically represent two phases of the same process, that which leads to a grasp of the world. (14)

14. It is significant that G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 122 and 126, speaking of kinds and forms of knowledge, does not give any room to "mythic" knowledge. However, he introduces it when he describes systems of knowledge in patriarchal societies such as the society of the Sarakatsani, qualifying it as "prosaic" (p. 128). We find the same qualification elsewhere: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 460, in connection with the same type of society. "Although the patriarch is at the same time priest, neither religion nor magic enter deeply into the life of these societies; in calm periods one may observe that their function is very

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> prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[189] [182] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and experience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

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121 15. Thus M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 243, who, although starting from another experience, arrives at the same conclusion.

It is part of the human function that is commonly designated by the term "understanding". It presupposes neither a specific mentality nor a strictly traditional social framework. As long as there are /363/ problems that knowledge will not solve, and there will always be such, myth will make its appearance beside them.

Examples abound. We find them in the dialogues of Plato, wherever Socrates, the analyst without equal, seeks to grasp entities inaccessible to the logos. (16)

16. P. M. Schuhl: La fabulation platonicienne, passim.

We find them in "technicized" societies where science and technology advance side by side with social, political, governmental, historical myths promising to render life paradisical, side by side with miraculous therapies, with astrologers and fortune-tellers, spiritualism and Christian Science.

The marriage of rational thinking and myth is characteristic of man and will disappear only with him.

The Sarakatsani, profiting both from rational thinking and mythical thinking, is, in the final analysis, simply obeying the make-up of the human mind.

EDUCATION

86 The term "education" is taken here to mean communication and transmission of knowledge and of myth, the complement of knowledge. Now, as we know, it is direct and daily personal contact of youth with their elders (brothers, parents, grandparents) which ensures the transmission of knowledge during, and in connection with, common work, discussions, narratives, festivals, etc. (17)

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Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

[237] [1783]

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

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/375/ PART FOUR

/376/ REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

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After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

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121 It will be apparent that we shall explain the genesis of the components themselves.

It seems therefore that synthesis and explanation are on a par. They represent two aspects of a single procedure. That is the reason we shall consider them together.

This problem is not the only one that must be faced in this section. There is another at least as important: the formation of the whole necessarily involves the equilibrium of its components, an equilibuium which Sarakatsani society must maintain so as not to break up. It is therefore at the root of the problem of duration.

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CHAPTER I

AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS, EXPLANATION AND DEFINITION

SOME REFLECTIONS ON METHODOLOGY

The integration of the thousand facets of Sarakatsani society and culture into a whole immediately raises the problem of method.

In order to grasp the living reality which is a "whole," we must put a little "fluid" into our observations, as Mauss has already recommended. (1)

1. Reported by P. Metais: Problèmes de Sociologie Néo-Calédonienne, p. 47.

Which means that the way to follow is to put into dynamic correlation all the socio-cultural facts about out herders.

However, if we take for granted that the society in question is composed of a hundred components, if we take these elements as factors in the mathematical sense of the term, and if we wish to establish concretely all their possible combinations, direct or indirect, we see that the number of their reciprocal relations reaches a dizzy figure--100! factorial of 100.

The problem becomes complicated almost to infinity if we wish to move forward toward the relationships of these components with the various

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121 wholes they form, toward the relationships of the wholes among themselves, toward the relationships of elements and wholes with the entire society, and so on.

It is obvious that a method which wants to be "positive" and examine one by one this immense number of relationships is an impracticable method. We must therefore find another which will proceed by "abstractions."

/378/ The "types" assembled from any socio-cultural reality, representative of this reality and its parts, already constitute a solution, the effectiveness of which has been demonstrated by the works of Durkheim, M. Weber and especially G. Gurvitch.

However, though these qualitative and discontinuous "types" are very useful in the study of the process of integration of partial phenomena into various wholes and of these wholes into the entire society, they are not effective when we propose to go a little further and reach the man living in society. For they are concerned only with social phenomena and with their mutual multiple relationships, and take only incidentally into consideration the man who creates these phenomena and who, all during his life, is subject to their constraint. In an anthropological study like ours, synthesis must take place at the level of the human reality underlying the phenomena.

FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OR PRINCIPLES GOVERNING SARAKATSANI LIFE.

Reality already comes to our aid. Viewing Sarakatsani society closely, we note that it seems to obey certain general principles, certain fundamental ideas which, to all appearances, are found at the basis of its creation, its peculiarities, its functioning, its regulation. These ideas are:

--Isolation and independence.

--Herding and nomadism.

121 /378 cont./

--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, it is impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

182 596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

/383 cont./

182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
755 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

/384 cont./

121 their roots into the demographic and ecological foundation, the legal and moral systems, magic, religion, knowledge, myth, art.

We may even go further and say that though a typology based on the morphological characteristics of these elements of Sarakatsani life has enabled us to classify them in our various chapters, another classification is equally possible on the basis of the ideas in question.

The ideas therefore constitute a frame of reference different from the preceding, and the phenomena may be integrated within it.

But how to explain this phenomenon?

We shall tackle this problem at its foundation.

Each element of a socio-cultural order is created on the one hand in terms of man and the human environment it must serve, and on the other hand /in terms of/ the pertinent socio-cultural or natural conditions that obtain in the context in which this phenomenon unfolds. It is therefore charged with a meaning of a socio-cultural order, emanating from the dynamic of its context, and a human meaning based on its peculiar characteristics as a means of satisfying man's needs.

However, the elements are never isolated from each other. As constellations they combine in different dialectical processes and tend to form larger wholes. Similarly, their meanings, linked together dialectically, also form wholes which are simply over-all meanings /385/ of the meanings of the elements. Consequently, they are generalizations with respect to their components. Finally, they represent the meanings of the whole of corresponding phenomena and they proceed from the dialectic integration of socio-cultural and human meanings of the elements within the wholes.

When we speak of ideas of principles, we refer to these meanings of the wholes. They appear progressively as the phenomena and the totalities of phenomenon appear, spontaneously, by trial and error or deliberately,

/385 cont./

121 but always dialectically, under the pressure of and in relation to individual or collective needs, the possibilities momentarily offered and natural or existing socio-cultural conditions.

They are therefore anterior to the phenomena, not historically, but from the standpoint of logic and meaning.

It follows that once these ideas are created, they express the phenomena (considered as their meanings) and dominate them. They are the axes on which the phenomena develop, the end points toward which they are directed.

That is why we have accepted the ideas in question as fundamental and have labelled them principles.

Sociologically speaking, these ideas have a polyvalent character. They constitute models for the arrangement, the organization and the functioning of Sarakatsani society and its elements--general models, to be sure, which inspire others more individualized and more differentiated. They also represent norms of behavior for groups and individuals, as well as moral values. Finally, they are sources of inspiration for every solution of the vital problems of our herders and consequently for their cultural works.

However, though characterized as models, norms or values, the ideas in question do not merely signalize the "levels" of models, norms and values of Sarakatsani social reality, but they also exceed them considerably. The confrontation which we introduced demonstrated that the ideas reveal the total social phenomenon of our herders from various angles and maintain with it the relationships of signifier to signified.

It seems, therefore, that the ideas enumerated constitute very important points of reference, both socio-cultural and human /386/ since they presuppose both, and that, on the basis of this fact, they prove very revealing.

/386 cont./

121 Thus, and this is our final reply to the two questions for the sake of which we deferred this reply, the ideas proposed as models integrating and actuating the phenomena, govern and dominate Sarakatsani life. And in view of their nature as "signifiers" of the wholes of phenomena, when we speak of them we speak of phenomena. They are therefore representative of the phenomena and consequently true "abstractions."

APPRAISAL OF IDEAS AS MEANS OF SYNTHESIS AND EXPLANATION.

Henceforth we can proceed from these abstractions without going over the phenomena which they summarize, hence we may circumvent the difficulties that we came up against in the beginning.

In order to carry out the synthesis we shall work on this level, in other words, we shall follow the process of integration of ideas into the "whole."

At the same time, the elucidation of this process will show us how the "whole" is formed. And what are its constituent parts, and still on the level of the ideas.

Finally, these operations are carried out on the level of man, on the human level of the corresponding phenomena. For, as we have already emphasized the ideas in question represent not only the "utilitarian" aspect of the various elements (to serve the needs of men), but at the same time they reveal the way in which man, the Sarakatsani, conceives his life in society.

In fact, man does not participate mechanically, passively, in the life of his socio-cultural environment. He reflects on it, he tries to understand it, to accept it, to justify it, to control it. Even where these processes are not absolutely conscious or consciously and systematically expressed, they happen all the same. They manifest themselves in

/386 cont./

121 conversations, attitudes, judgments, minor occasions of daily life where one may catch them and be convinced of their existence.

The thoughts that emanate from these processes reflect the entire society. They represent it and interpret it in the spirit of the men --its members--and eventually they determine action and justify everything that becomes crystallized. They are not conceived /387/ theoretically, but in relation to the social context and the meaning of its elements. They are experienced at the same time that they are conceived. Finally, they are organized around certain pivotal ideas.

Now, these pivots are merely the fundamental ideas governing the phenomena, the meanings of the totalities of the elements. Though we have revealed these meanings on the level of facts, recognizing them as social phenomena, we discover them in man in the form of fundamental organizing principles of his social thinking. It is exactly this correspondence which enables us to pass from the sociological and the cultural to the human.

AN ATTEMPT AT SYNTHESIS AND EXPLANATION

The process of integrating ideas does not develop in the absolute. Like every other complex socio-cultural phenomenon it obeys, as we know, three dynamics:

1. The dynamism that each of the ideas exerts on the others and inversely.
2. The dynamic of fundamental concerns of the society in which this phenomenon develops.
3. Finally, the dynamic of objectively existing conditions.

In order to arrive at a synthesis, we must therefore correlate these three categories of elements--ideas, concerns, conditions. But first let us turn to the last two.

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which [illegible] affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
773 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/390 cont./

182 conditions and ideas and, of course, all that each of them in turn
121 represents of underlying phenomena.

121 The final synthesis that we sought from the beginning is just this moving, living, dynamic and supremely significant chain.

Although conceived on the level of the individual and the fundamental social ideas of the Sarakatsani, it does not reduce the social reality to the cognitive or the "cultural," but corresponds to the total social phenomenon. It is true to the following discerning remark by G. Gurvitch that: "Society is within us and we are in /391/ society," and, what is more, to the very principles of anthropology.

Lastly, in a final image, this chain evokes the over-all configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture, the parts of which we have presented somewhat like a mosaic in the preceding chapters, and which we now restore to its inner unity by casting a little light on its articulations.

We shall wait to define this configuration in what follows.

As for the explanation, we believe that the picture of the correlation of ideas, conditions and concerns is so eloquent that specific comments are unnecessary. Of course, this applies to the explanation of the "whole." But there is more.

The same picture explains the formation of its parts, of the principle links of the chain, namely, how the fundamental ideas were adopted, how social man decided in favor of them, forced by certain conditions. However, in this connection it is essential to be specific.

When we speak of fundamental concerns which are transformed into motivations for action and into needs felt by the Sarakatsani, and of natural objective conditions, we consider neither the one nor the other as outside the Sarakatsani social framework properly speaking. Thanks to

/391 cont./

121 their reciprocal relations which we revealed above in their concrete form, concerns and conditions acquire a social significance; they are transformed under the influence of the Sarakatsani collective consciousness and they become social phenomena like all the others. As a result, we may legitimately include them in our explanatory reasoning, while remaining faithful to Durkheim is rule that the social is explained only by the social.

Thus we do not reduce the sociological explanation to a psychological and biological explanation, repeating the exaggerations of functionalism which have been so widely criticized. (3)

3. For a general examination of this problem see:
A. Devyver: Presentation des Argonautes de Malinowski, p. 18 f.

nor do we reduce it to a geographical explanation, the monism and inadequacy of which have likewise been condemned.

* * * *

/392/ In order to complete our observations on the "whole," its composition and its explanation, we must take into account another of its aspects.

Certain ideas exert a most important influence on others. Examining them from this point of view we find that independence, kinship and male primacy, as well as herding are more prominent than community, cooperation, cosmology, religion. And among the first it is kinship that predominates. It makes independence and herding possible, it polarizes cooperation and community and it inspires the subject matter of magic and religion.

It is the same with concerns and conditions. Among concerns it is socio-cultural and ethnic survival that influences in a decisive way the resolving ideas. (4)

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] [476] [771] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] [713] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

/393 cont./

121 182 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings that might alter the picture.

121 182 233 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 181 171 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

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121 181 171 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 171 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

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7. G. Ostrogorsky: Histoire de l'État byzantin, French translation, p. 120, footnote 1.

It is precisely this village community which has given rise to the most lively controversies about its origins. For it has been interpreted by certain historians such as Zacharia, Vasiliev, Kij and Ouspenskij as an organization inspired by the Russian mir. On this particular point G. Ostrogorsky, the historian from whom we borrowed the preceding quotation, says distinctly, while criticizing the works of the authors mentioned, that the mir is late phenomenon; and he adds: "...a communal regime such as this, characterized by the community of fields, never existed in Byzantium, and if one wants to stick to the sources, one must agree that no community of this kind among the ancient /395/ Slavs is known; on the other hand, Byzantium and other countries and peoples along with it were acquainted, well before the Slavic invasion, of a community in the sense we spoke of above." (8)

8. See O. Ostrogorsky: op. cit., p. 165, footnote 5, the entire criticism with copious bibliographic references. See also R. Thurwaldt: l'Economie primitive, p. 345. "We know, moreover, that the family community of the southern Slavs was a relatively recent creation without deep roots in the past." This author cites as corroboration F. Kraus: Sitte und Brauch der Sud-Slaven, p. 64, and J.S. Lewinski: The Origin of Property, Etc.

Of course, these testimonies concern only the lives of free and sedentary peasants. About the pastoral life, to repeat, we know nothing.
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However, ethnographic observation shows that in the Balkans nomadic herding was practiced chiefly by the Aroumain (Valaque), the Albanians (Arvanito-Valaque) and the Sarakatsani. The Bulgars and the Turks were ignorant of it, or almost so. And among the Yogoslavs it seems that in

/396 cont./

171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and
182 ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

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578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories:

Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this
627 are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions,
182 the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tséligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms' it proclaims
#121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
571 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
626 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its
cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-
cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has
demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that
the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails priva-
tions, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic
terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is
to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminolog-
[121] ically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus,
it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

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578 675 182 121 to the Marxist theory, (3)

3. On the different meanings of the term alienation in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol, II, pp. 253-258. although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds. 128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].

578 675 182 121 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
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4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

578 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

528 275 182 183 121 [626] [177] society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 178 182 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 G 175 648 722 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

S 175 177 121 G 175 648 722 S [425]

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

S 175 177 233 474 429 178 S 474 233 178 177

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

S 177 175 S [656]

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

/406 cont./

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[114]

5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

/407/

CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the
812 grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth,
771 he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so
[761] that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon
that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter
[775] described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

/408 cont./

121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--

See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:
829 /409/
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TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts,	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of co-operation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite)	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

/409 cont./

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829
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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

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/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
[182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
[626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
[829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

/410 cont./

12 18 They show that the latitude offered the Sarakatsani to give free rein to their originality, namely to their temperament, their talents, their imagination, is not very great. The latitude is provided in advance and obeys predictable models. This formula does not mean that our herders are automatons whose strings are pulled by their society and their culture, but merely that they are not supposed to go beyond certain norms. The fact that they are honored when they distinguish themselves in accomplishing certain tasks perfectly shows that Sarakatsani society knows how to appreciate talent and originality.

12 18 22 However, it does not permit the non-observance of the "prescribed." This means that the Sarakatsani become "typical" individuals. (2)

2. See M. Mead's distinction between "typical" and "atypical": Ibid., p. 268.

Those who are atypical are not tolerated. They are, in fact threatened with social banishment. Sarakatsani social molding is

12 18 therefore total. And, to express this statement on another level, we might say that among them traditional cultural works /411/ flow into their psyches; in other words, their total social and psychological phenomena overlap almost completely. (3)

3. Inspired by G. Gurvitch.

Nevertheless, Sarakatsani society is interested not only in the molding of its members, but also in their destiny. It provides for them socially, it puts at their disposal its organization and its means. All the solutions of their vital problems that it has adopted converge toward "a primitive, socio-economic planning," according to a formula by Radin, (4)

4. See P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, pp. 99 and 201.

/411 cont./

121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-
[554] economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socic-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such.
181 The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are
156 perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

* * * *

181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

/412 cont./

181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

* * * *

178 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 178 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

/412 cont./

178 human being.

121 Nevertheless, the means at the disposal of contemporary man by our urbanized and technicized civilization for /413/ an improvemnt of his condition also bear bitter fruits. The price of comfort and well-being is too often agony, insecurity, dehumanization of work, constant dissatisfaction, the rupture of ties between men, solitude, social injustice.

When one considers slums and shanty towns, when one consults the statistics dealing with certain diseases (neurosis and psychosis), prostitution or criminality, in countries in the process of rapid development, the picture takes on a disquieting glare.

Then, comparisons become inevitable. We are surely not advocates of the myth of the "noble savage" nor of maxims recommending "the return to nature." And we have no illusions about the condition of the Sarakatsani. However, one fact is certain: among them the phenomena of social pathology are unknown.

Thus, change among our herders, rapid and without any preparation that could lessen the brutality of the shock, fills us with great disquiet.

However, it is quite necessary to recognize and perhaps accept it: progress presupposes "human cost." "History," once the threshold of "tradition" is crossed, flounders but advances on muddy ground, drenched with sweat and, in some cases, with the blood of "human beings," the heirs of Prometheus.

/pp. 415-424 of foreign text not translated/

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121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional [101] form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what [101] steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara- 128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

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Bowra, Dr. K. O. L. Burridge, Mr. E. Katsaros, Dr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. Zisimos Lorenzatos, and Dr. Philip Sherrard who read and commented on particular chapters. And to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College I express my appreciation for their patient support and encouragement. 128

It was my misfortune that feelings over the Cyprus issue became particularly embittered shortly after I began my fieldwork, with the result that my relations with the local authorities were always difficult. My movements were restricted and under surveillance. I was seldom able to persuade local officials to provide me with, or to help me obtain, any kind of quantitative or statistical information. Indeed, it is certain that without the generous support of the deputy Prime Minister Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, I would not have been allowed to remain. Within a week of his leaving office I was ordered to remove myself from the area and on this abrupt note my fieldwork ended. If one remembers the unhappy atmosphere which then existed, it would be unreasonable to complain of the reaction of some Greek officials and individuals to my presence and my suspect work. It is with all the more gratitude that I remember the kindness and practical assistance of many Greek friends, which they did not always give without risk. Particularly I wish to mention Mr. Sotiris Dakaris of the Greek Archaeological Service, and his wife. My debt to the Sarakatsani will be obvious from this book; and to none is it greater than to my friend Theodoros Gogolos. 114 122 000

I dedicate this book to my wife, Sheila Campbell, who shared the fieldwork in physical and political conditions which were often unpleasant, and who first won the confidence of a secretive people. 114

J.K.C.

Kifissia.
May 1962.

During my fieldwork I was visited by the Greek photographer 'Dimitri' and I am grateful for permission to use some of the photographs he took on those occasions. I am similarly grateful to Mr. Roger Vaternelle who prepared the map; and to Professor Bernard Kayser who made it possible for him to do so. 114 12

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
[114] them in March the following year, when I was
[122] riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
[131] in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
[221] seen them again and again, all over northern
Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
[342] high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
[492] seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
(161) these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
[101] they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
175 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros:* "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking S [241] more urgent. For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs S and asked me what I wanted. I could understand [122] little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through G its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet 569 came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

533 tracted patterns of great complexity. Repeated and accelerating trills led on to sustained high notes which left the tune quivering in midair before plummeting an octave to those low and long-drawn initial semibreves. Notes of an icy clarity alternated with notes of a stirring, reedy, and at moments almost rasping hoarseness. Then, after a long breath, they sailed again into limpid and piercing airs of a most touching softness, the same minor phrase recurring with diminishing volume, again and again, until the final high flourishes presaged the protracted bass notes once more, each of them preceded and followed by a lengthening hiatus of silence. One can think of no more apt or more accurate reflection in sound of the mountains and woods and flocks and the nomads' life.

122 Less lulling music cannot be imagined. But, overcome at last by the day's doings, I must have fallen asleep in the middle of it and been covered with a cloak where I lay. I woke up an hour after midnight to find the hut in the dark except for the embers of the fire and empty of all but the lightly snoring patriarch on the other side. Yorgo's hooded departing back was outlined for a moment in the doorway against the stars. There was a [234] murmur of voices in the cold outside as the shepherds, like monks before the night office, assembled for the first milking; this was the equivalent of matins in their pastoral book of hours. Then silence fell, and after a minute or two, a faint stirring of bells and of waking flocks was hushed by the returning currents of sleep.

000 Now, a little reluctantly, I must call a halt to these postscripts and flashbacks and return to the point where we began to deviate from the main thread of this narrative among the tassels and the buttoned upholstery of the carriage rocking back with us through the Thracian darkness between Sikarayia and Alexandroupolis.

Not many minutes had passed before the guard worked his perilous way along the duckboard outside and climbed in, not to punch our tickets, but for a chat. We were his only passengers. He was a dark, jovial, round-faced refugee from Smyrna.

"Well," he said cheerfully, offering cigarettes, "did you find out where they hide their pots of gold? Any for me? I could do with it, at this job."

We told him about the wedding. As I had already absorbed one or two hazy notions about the possibility of the extremely ancient descent of the Sarakatsáns, I asked him what he thought.

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the 593
family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour.
Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new
affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to
influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are
interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers.
There are no conventional forms of respect between brother
and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or
adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins
at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old,
when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation
of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it
and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop
her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more
restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a
conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral
character of a relationship which exists between members of
opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the
gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a
brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family,
although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combi-
nation is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an
equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a com-
munity where the importance of competitive values is so
pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

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Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

175 nomads with the widest range of migration. The
221 sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up
131 after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

195 Enormous though these journeys were, they
131 were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for,
221 until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of
101 Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

● 123 So STRONG is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros*: "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

585 292 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of con-
[531] fused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and
[123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday,
[576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor;
[539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with
[576] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat, but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p. 81-B]

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones. [354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

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114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

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123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope.
S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking
S [291] more urgent. For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs
[123] and asked me what I wanted. I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

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123 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet
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169 came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

[p.86-A]

S 123 G 669 a movement or revolution — but little more. (It occurs to me now that they may have been prudently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. S 123 When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidí, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

S [262] [263] By the time we had finished the hot milk with black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay S [272] panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of S [276] scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
[251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
● 123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost prelapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

[p.87-A]

● /23 enjoy on equal terms as accomplices, fellow hedonists and fellow victims. It is exciting for a stranger when he begins to understand that the armor which has been irking him and the arsenal he has been lugging about for half a lifetime are no longer needed. A feeling of miraculous lightness takes their place. On that particular evening this exhilaration was reinforced by other things; my mind was full of the events of the day, the smell of gunpowder, the cannon fire at dawn which had achieved the innocence of fireworks as the bangs had echoed upstream — the first glimpse, in fact, of warfare. By then, I felt I had almost taken part in the battle. The hooves hammering over the loose planks of the bridge still rang in my ears, and the songs on the long ride. On top of this came the beautiful ascent through the foothills, the sunset arrival at the encampment, and now, the voices and laughter and the gold fire-lit masks of the nomads in this hut in the dark mountains, the tiredness of limb, the feeling of being blessedly lost in time and geography with months and years hazily sparkling ahead in a vista of unconjecturable magic. The fusion of all this made it seem that life, at that moment, had nothing more to offer.

S33 [123] But it did have something more, and at once. Yorgo, the old man's grandson, who had taken my horse and me under his wing (planning to guide us next morning on a shortcut over the hills to a point where we could swoop down on the army again), fished out a long bone flute. The music that began to hover through the hut was moving and breathless. It started with long and deep notes separated by pauses and then shot aloft in pro-

[text continues on p.88-A]

/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

/14 cont./

000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

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PART ONE

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/15/

Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « πόλις » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16
114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

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123 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying
124 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on
127

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," 858 842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of 562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the [582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information [582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large [178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. [217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

593 562 124 123 114 264 /144 cont./

22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 594 [593] that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 42 594 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 594 [562] The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc, Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

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128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

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123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
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Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

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121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/11 cont./

123 The pages which follow show the research that we carried on
124 "in the field" and on the basis of the existing published data. In
126 the field we practiced both the extensive and the intensive methods, depending on the situation and the local possibilities. Techniques chiefly used were: direct observation, recording of accounts and narratives, interviews, and finally direct participation in Sarakatsani life.

124 As informants we chose and questioned more than one hundred persons of both sexes and all ages, whose social positions were as diverse as possible.

114 The map on p. 5 shows the geographic points at which we centered
128 our enquiry. In addition, the reader will find in this work a certain number of plates and drawings which illustrate our subject and complete our descriptions.

113 As far as bibliography is concerned we must state that no work of analysis on this subject exists and there are only a small number of ethnographic studies, which are listed and evaluated in the pages that follow:

--Carsten Höeg: Les Saracatsans, une tribu nomade grecque

This book, bearing chiefly on the study of the Sarakatsani idiom contains an ethnographic note which, in our opinion, is a good introduction for the reader. However, it is only an introduction and is therefore limited.

Nevertheless, the linguistic part is very interesting and its conclusions continue to remain valid.

In the second volume of this work Monsieur Höeg reproduces some Sarakatsani stories and songs in a compilation very useful to the investigator.

/12/ --D. Géorgakas: De l'origine des Saracatsan et de leur dénomination (in Greek). A very learned study which presents an excellent systematic and critical account of all the theories concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani. It also contains some well documented ethnological data. However, since this study is very specialized it remains limited.

/14 cont./

000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/

PART ONE

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/15/

Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « πόλις » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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/17/

Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16 114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16 123 124 127 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on

/17 cont./
16 published data. (1)
123
124 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.
127 and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," 858 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of 842 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is 562 based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the [582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information [582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large [198] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. [217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 621 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, <u>divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani.</u> Next, a <u>second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.</u>

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

121 696 692 627 /210 cont./

in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there will no longer be any doubt about their nature.

We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

[124] Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Summer Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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/259 cont./

796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

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33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 789 153 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must the fore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

[124] In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[129] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/317 cont./

789 114 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consubstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One [124] [825] of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539 --The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
124 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with
539 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

/17 cont./
published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

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ooc

"I don't know," he said amiably, "and, what's more, I don't care. I hate the ancient Greeks. We had to learn all about them at school — Plato, Socrates, Pericles, Leonidas, Aristotle, Euripides, Homer, and all that stuff. No, I don't *hate* them, that's too strong. But what have they got to do with me? Perhaps we descend from them, perhaps we don't, what does it matter? And who did they descend from, pray? Nobody knows. They were Greeks, and so are we, that's all we know. I come from Smyrna — there's an ancient Greek city for you — and I may be more Greek than the Greeks in Athens, more Greek than your Sarakatsáns, for all I know. Who cares? I probably do descend from them, but that's not the point. *Greece is an idea*, that's the thing! That's what keeps us together — that, and the language and the country and our history, of course, and the Church; not that I like priests particularly, but we owe them a lot. And those old Greeks, our celebrated ancestors, they're a nuisance, and I'll tell you why. *They haunt us*. We can never be as great as they were, nobody can, and they make us all feel guilty. We can't do anything, people think, because of a few old books and temples and lumps of marble. And clever foreigners who know all about the ancients come here expecting to be surrounded by Heracles and Apollo and Hermes and gentlemen in helmets and laurel leaves, and what do they see? Me — a small dark fat man, half bald, with a mustache and eyes like boot buttons!" He laughed good-naturedly. "To hell with them! Give me the men of the War of Independence who chucked out the Turks; give me Averoff, who presented us with a battleship out of his own pocket; give me Venizelos, who saved us all and turned Greece into a proper country. What's wrong with *them*? If we weren't such fools and always quarreling among ourselves, if we could have no wars or revolutions for fifty years — fifty years, that's all I ask — you'd see what a country we'd become! *Then* we could start worrying about the Trojan horse and working out our relationship to Pericles and finding out whether the Sarakatsáns descend from the ancient Greeks!"

I saw his point, especially about being hampered by eternal comparison with his nebulous and illustrious forerunners. For some, the ancients are a source of inspiration and a matter of vague pride, because the outside world sets so high a price on them; to others they are a perpetual irritation. What about Byzantium? — that's where our traditions date from, a modern Greek may think, not from Pericles holding forth on the Acropolis, not from Diogenes' barrel or the tent of Achilles. What's Hecuba to him or he to Hecuba?

126 *Photographs of the Sarakatsáns by Joan Eyres Monsell.*

[P. 88 B]

/11 cont./

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596 /155 cont./
474
556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
591 easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

114 /13 cont./
[113] 46. P. Sorokin: Les théories Sociologiques..., p. 17. /English taken from the original text in P. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, New York; Harper, 1928. p. xxiii/

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/15/ Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « φύσις » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

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in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

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/17/ Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of

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16 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying
123 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on
124
127

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," 858 842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of 562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the [582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

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[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large [178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

121 114 It follows that this is in no sense a complete ethnographic account of even one community of Sarakatsani, let alone a survey of Sarakatsan culture in general. Mme Chatzimichalis has published the first volume of a work which will represent, when it is completed, the fullest possible account of Sarakatsan folklore and material culture. It is a pleasure to acknowledge my debt to her work which goes far beyond the few references noted in this book. Where there appear to be disagreements between us these are generally accounted for by the circumstance that, as a folklorist, Mme Chatzimichalis' object is to describe Sarakatsan life and culture in its most traditional [101] form. My own study, on the other hand, is concerned with only certain aspects of a particular community of Sarakatsani as I discovered it in 1954 and 1955.

●/128 114 Various incidents in this book describe the illegal acts of some individuals, or the social humiliation of others; and most of the information I received from Sarakatsani was certainly regarded by them as confidential. I have therefore taken what [101] steps I can to cover personal identities. Although I lived among Sarakatsani in a number of villages in Zagori, the greater part of the material used in this study concerns the Sarakatsani who graze the land of one particular village in central Zagori. To this village I have given the fictitious name of Neochori. Similarly I have changed all personal names.

122 It is impossible, unfortunately, to acknowledge all the many instances of help and hospitality I have received at various times. There are original debts of gratitude to Mr. W. A. Camps who persuaded the Ministry of Education to support my research when they had virtually decided otherwise; and to my father who supplemented this grant at times of crisis to make it barely possible to carry out the necessary fieldwork. At an early moment of indecision in Greece I received a letter from Professor E. E. Evans-Pritchard which advised me to join the Sara- 128 katsani. In retrospect, I owe much to this. I have to thank Dr. J. G. Peristiany for his constant encouragement, and for many discussions which have radically affected the form of this book particularly in connexion with my analysis of Sarakatsan values. My gratitude is due to Dr. J. M. Beattie and Dr. Rodney Needham who read the manuscript and offered many invaluable criticisms and suggestions. I also wish to thank Sir Maurice

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Bowra, Dr. K. O. L. Burridge, Mr. E. Katsaros, Dr. R. G. Lienhardt, Mr. Zisimos Lorenzatos, and Dr. Philip Sherrard who read and commented on particular chapters. And to the Warden and Fellows of St. Antony's College I express my appreciation for their patient support and encouragement.

It was my misfortune that feelings over the Cyprus issue became particularly embittered shortly after I began my fieldwork, with the result that my relations with the local authorities were always difficult. My movements were restricted and under surveillance. I was seldom able to persuade local officials to provide me with, or to help me obtain, any kind of quantitative or statistical information. Indeed, it is certain that without the generous support of the deputy Prime Minister Mr. Panayiotis Canellopoulos, I would not have been allowed to remain. Within a week of his leaving office I was ordered to remove myself from the area and on this abrupt note my fieldwork ended. If one remembers the unhappy atmosphere which then existed, it would be unreasonable to complain of the reaction of some Greek officials and individuals to my presence and my suspect work. It is with all the more gratitude that I remember the kindness and practical assistance of many Greek friends, which they did not always give without risk. Particularly I wish to mention Mr. Sotiris Dakaris of the Greek Archaeological Service, and his wife. My debt to the Sarakatsani will be obvious from this book; and to none is it greater than to my friend Theodoros Gogolos.

I dedicate this book to my wife, Sheila Campbell, who shared the fieldwork in physical and political conditions which were often unpleasant, and who first won the confidence of a secretive people.

J.K.C.

Kifissia.
May 1962.

During my fieldwork I was visited by the Greek photographer 'Dimitri' and I am grateful for permission to use some of the photographs he took on those occasions. I am similarly grateful to Mr. Roger Vaternelle who prepared the map; and to Professor Bernard Kayser who made it possible for him to do so.

3: Kabbadias--1 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

000/i/ Work published in cooperation with the National Center of Scientific Research

NOMADIC SHEPHERDS OF THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Sarakatsani of Greece

/ii/ Applied Sciences of Humankind Series, Paul Albou, Director

/iii/ Georges B. Kavadias

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The Sarakatsani of Greece

Photographs and drawings by the author

Paris

Gauthier-Villars

1965

128 /iv/ A detailed bibliography will be found at the end of the present work. We beg the reader kindly to refer to it, the bibliographical information given in the footnotes being in abbreviated form.

000 /v/ To the sacred memory of my father

To my mother

/vi/ /blank/

/vii/ Foreword

121 The work of Georges Kavadias, which we present to the public today, is the first in a series that will be devoted to the Applied Sciences of Humankind. This may astonish some who consider the sciences of Humankind and sociology to be identical in their basis and in their application. Our point of view is different: for us, the sciences of humankind cannot be founded only on the traditional social sciences; they most certainly include these but they must extend beyond them while enriching them. They endeavor to grasp, by a multidisciplinary approach, the complexity of reality, hence the contradictions which are resolved in practice. Originating from diverse epistemological or methodological considerations, these contradictions--which show the dialectical character of the human phenomenon--are, paradoxically but emphatically, the basis of a global interpretation which alone is capable of guiding the specialist,

/11 cont./

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/24 cont./

128 The pages that follow will show how Sarakatsani society deals with these problems. From another standpoint, they will illustrate the process of interaction of Saraktsani civilization with its morpho-ecological base. Thus the problem of the integration of this partial aspect with the whole will find its solution.

/25/

Chapter II

121 ### The Technology of the Sarakatsani

Properly speaking, technology is a psychosomatic process. This process, which asserts itself in a given natural environment and a given social framework (1) presents the following characteristics:

(113) 1. See André Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, pp. 355 and 361.--M. Mauss: Les Techniques et la Technologie, in: Mayerson, L. Febvre, A. Aymard, etc: Le Travail et les Techniques, p. 71-78.--A. Varagnac: L'homme et les techniques pré-machinistes in: J. Cassou, G. Friedmann, C. Durtain, M. Bloch, J. Luc, A. Varagnac, etc.: L'homme, la technique et la nature, p. 54.--M. Bloch: Technique et Évolution sociale, op. cit., p. 30. --J.A. Mauduit: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135.--K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, French translation p. 74-75.

1. It enables /one/ to dominate and exploit the forces and possibilities offered by nature.

2. Its development is a function of these, on the one hand, and of society on the other hand. The latter determines at one and the same time the needs to be met and the manner of doing so, by accumulating knowledge, beliefs and experience acquired in the course of time, as well as by providing the agents entrusted with various tasks.

And it also asserts itself in creations and inventions.

Thus, in technology, nature and society meet.

In order to study it, one may consider technology as a process of action on inert material for the purpose of manufacturing various

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

***

The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824
312 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice
233 herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different
128 phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to
232 whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

[343] The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 [574] The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

[574] Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

[128] Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

291
302
191

Fig. 77

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

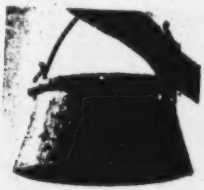

Fig. 91

/121 cont./

105 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the
182 imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study succesively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 594 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 593 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and 128 the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision 594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[474] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

594 593 /147 cont./

obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/150 cont./

596 613 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4).A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596 421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended [613] family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

A. /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
[594] 34. The model of this type of living-together already
[613] existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
[171] Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

596 /168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
578 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
[629] moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
[128] means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

/184 cont./

619 186 [474] Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 474 596 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

179 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
494 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.
[177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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/189/

CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
494 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

S 671 128

/195 cont./

Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

* * * *

S [195]

In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

S 671 171 G 671 195

Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

1. See particularly: Ἀπό τῆς Λαγίας Παροικίας εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κόδικα — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

S /198 cont./

671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S
[128] We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175]

/199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
[688]

/204 cont./

121 671 the presence of agents of law forces people to conform to it when no infraction has been committed (and before such an infraction). Coercion isolated from sanction, therefore constitutes one of the criteria of law.

However, although a social guarantee represents the chief criterion of the law, this criterion is utilizable only in combination with the totality of the criteria mentioned. For constraint, whatever its form, is not necessarily linked to law.

* * * *

/205/ Now, somewhat anticipating of our conclusion, we shall state immediately that the application of these criteria shows that the Sarakatsani have law, much more rich and complicated than appearances indicate, and that this law bears the imprint of the originality of their lives.

671 We propose now, for the convenience of the analysis, to present 128 first the totality of the disclosed rules and principles, classified, not according to the classificatory criteria of evolved laws inadequate in the case that concerns us, (18)

18. See J. Lips: Government, chap. X, p. 487.--O.W. Holmes: cited by Hoebel, ibid., p. 20: "The past gives us our vocabulary and fixes the limits of our imagination." /cited in English/

but according to the issues on which these rules are based. We shall make two subdivision: one devoted to non-criminal law and the other to criminal law. This distinction is based on what the Sarakatsani themselves say, although non-conformity to non-criminal law carries punishments and thus resembles penal law. Before going on to the second subdivision we shall try to show that everything we consider law truly possesses this character. For criminal law, this problem does not arise, the punishment bearing out the nature of the relevant rules.

/205 cont./

671 We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation
[128] of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family
429 council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well
768 as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management
602 of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter
[474] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same
(596) Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

673 CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

674 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/226 cont./

67| and anthropological approach to laws other than those with which our advanced
68| societies are familiar.

121 This phenomenon is not entirely unknown to theorists. But if some
67| of them have had an inkling of it, no one, to our knowledge, has treated it in clear terms. (36)

36. We have mentioned some of these authors in connection with some definite point. We shall take up their theories in their broad aspects, our previous remarks being an integral part of what follows.

In order to introduce the discussion, it will be well to start with certain comments on the famous work of B. Malinowski: Crime and Custom in Savage Society /cited in English/ (37)

[128] 37. Our questions refer to a French translation included in: Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, to which our quotations refer.

(1926). The publication of this work, in addition to the influence that it has subsequently had on the anthropological theory of law, has made it possible to state the problem correctly.

What Malinowski does is to protest against the interpretations dominated by the ideas of L. Morgan--those of "Bachofen, of Post, of Bernoft, of Konler and others who were grouped around the periodical Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (p. 10), those which are found again "in the works of the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works and in some English works" (p. 11). "Basic to all these ideas," he says, "was the postulate that in primitive societies the individual is totally dominated by the group, the horde, the clan or the tribe, that he obeys the commands of his community...with servile passivity, so to speak, bewitched" (p. 11).

He also protests against E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Rivers, cited above, who speak of an "unconscious and intuitive regulation of social life...

/229 cont./

121 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the
67 acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effective-
68 ness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it.
121 Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain un-
67 certain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness
[114] of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Furthermore, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/243 cont./

[57] [18] [67] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

609 First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic"
789 everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells.
754 For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life,
755 does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and con-
124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/247 cont./

123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
124 to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/250 cont./

animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible] .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4) the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6) the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 4-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/285 cont./

128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

124 In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/306 cont./

121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships. the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

/325/

CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St: Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/329 cont./

771 drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the
796 form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated.
171 But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have
178 proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic
796 Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among them-
771 selves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.p E8.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does
[793] not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

796 There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from
789 each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the
[596] Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for
[444] sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than
[785] religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

128 The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt
796 here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
128

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 576 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence 796 comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood 788 of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above 474 554

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/349 cont./

811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently
157 prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the
973 Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadiá) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghálata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arádhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
(237) applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

/357 cont./

811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [773] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about [773] the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now under- [128] take.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

773 538 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the
789 magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany
[178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the
789 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual
533 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the
585 verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in
[531]
[535]
[538]

/400 cont./

698 to the Marxist theory, (3)
675
182 3. On the different meanings of the term alienation
121 in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol, II, pp. 253-258.
although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds.
128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].
578 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and
675 distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or
182 psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may
121 be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

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I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word Vlach[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs ('Αρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., the term "Vlachs" -- Analyst]

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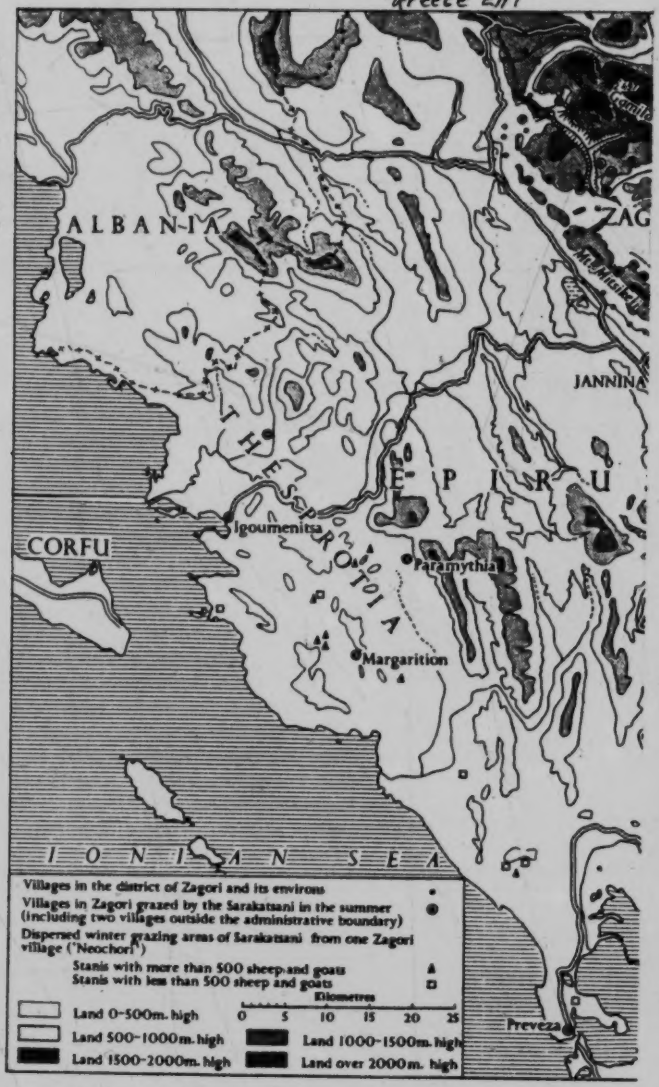

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

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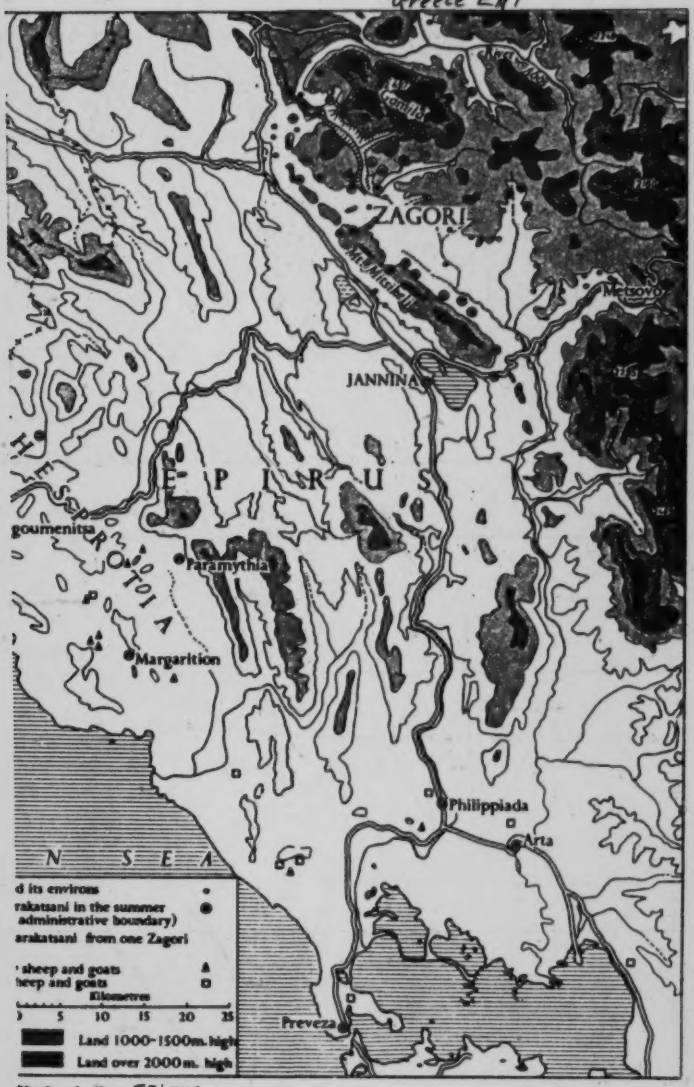

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
[482] looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few mo-
ments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
[131] to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
10 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
[114] them in March the following year, when I was
[122] riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
131 in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
[124] seen them again and again, all over northern
Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter,
[342] gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
[492] halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
[161] these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
[101] they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
175 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
131 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the
221

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175 nomads with the widest range of migration. The
221 sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up
after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and
●131 they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

175 Enormous though these journeys were, they
131 were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for,
221 until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of
101 Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So strong is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

3: Kabbadias--S E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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• Geographical sites where our investigation was carried out [are indicated by numbered dots.]

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S G 133 precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

S G 133 233 31 [361] The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. S G [32] At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of S G [824] Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant S G [37] ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

S G 361 311 The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first S G 132 days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant S G 132 133 221 233 economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

/19 cont./

361 221 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 [133] In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats. [137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with their scrub vegetation. (6)

[113] 6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 233 221 361 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone, and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[191] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
36 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463
114

10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/181 cont./

474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(889) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(695) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

S 619 829 [621] [648]

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

S 619 577

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

S G 133 [121]

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S 4 133 precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

S G 133 233 31 [361] The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the S 4 [132] smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting S 4 [824] snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the S 4 [137] shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

S G 361 311 The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first S G 132 days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant S G 132 133 221 233 economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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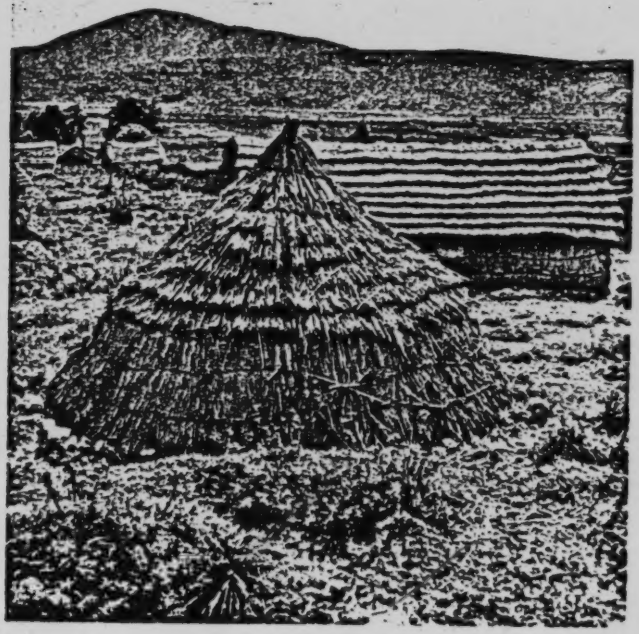

4. Stani in Winter

[facing p. 208]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

[P364-A]

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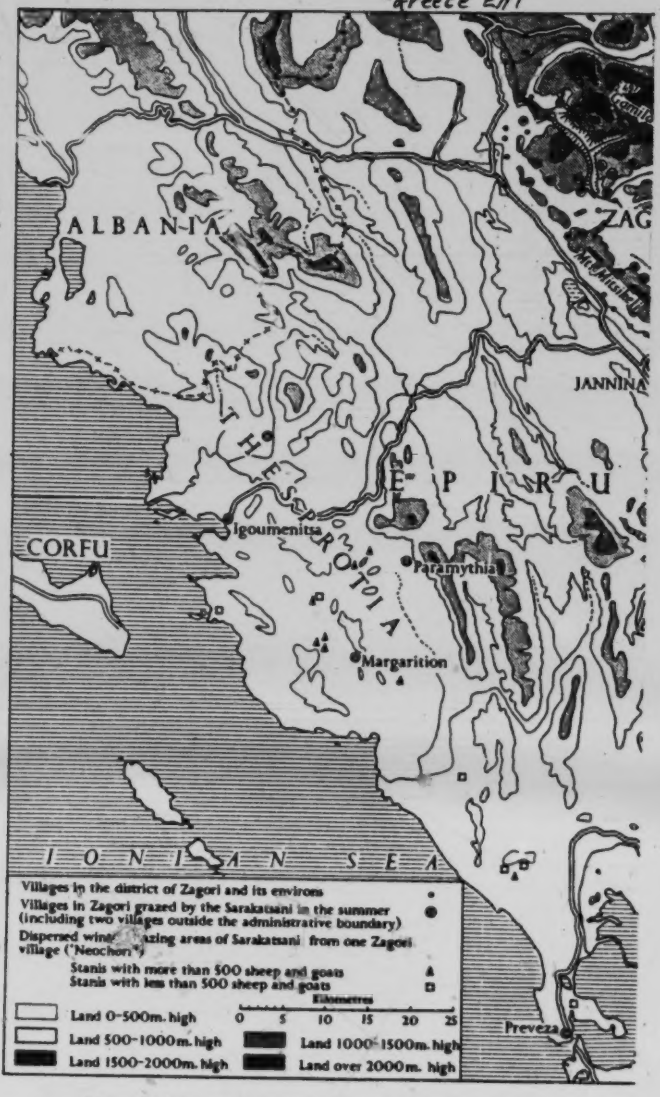

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

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[P.364-B]

Zagori

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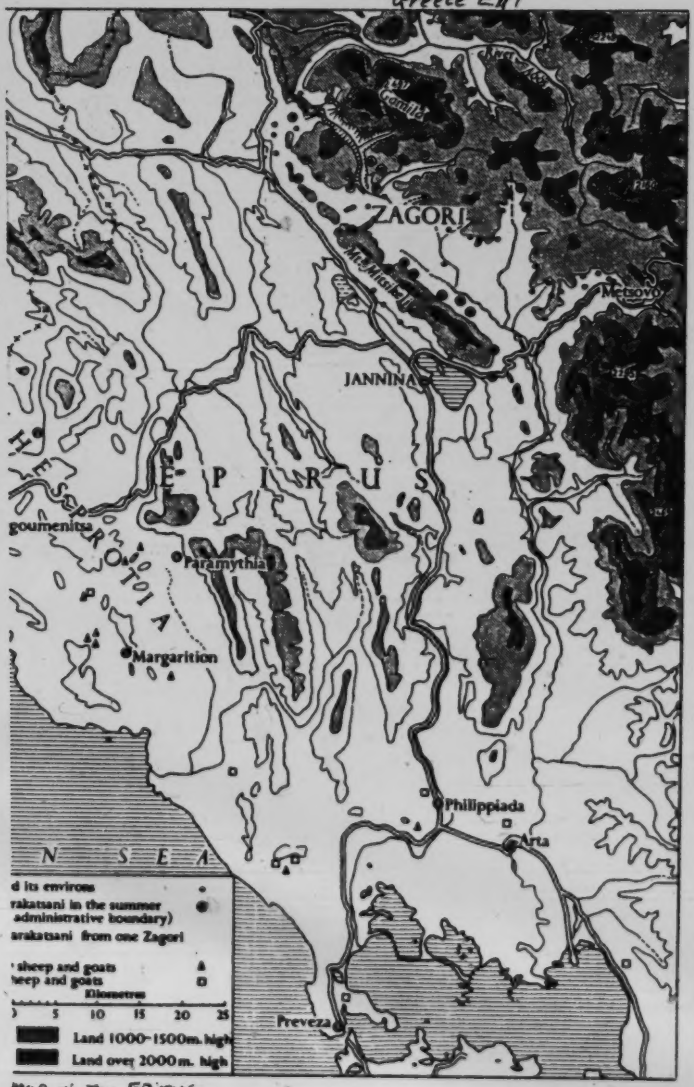

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
114 them in March the following year, when I was
122 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
[221] Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope moun-
[342] tains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
[492] halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs ex-
cept, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
(261) these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
they return after their half-yearly journeys in
[101] search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
195 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with their scrub vegetation. (6)

[113] 6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
22 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
36 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[171] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64?] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Conversation

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

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3. Sarakatsan Grandmother

[facing p. 176]

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5. Sarakatsan Shepherd

[facing p. 288]

585 Black-clad Saru-katsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [273] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were 585 292 [302] those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 THERE was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142]
[291]

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

[286]

286 The <u>idiastra</u>: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/102/

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Men's Apparel

Fig. 78

Fig. 79

Fig. 80

Fig. 82

Fig. 81

Fig. 83

3: Kabbadias--119 E-4 5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/104/

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292
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[301]
[142]

Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 88

Fig. 85

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

291
142

Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed [531] with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning [765] and old women wear black veils. /106/ [888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

301 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

[531] [30]

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, velentzoula).

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291 294 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

/113/

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142
412

Fig. 95

252
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[191]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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142
291
534
302
516

Fig. 108

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [578]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 585 596 if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[6] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 283 789 one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 585 596 one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152 only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585 gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593 may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596 her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[6] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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582 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their
581 negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the
602 day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the
602 relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.
[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is
[562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the
152 solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts
593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading
764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the
152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the
[533] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their
593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in
765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [513]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. 264
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [531]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral 596
blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut 596
that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection 577
and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside 152
his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion 596
to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole 517
family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth 152
in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The (264)
centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this 596
protection and support. The most general of these obligations 597
is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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156 it leads, very often, to a greater concern with appearances than reality. Or, rather, appearances become reality. In the appearance of being a pallikari, he becomes a pallikari. There is often a kind of unconscious cheating. A man boasts and asserts himself the more when there is little fear that he may be called on to prove himself. And knives are pulled with greater bravado when it is certain that others are present to prevent their use.

152 If self-regard is the need to achieve an identity with the image
156 of an ideal self, shame is the emotion experienced by an
577 individual when he clearly fails to do so. As in the case of self-regard, although a man may feel shame for short-comings or sufferings that remain secret, it involves at all times some idea of comparison with the achievements of others, and it is all the more acute when a man's inadequacy is publicly exposed. A man may feel shame not only for his own short-comings, but also for those of other persons with whom he is closely identified in any situation. And it may also be a sentiment imputed by others when they make critical comments on a man's behaviour or condition. They may say that his conduct in a particular situation is a matter for shame, that is, if he were an honourable man, his sense of shame would have prevented him from acting in the way that he did.

Like self-regard, shame is a sanction for all those elements that are relevant to the prestige of a family, or an individual. Thus shame relates not only to conduct which is morally bad, but also to any kind of conduct which is only conventionally deviant. And anything which leads to, or is the basis of, low prestige is a matter for shame. Whatever may be the underlying psychological character of shame, its cultural definition amongst the Sarakatsani is the sense or fear of failure. The failure exists to the extent that a man does not possess some attribute required by the image of his ideal self. When a man acts disgracefully he hurts himself. When he is poor or weak, by suffering this condition he condemns himself. And the sense of shame, an essentially internal sanction of action, is related to the external threat of social abandonment, the fear that the community will judge him to be 'lost' (χαμένος).

A number of examples illustrate the relation between shame and failure. When Nasios attempted to seduce a

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a community where masculine values are paramount, it has led the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt. 783 577 562

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form. 783 152 156 [254] [572]

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with 783 828

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754 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye
776 (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι
783 διαβολεμένο).

754 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this
152 evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide.
[825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it
[833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of
[554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are
[771] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their
751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. 232 They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. 152 554 579 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[359] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p. 81-8]

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
761 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

/320 cont./

789 182 152 154

121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual [562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/336 cont./

765 152 626 [562] Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious. They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 764 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so

[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338 / the sadness of

[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take

[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/368 cont./

533 [235] recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it [152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

531 532

Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 532 114 4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part [178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

/370 cont./

53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function
462 or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
561 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

/370 cont./

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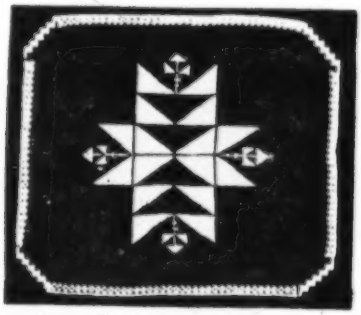

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
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--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
[124] "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with
[539] the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

 We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly pos-
sessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded
earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small
kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstan-
tin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
● 152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The
[481] look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[648] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

3: Kabbadias

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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[For information on "magical thinking", see Category 811.]

/285 cont./

128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

(124) In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/286 cont./

121 Sarakatsani magical thinking, to try to keep the ideas that emanate
789 from it apart from the phenomena in which these ideas manifest the-
153 selves.

We shall therefore start by determining the fundamental ideas governing both the magic action and the means put at its disposal. There is here a static aspect which, as such, offers to our eyes only a limited view of our problem. In order to broaden it, its transposition to a dynamic perspective seems indispensable. We shall therefore examine under what conditions magic and the corresponding ideas are born, what is /287/ the process of their formation, what is the totality of ideas that accompanies their application.

That is not all. It is also necessary to see what the Sarakatsani idea is concerning their magic. We shall rediscover it included in their attitude toward magic. Then, by using the conclusions drawn from these observations, we shall proceed to an attempt to define the magic thought.

Finally, we shall compare magic thought and non-magic thought in order to emphasize the characteristics and the structure of the former, and we shall conclude with some critical reflections bearing on our interpretations and our conclusions.

The Postulates that Make Possible Magic Action.

The magical thought of the Sarakatsani puts forward certain fundamental ideas, true postulates, which serve as points of departure and a basis for magical action. We shall enumerate them:

The postulate of transmissibility. This is the conviction that virtues, qualities, characteristics, functions, etc., existing in the forces ruling the universe or in certain definite objects can be transmitted to men or to beasts if they /the latter/ are put in contact with these forces or these objects.

The postulate of the opposition of forces. In order to defend his person and his goods against threats arising from various sources

/287 cont./

121 (supernatural beings, hidden evils, evil eye, etc.), man can oppose
789 them with forces in his favor. The result is a mutual neutralization
153 of opposite influences which permits men and animals to keep safe from evil.

The postulate that forces will not destroy themselves. The fact that a person is a harmful force, or rather its symbol on themselves, suffices to hinder the latter from releasing its baneful influence: it cannot act against itself.

The postulate of simple removal. The evils, represented anthropomorphically, can be forced to remove themselves if one attacks their supposed senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.) in a disagreeable fashion.

The postulate of purification. If, despite the precautions taken, man or beast are attacked by magic influences, they are at the very least contaminated. A purification is /288/ possible by means of favorable forces which neutralize the contamination by exerting an opposing influence on it.

Finally, the postulate of representation of desired situations and effects desired. Sometimes, all that is needed in order to cause a situation or obtain a desired effect, is to represent them in one way or another, by gestures, words or dramatic scenes. In this case the representation is as good as the reality.

This postulate is connected, up to a certain point, with the conviction that man, in certain circumstances, is in a position to set in motion for his benefit the forces ruling the universe.

The most important of these postulates (98)

98. A certain number of examples illustrating them will be found below, p. 290.

is that of transmissibility, not because it is found in most of the rites and practices, but because it is one of the assumptions underlying the

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

789 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves

153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the

826 case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of

844 the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

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This kind of association also includes the juxtaposition in space of the two components of the magic action.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MAGIC IS CALLED UPON TO INTERVENE.

We may distinguish four categories:

a) Psychological: the Saraktasani must cope with problems of urgent necessity. In most cases the issues are vital.

b) Cultural: Sarakatsani knowledge and technology are incapable of solving these problems.

c) Social: it is Sarakatsani society, in large part, that defines the needs and makes them urgent. Furthermore, the social framework hampers the development of knowledge and technology. Thus it thwarts, albeit indirectly, the rational solution of problems.

d) "Human": man, like all the other species, must act upon his environment in order to survive. Magic is a means of dominating the world through the action that it inspires.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this classification:

a) Each of the conditions enumerated above may be isolated from the others only abstractly, which means that in reality all four make up an indissoluble whole.

b) These conditions are reduced in practice to strong motivations, at once intellectual, affective, socio-cultural and even instinctive (it is self-preservation which, basically, is involved), which set in motion the magical thinking and constitute an atmosphere favorable to its development.

It would therefore be erroneous to assert, as has been done on several occasions, that magic, as thought or as action, is based solely on man's fear and anguish before the unknown and the mysterious, on the thought of his weakness in the face of entities /290/ that are beyond him. Reality demands that we approach the study of magic on the basis of all the phenomena that underly it, in other words, in a multidimensional manner.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMULATION OF POSTUALTES AND MEANS OF ACTION.

The postulates as well as the means of magical action are based on the observation of the sentient world. Transmissibility, mutual neutralization of opposing forces, non-self-destruction of forces, withdrawal from the painful and disagreeable are phenomena derived from the everyday /experience/.

Man, through his own experience of heat transmission from a warm body to a cold body, of the contagiousness of diseases, of putrefaction of organic matter placed near matter already decomposed, readily concludes that contact with an object possessing a desired property of quality is a sufficient means of acquiring it. (99)

99. This same ideas is also found in H. Webster: La magie "the magician is incapable of distinguishing the category of resemblance from that of identity... It is an axiom of magic that imagination is the equivalent or reality: Ficta pro veris accipi," p. 71.--However, Webster does not see that if the magician does not make the distinction between resemblance and identity, the reason is not a logical incapacity, but psycho-sociological factors, as we shall see later on.

Similarly, he concludes in favor of other postulates from analogous facts. If two men push a rock from opposite sides and they are equally strong, the rock will not roll. If a person wants to pass through a hedge of thorny shrubs, the thorns will make him turn back. And it is contrary to all probability to suppose that a source of any influence, especially when basically it is anthropomorphically conceived, can act against itself and in such a way as to destroy itself.

Thus, by deduction, man arrives at the two principal ideas of all magic, that of transmissibility, on the one hand, and that of the effectiveness of contact, on the other, and consequently /he arrives/ at all the others.

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121 789 153 At the base of all this may be seen an activity of the mind developing from analogical reasoning, which makes possible the deductions in question.

Nevertheless, how can one not ask oneself what impels the Sarakatsani to accept and apply practices supported only by analogical reasoning, not objectively /291/ verifiable? It is all the more impossible to escape this question since these herders have enough critical and rational mentality, as their technology and their social organization show, to test the efficacy of the procedures based on the ideas expressed above. Thus, the failure to verify postulates and procedures shows that in the process of their formation other factors intervene which make them a subject of general belief. It is not the established value of the analogical reasoning which imposes the postulates and the methods of action. It is the dynamics of these other elements which force their acceptance.

We are therefore faced with one of the most delicate problems of Sarakatsani magic which we must clarify before proceeding further. We believe the way to solve it is through the following hypotheses.

Everything may begin by chance. A coincidence, a combination of circumstances or some result taking place in the presence of two components, actually or presumably related, suffices for the relationship to be considered the cause of the effect.

It may likewise be supposed that man, under the emotional impetus arising from the need to face a problem for him and those around him that is serious and otherwise insoluble may decide to act by analogical reasoning. If a certain effect is produced, though it be illusory, or, what amounts to the same thing, if other factors intervene which, rightly or wrongly, seem to hinder the realization of the desired result, he will be led to believe that his procedure is effective.

In the third place, it is probable that a simple hypothesis based on analogical reasoning related to a treatment or any curative goal and

/291 cont./

121 put forward in a doubtful manner is assumed by an interlocutor, finding
789 himself in conditions favoring this type of reasoning, to be a
153 prescription or a method of action to be followed.

These examples, which could be multiplied, may give an inkling of how the nucleus of a future conviction originates.

Once this method is established, the collective consciousness of the group in which this phenomenon develops will pass judgment on it; it will accept it or reject it. But if /the method/ is accepted, the group will give it its prestige, its authority over individual consciousness, and will sacralize it.

/292/ Furthermore, duration, time will add its own confirmation. The comments, the narration, the repetition, will enrich the initial idea. In view of the fact that the beginnings of the initial experience are rooted in the past, manipulation will draw from it increased prestige. And insofar as technical or cognitive progress do not disturb it, the belief in its effectiveness will remain alive.

121 Obviously, all this is merely hypothesis, not diachronically verifiable since ethnographic observation has no way of studying traditional phenomena at the time they are born. Nevertheless, it seems to us that these hypotheses are governed by certain phenomena of an analogous order, which are produced in our societies and of which we herewith give a brief description.

First, analogical reasoning in connection with curative phenomena is not foreign to our "civilized" mentality. Some examples drawn from recent experience show this in a striking manner.

The introduction of antibiotics in the therapy of certain scientifically defined diseases was immediately followed by their immoderate use for everything, even for simple ailments for which they are not effective. The beneficial action of novocaine on arthritic pains of old people has led to the conviction that this medicine combats old age. At one time (100)

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/293 cont./

103. On the relations of this myth which might be called a "social myth (through all myths are social) to the cosmological myth see below Chapter VIII.

/294/ This said, we must ask ourselves whether actually this parallel between the mechanism of the formation of "analogical" curative procedures observed in our societies and that of magical procedures of traditional societies is a fortunate parallel, and also whether our conclusions with regard to the first can be applied to the second, in view of the difference that exists between these societies.

We believe that the reply is affirmative:

Contemporary instances of analogical curing and the procedures of traditional white magic are called upon to serve the same needs. They originate under the same objective conditions, that is to say, where knowledge cannot intervene. They respond to the same psychological needs of security and deliverance from the anguish in the face of the unknown; therefore they manifest themselves in a climate which does not favor a distinction between the wished-for and the real.

Finally, the influence that society exerts is the same in both cases. The expectation of a solution in the past of the group as well as individuals comes before every creative event of practice and conviction. And at the moment this event takes place the channels of its diffusion--individuals, sub-groups, groups, etc.--are the same; they are called upon to take part in it and they actually do so, determining the same results.

Therefore, the inference from synchronic phenomena to diachronic phenomena is not arbitrary, and does not constitute a « μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος ». Our hypotheses are legitimate and it seems to us that they do not distort reality. Consequently, we may definitively conclude that: 1st, both the postulates and the means of Sarakatsani magical action are based on analogical reasoning.--2nd, this reasoning born under

[153]

789 /294 cont./
121 the pressure of necessity and in an emotional climate that springs
[153] from it, then is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society by way of a mechanism very close to--if not identical with--that of the creation of rumors.--3rd, finally owing to these conditions, it /this reasoning/ is transformed into patterns of action--objects of an unshakable belief from which it derives its validity and the reason for its existence. It then becomes myth which, while summoned to action and repetition, has no need for a foundation other than its own character of myth, since myth is never accompanied by doubt.

/295/ Nevertheless, we have not yet shown how two phenomena came about. These are, on the one hand, the postulate of the representation of situations and desired effects and, on the other, the represented contact.

121 Now, the acceptance of this postulate and this type of contact implies
153 once again the use of analogical reasoning.
789 If an effect is produced by bringing into contact two already existing components, why should not another effect be produced by bringing into relation one component (man or animal) with the representation of a situation or a desired reality?

Likewise, if material contact permits transmission and other effects, resulting from it why does contact merely represented not allow this?

The fact that the second component of the magical action as well as the means of action are merely symbolized in the representation is not a sufficient reason to consider this postulate and this means as qualitatively different from others. The relationship between symbol and thing symbolized is so intimate that finally symbol and thing symbolized become identified.

121 Thus we see that the process by which the postulate and the magical
789 means in question were formed cannot differ from that which has been accepted in connection with other postulates and means, despite the

/298 cont./

121 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it
789 aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world
82 based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously,
789 this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with
[153] analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

/299 cont./

121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

/302 cont./

789 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action
121 of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is
[781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something
[794] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into
789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially,
153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are
789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

/352 cont./

828 811 (153) KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

811 114 We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

2. See G. Davey: Sociologues d'hier..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: La mentalité primitive pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: Early civilisation /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

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612 605 management, are the cousins least likely to form those important links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who [572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may 612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any 571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are [558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of [559] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who [559] live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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altruistic quality of these relationships. This is an end in itself. It balances the qualities of calculation and restraint which enter into all the other situations of social life, excepting only certain contexts of religious experience. This partly explains the immense pleasure which individuals experience when they take part with their kinsmen in festivals and weddings. There is a sense of release from the restrictions of daily life and local animosities which more articulate shepherds describe by the same phrase that is sometimes used after receiving the Eucharist at Easter, 'A weight has left me', μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος.

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[p.263]

X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
751 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

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789 182 152 154

121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

[562] [554]

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
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--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
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539 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
69L crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
62L essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
69L plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims
121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
571 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
626 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They
[235] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[432] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
000 other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[556] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[239] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this [831] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης καὶ παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature.

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison.

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιάτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way.

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884 156 577 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are καστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [559] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 577 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορόϊδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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156 884 577 761 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 577 885 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family. Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possess. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 885 577 425 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company', has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures, he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 885 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
599 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
599 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

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the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as 885
that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger 156
before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the 577
pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if, after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provocation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, [571]
and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year, contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding 156
or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink 885
continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. 554
To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and 577
drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσικος), is the verdict passed on this wretched man.

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, 885
others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of 554
family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling 464
group of a co-operative association of families, carries the 465
greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos, or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live from his flock without the money supplement of the wage, or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Customarily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and the sense of being a kept man.

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The [794] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect [288] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested [594] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS

577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
570 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

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577 735 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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his own motives spills over into an incidental concern for others. Such a man, it is said, will resist the approaches of a woman even where she clearly wishes to be seduced, and where there is no danger of discovery. He never uses lies or deceit to trick another man, or takes advantage of a situation to make another look foolish. A Sarakatsanos when defending his conduct will often say, 'I am a man who loves honour'. But others will not accept this estimate of self. Φιλότιμος is an epithet never attributed by one Sarakatsanos to another unrelated shepherd, because they believe that the responsibilities which each individual owes to the family group absolutely preclude his acting in this manner. On the other hand, it is not infrequently used to characterize a patron whose protection is effective; for here interests are complementary, not opposed, and in the particular context of the patron-client relationship it is possible for a man of power to appear to be acting in this way towards his client. And, in a condescending sense, it is possible for a patron to admit the same quality in his client.

156 577 829 [571]

* * *

Three concepts, 'honour' (τιμή), 'honourable' (τίμιος), and 'loving honour' (φιλότιμος), have now been considered in their relation to the community's evaluation of a man's conduct and its implicit recognition of his prestige. Although τίμιος and φιλότιμος indicate, in different degrees, some concern about other men, all three are essentially self-regarding terms. In each case it is a question of a man attempting to realize a particular ideal pattern of conduct. What interests him is the success of this quest, not the effect of his actions on others.

156 577

The quality of being honourable has this in common with honour, that most men are assumed to have it. It is not something which must be competed for, but something which must not be lost. Although there is certainly the need constantly to re-achieve standards of conduct, the emphasis is on the fact that most Sarakatsani have honour, and are honourable, but that individuals, to a greater or less degree, may stray from the path of normative virtue and lose their prestige.

156 577 828

Both the concepts of honour and of the honourable man [591]

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
571 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

59
554 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its
556 flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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554 [585] again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented For pride, article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 577 554 The elements of prestige have been divided into two categories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 558 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[1] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[1] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωϊσμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
[624] of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
[612] that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if
he did nothing.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παραντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[6] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[6] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

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156 it leads, very often, to a greater concern with appearances than reality. Or, rather, appearances become reality. In the appearance of being a pallikari, he becomes a pallikari. There is often a kind of unconscious cheating. A man boasts and asserts himself the more when there is little fear that he may be called on to prove himself. And knives are pulled with greater bravado when it is certain that others are present to prevent their use.

152 If self-regard is the need to achieve an identity with the image
156 of an ideal self, shame is the emotion experienced by an
577 individual when he clearly fails to do so. As in the case of self-regard, although a man may feel shame for short-comings or sufferings that remain secret, it involves at all times some idea of comparison with the achievements of others, and it is all the more acute when a man's inadequacy is publicly exposed. A man may feel shame not only for his own short-comings, but also for those of other persons with whom he is closely identified in any situation. And it may also be a sentiment imputed by others when they make critical comments on a man's behaviour or condition. They may say that his conduct in a particular situation is a matter for shame, that is, if he were an honourable man, his sense of shame would have prevented him from acting in the way that he did.

Like self-regard, shame is a sanction for all those elements that are relevant to the prestige of a family, or an individual. Thus shame relates not only to conduct which is morally bad, but also to any kind of conduct which is only conventionally deviant. And anything which leads to, or is the basis of, low prestige is a matter for shame. Whatever may be the underlying psychological character of shame, its cultural definition amongst the Sarakatsani is the sense or fear of failure. The failure exists to the extent that a man does not possess some attribute required by the image of his ideal self. When a man acts disgracefully he hurts himself. When he is poor or weak, by suffering this condition he condemns himself. And the sense of shame, an essentially internal sanction of action, is related to the external threat of social abandonment, the fear that the community will judge him to be 'lost' (χαμένος).

A number of examples illustrate the relation between shame and failure. When Nasios attempted to seduce a

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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156 women do not go
159 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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The laughter of other people is invited in all situations where a man, or a group, has failed. 'The world laughs' (ὁ κόσμος γελάει) at a man when he fails to defend his honour; for instance, when he does not reply to an affront. Equally, it laughs at him when he makes some slip in conventional behaviour, or when he is made to look ridiculous. It laughs at him if he does not adequately fulfil his social role. Conversely, the need to conform to social morality and etiquette is often supported by the statement that, if a man does not act in a particular way, 'the world will laugh at him'. To be ridiculous (γελοῖος) is to lack the recognition essential for social reputation. 156 626

The ridicule or laughter which a man suffers, or imagines he is suffering, is seldom crudely inflicted to his face. The sanction is more subtle. But he is not slow to sense that he is being ridiculed. A man who is insensitive to the attitudes of others (and among the Sarakatsani such men are rare) will speedily be informed of the situation through some kinsman who, because of their association, is anxious that the ridiculed man should reassert his position, if that is possible, or, in a case of moral delinquency, should mend his ways.

There are, however, certain situations where open ridicule may occur. A man of very low prestige who is 'lost' may sometimes be ridiculed to his face. On the rare occasions when Costas Pistiolis is in any social gathering he is invariably asked to sing, since this ability is one of the many social graces he does not possess. Everybody laughs. Mild as such mockery may seem, no honourable member of this community would accept it passively. Open ridicule may also happen at weddings when men lose their sense of caution. At one wedding a guest who was addled and aggressive from his drinking called for more ouzo. A bottle was brought to him. He poured a glass and drank it, only to discover it was water. A roar of laughter went up, a pointed comment on the weakness of a man unable to drink and retain a measure of self-control. At once his knife was out, but it was quickly wrenched from his hand and the man was thrown bodily from the arbour. 626

Although the community is dispersed, news travels with rapidity. Any interesting event is widely known throughout the community within two or three days. Weddings and festivals are centres of news exchange, but heads of families, and some 203 626

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
167 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [P.31]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. Whatever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the 59
honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος), morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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577 confrontations are reconciled through the acceptance of
578 competition for prestige as the end of individual and family purpose. For it turns men's minds from thoughts of the physical destruction of their enemies to the alternative of their social humiliation, a form of opposition more compatible with the
156 vulnerable quality of the shepherd's life. At the same time these
579 particular values, if they deny the practicability of universal moral principles and individual justice, present an image of man that is in some ways heroic and not ignoble. Men must be brave and women virtuous to achieve ideal, one might say mythical, forms of acting and being. They are encouraged in the need to discipline their weaknesses by the severity of their mutual criticism; roles are few, and values unambiguous in a common field of experience. But judgements concern the effectiveness of the total social personality, an amalgam of virtues, skills, and material attributes; and not abstract qualities of moral excellence.

571 In competitive institutions, although feelings of hostility
577 may remain unabated, opposition becomes a form of mutual dependence; the more men are opposed in this way, the more they have need of one another. The values of prestige recommend the intense consideration of own interests and honour, accentuating always the exclusiveness and separation of one family from another. Yet they also impose the condition that prestige depends on the attentions and opinions of others. They separate; and, at the same time, they create a necessary and close interdependence in the common membership of a community in honour.

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a community where masculine values are paramount, it has led the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt. 783 577 562

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form. 783 152 156 [254] [577]

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with 783 828

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 771 783 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 [156]

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

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577 Now the idea of "honor" depends upon the moral requirements that Saraktsani society imposes on its members. These may be grouped under two headings: minor moral requirements and major moral requirements.

Under the heading "minor requirements" we include every case in which a comparative conformity of individuals or groups to rules, norms, moral 577 propositions, etc., is tolerated. In all these instances the persons 156 involved may conform to norms closely or less closely without dishonor. If a person /242/ succeeds only more or less in embodying the ideal symbolic image presented to each according to his condition, his status, his role, if a person does not succeed in reaching perfection in commercial, economic, or administrative skill (8) (provided he is not a Tséligas), if

8. Underneath these attributes one finds a "morality of usefulness" according to the terminology of G. Gurvitch, the existence of which is attested by a consideration of the honor those enjoy who achieve it: Ibid., p. 149.

he is not capable of becoming a "rebel leader" or an "animal thief," etc., he is not dishonored, but merely not honored, not distinguished in the crowd. On the other hand, a person is dishonored if he makes no effort to practice "comparative" conformity, if he does not embody this "moral minimum," in other words, if he falls into complete amorality. Sarakatsani society has no room for amorality.

Dishonor also falls on the one who goes outside the fundamental rules of Saraktsani life. These are the major moral requirements that no one, under any pretext, has the right to transgress. Individuals and groups are inevitably dishonored if they do not conform to the rules pertaining to the creation and functioning of the family, the rules of chastity, of solidarity, of upholding tradition, etc. In all these instances such persons are exposed to general contempt.

However, the one who comes as close as possible tothe ideal symbolic image corresponding to the situation and who conforms strictly to the major moral requirements is honored by all.

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577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. (626) Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

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121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-
[554] economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 181 156 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such. The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

* * * *

181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

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Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

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581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few,
[593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of
[589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to
157 feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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156 women do not go
157 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
157 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [774] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 176 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently
159 prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the
973 Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of 596
her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost 578
a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully re- 159
covered. She has been to a number of different doctors who 165
have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed 757
and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the 602
worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless 596
in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal com- 578
plaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes 159
her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other 732
wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities 558
of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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596 578 159 165 Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife. 606 Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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000 kindly accept here the expression of our thanks.

128 We wish to thank also our colleague, Madame Y. Roux, whose help in the revision of our text has been particularly valuable.

000 Finally, I wish to recall my debt to my wife to whom this work, like all the others, owes so much.

/14a/ PART ONE

/14b/ /blank/

/15/ Dialogue With Nature

121 Placing man in relation to nature, in the Aristotelian sense of « φύσις » releases a whole world of reciprocal actions and reactions. Multiple phenomena appear which make up, on the one hand, the demographic and ecological base of the entire society and the entire culture, and, on the other hand, that which A. Leroi-Gourhan calls "a layer of objects that constitute the trappings of men", (1)

1. Milieu et techniques, p. 361.

in other words, the technology. All these phenomena originate, as the same author expresses it, "at the point of contact between the exterior environment (the environment pure and simple) and the interior environment". (2)

2. Ibid., p. 361.

that is to say, "an extremely complex solution of mental traditions." (3)

3. Ibid., p. 354.

128 This first part will deal with these phenomena: We shall see the Sarakatsani version of this relationship, the way in which our herders manage to converse with nature.

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/17/ Chapter I

The Demographic and Ecological Substratum of Sarakatsani Society and Culture

16 114 One can only regret that a complete analysis of the Sarakatsani demographic phenomena is not possible for lack of statistical data.

16 It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct some of these by relying 123 on the statements of our informants, on our personal observations, on 124 127

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
129 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," 858 842 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of 562 greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the [582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information [582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large [178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. [217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νε'.

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw them in March the following year, when I was riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had seen them again and again, all over northern Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
175 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility 602 and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no 619 general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθερροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsilingas* or Leader of the stand	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
CONSTANTINE TANGAS		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tsilingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

357
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1120
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[Ⅳ 357]

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to "Tsellagas" or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Were shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zygos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Grezgory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charisis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
E.359
162
233
427
474
592
602

5.												
‡ Const. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myriounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparéunas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
[p.310]
162
233
427
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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Trustee or Leader of the unit	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes re Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Chiarisis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Dethikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

[p.361]
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[illegible]
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[4.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954–5

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This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children. [238] [162]

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.). [204] [436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[451]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock. [474] [662]

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
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127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

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[582]

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

[582]
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

[125]
[178]

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

[217]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

S V 511 434 233 [433] [262]

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

S V G [427]

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

G 124 521 152

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

G 124 341

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

G 114

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

G 563 162 S V 162

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14
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Sarakatsani	5,956
Arvanito-Vlachs (Karagouni)	786
Koutso-Vlachs	3,409
Greek peasants (like Valtetsi people)	3,549

S
162
V
[162] He also gave the following distribution, by families, of the Sarakatsani, the type of people we had visited at Kalpaki:

Western Thrace	699
Macedonia	1,499
Thessaly	794
Roumeli	1,112
Epirus	492
Peloponnesos	1,390
	5,986

V
[162] This book also indicated that there in Epirus I was in the center of the Karagouni group, since relatively few of their 786 families were geographically much farther eastward or southward.

V
123 The next afternoon, with Christos Berates, we headed into the countryside and saw within a mile of town his camp of four tents up on the left.
233 Since his flocks had not yet arrived, he was somewhat disturbed and asked
[361] if we could drive back toward Kalpaki to meet them. We passed at least eight other flocks whose shepherds Berates knew and with whom he talked briefly. These shepherds were very happy to accept the cigarettes we offered, but they were both awed and mystified — to Berates' delight — at seeing him riding in an American car. They kept telling him that his flocks must be quite far behind. Even when a flock came into view at some distance, Berates could tell it was not his by the sound of the bells. His anxiety grew as dusk came on and we saw no more flocks on the road. Then suddenly he asked us to stop. He said, "they are over there!" and pointed far to the left. Sure enough, we heard the faint tinkle of bells and then about two hundred yards away saw the sheep coming. His flock, taking a short cut, had left the main route. He called to the shepherd and found that everything was in good order. Reassured, Berates was ready to go back to the camp to wait for his sheep.

V
342 We had to leave the car along the main highway and scramble up the high bank before finding the path that led us up the hill. There in a row,
361 about ten feet apart, stood the four tents of brown homespun waterproof mohair, each stretched on a frame consisting of three poles tied at the top. The first tent was that of Christos and his son and daughter. A small fire
V of *pournari* (the evergreen oak with hollylike leaves) was replenished with
35 fuel cut by a small, sharp ax. In that tent alone were seven big woven duffel
[372] bags, stuffed full of household goods or clothes. The floor of the tent was

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

/17 cont./
16 published data. (1)
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127 1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

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842
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[582]

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

[582]
[114] 2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

[125]
[178]

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

[217]

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

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221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[189] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here . Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man [627] from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour. [164] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a 178 bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of
her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost 586 579
a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully re- 159
covered. She has been to a number of different doctors who [665]
have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed [257]
and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the [602]
worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless 596
in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal com- 578
plaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes 159
her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other 732
wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities [558]
of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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Zagori

596 578 159 [165] Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife. [606] Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορότδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

/17 cont./
published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

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/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem-
221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

361 /24 cont./
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/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

[173] [166] /10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth [113] [114]

1:Campbell E:5 (1954-1955)1964
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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

585 533 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sudden ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 539 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makaronádes* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makaronádes*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chicago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

585 During the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Geramata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 523 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber. The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

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PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

596 571 233

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [589] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups. 594 [619]

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system 594 619 571 594 619 578 [154]

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960. 577 171 113

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

783 828 829 783 828 829 771 [851]

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

777 776 846 [171]

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[201] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with
[113] their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
22 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
36 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[171] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463
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10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[171]

8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andklui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

233 Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/54 cont./

286 Finally, there are /55/ the karanelotti blankets, which have
531 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles, and consequently with the same number of treadles: moreover, several shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).

[171]

13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in L'homme et la matière, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

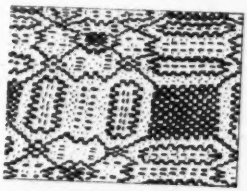

Fig. 40

286 Fulling.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a mandani.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

291
302
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Fig. 77

[Men's Apparel]

/99 cont./

Sarakatsani clothing.

291 We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

[171] Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ [292] leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79). Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[171] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

A, [Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental
178 Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it
[171] is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).*

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).*

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.*

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118]

*[Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst.]

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

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Fig. 95

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[171]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/120 cont./

105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
[171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 17 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, p. [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/129 cont./

582 Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)

582 7. In the official law as well.

two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos, Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious [188] ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

[191]

/132 cont./

621 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated
602 many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the
62 Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied
602 among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies
182 and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice,
[171] which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

/ 151 cont./

596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [171] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 42 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

(342) First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
(594) 34. The model of this type of living-together already
(213) existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
(171) Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 613 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the
[594] one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.
171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)
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42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45.
Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113]

44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[176] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority
554 of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 171 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Staréchina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Staréchina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Staréchina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is

[829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and

171 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

/174 cont./

596 171 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113] 51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

* * * *

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
171 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

* * * *

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

S 671 128 /195 cont./

Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

* * * *

S [195] In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

S 671 191 Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

G 671 195 1. See particularly: Ἀπό τῆς Λογίας Παραδόσεως εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κόδικα. — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

S 671 171 G 671 175 /196 cont./

(chapter 5, 51) which allows all conquered peoples the right of extra-territoriality, and to exercise a policy of tolerance toward the institutions of the vanquished, (2) granted privileges to the Greek population.

2. A. Toynbee: Histoire, pp. 193-200, gives a good account of Ottoman administrative ideas.

S 671 171 G 671 795 175 The Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Church (the only organization of the Hellenes which survived the disaster) thenceforth assumed the legal functions of the Hellenic nation and represented an authority to which the Christians could turn in order to settle their dispates.

However, this new ecclesiastical authority, at any rate during the first century of occupation, remained more theoretical than actual: first, because no method was provided for carrying out the verdicts rendered; second, because it dealt chiefly with questions pertaining to family and inheritance law, hence its domain was very limited.

On the other hand, during this same period, Turkish law required that all other questions be brought before the Turkish tribunals. Moreover, in order that a certain number of acts and /197/ covenants concluded between Christians by legally valid, they were obliged to take on the form provided by Turkish law.

G [688] Nonetheless, injured patriotism and distrust of their occupiers on the part of the resident Greeks, lax and inefficient organization of the Ottoman administration, finally the establishment of excommunication by the Church in the form of sanctions against those who refused to conform to its verdicts and who preferred to appeal to the legal process of the infidel enemies were sufficient motives for the Greek population to turn more and more to ecclesiastical law. And so the powers of the latter expended in time.

The law applied, moreover, continued to be the Byzantine law, included in the legislation of the Emperors, as well as the Cannon law of the Orthodox Church.

S 671 171 G 671 175 Parallel with this movement another took shape. The development of a

S /197 cont./
671 local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges
171 resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered
G according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as
671 the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)
175

8. CL. N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Τινά περί τῆς δικαιοδοσίας τῶν πρωτοκλάδων. — N. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ : Τό Ἑλληνικόν Δημόσιον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Γῆ καί Γεωργοί τῆς Θεσσαλίας ». — G. TENEKIDES : *Le système juridique de l'indépendance.*

S A third movement must still be added: justice administered by
671 arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.
171
G As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law,
671 the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the
175 Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters
692 already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: Ἐκκλησιαστικά Γράμματα Τουρκικά.

S Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was
671 immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private)
175 first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

S At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the
671 official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the
175 rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals
G had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual
671 law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided
175 the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.
[692]

/202 cont./

121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.
67

First, each point of law has a normative character. However,
121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this
183 critierion cannot be used by itself.
67

It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[171] [113]

9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[113]

10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
[171] it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

/237 cont./

577 12

2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 83 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [684] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] [888] [604] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the
(829) Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good,""it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὅλης ἰατρικῆς λόγος, 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet [789] the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περί ἔμψ. προσώπου σελήνης.

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

«Θνητὸς καὶ ἀκατοίγιστος»,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong,"
Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΩΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ἀρχαιολογία, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 17 [831] character of a sexual symbol because of its connection with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc. According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις». M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς». Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G. [842] Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινοῦ Βίου, τ. VI, p. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 842 82 825 823 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion [1116] accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[171] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/-officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, 60, 39, 5 et 3, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἐπιλογισμοὶ Διατάξεων κεφάλαιον, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 949, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833]

21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789
[262] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[796]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [171] [842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [171]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ [illegible]. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs

233 825 789 777 529

constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

[171]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 825 789 [777] [527] [17]

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: ~~Ἰωάννου~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 73 821 789 [221] [776]

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

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These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 171

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Couretes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/259 cont./

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171

the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Πλουτώνος I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλατωνίου, 6,

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆσσαι, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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[178]

These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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[535]

/259 cont./

796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124]
[831]
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33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ργη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
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concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 4.

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [191] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
776 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
(171) is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[520] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses (606) around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy (609) which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once (293) under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the (782) ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

([171])

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
(171) pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
(213) (182) (823) say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden 789 825 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes 322 53 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the 233 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of 283 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance 777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the 236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

[A] /See p. 429--Analyst/

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
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[770] Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. ~~[illegible]~~

[771] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
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51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted.
[824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: Λαϊκοί δοκιμασμοί συνήθειαι, p. 48, n. 2.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung.
[411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 233 789 [372] [823] /267 cont./
imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[191] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, Τ. Β', p. 292 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/269 cont./

776 in a way that is inescapable. (58) The young Sarakatsani mother /270/
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58. A belief that goes back to the farthest Hellenic antiquity. The moires spin one's destiny, Oddyssey, VI, 191, etc. Propitiatory offerings to the moires are generally carried out by the Greeks. See D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 8, who also cites the works of

Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Παραδόσεις Α', p. 380, et Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα, p. 36-37.

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 88 et 27.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀκολουθία καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξοι. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
974 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 168 et commentaires de Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 624. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 980 et suiv. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θράκης, p. 88-89, etc.

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237]
[832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΥ: Ἐπετηρίς, 5, 478.

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
[178] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
[785] aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[174] [171] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί δαιμονίων Δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 878,

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[171] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

[184]

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle.

Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops. these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 188. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
233
[171] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible], M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171]

> 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
> [833] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to
> [755] find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes
[171]

> 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoulès: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rólls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

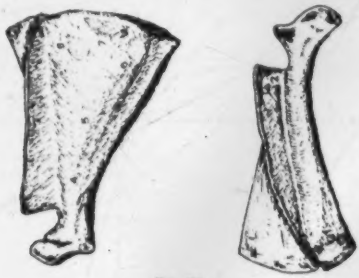

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: Φιλίου Ὀρεσιλατρευτείας, p. 18.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμικτα, Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ

787
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/285 cont./

in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5.

(Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p. 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21, citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

[178]

787

Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulder-blade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

* * * *

/306 cont./

121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships. the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

/313 cont./

789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by aquasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" [755] (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/326 cont./

771 789 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
182 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
178 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
[178] the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
[171] for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
[484] to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
778 to fertility and abundance.

778 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tséligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like (532) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. Κ. Α. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Λαϊκαὶ Λατρεῖαι..., p. 146, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(191) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[471] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
796
178

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : 'Ο Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-258 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΤΙΓΚΟΛΑΝΤΗΣ : 'Ο Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 154-220.

[776] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/332 cont./
796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
755 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
782
262 Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585 we shall speak later on.
785
764 The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, (114) very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces. It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
191 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

/334 cont./

782 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the
182 attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may
771 be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. 94), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Θρησκεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolégomena, p. 84.

(114)

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771
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/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarakatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. 593 If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his 604 cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife [605] is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to 834 undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is [589] shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so

[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of

[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take

[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [292] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 789 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents." This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] [761] [791] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 202 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
114 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
171 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
[illegible], index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p. [illegible]) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/389 cont./

182 The myths permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, 596 patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, [474] the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional [233] and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [476] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [071] culture area.

121 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it
182

/393 cont./

121 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings
182 that might alter the picture.

121 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply
182 a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on
233 nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani
181 culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion
171 to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

/393 cont./

121 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural
181 area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of
171 the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice
171 among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

/394 cont./

121
171 7. G. Ostrogorsky: Histoire de l'État byzantin, French translation, p. 120, footnote 1.

It is precisely this village community which has given rise to the most lively controversies about its origins. For it has been interpreted by certain historians such as Zacharia, Vasiliev, Kij and Ouspenskij as an organization inspired by the Russian mir. On this particular point G. Ostrogorsky, the historian from whom we borrowed the preceding quotation, says distinctly, while criticizing the works of the authors mentioned, that the mir is late phenomenon; and he adds: "...a communal regime such as this, characterized by the community of fields, never existed in Byzantium, and if one wants to stick to the sources, one must agree that no community of this kind among the ancient /395/ Slavs is known; on the other hand, Byzantium and other countries and peoples along with it were acquainted, well before the Slavic invasion, of a community in the sense we spoke of above." (8)

8. See O. Ostrogorsky: op. cit., p. 165, footnote 5, the entire criticism with copious bibliographic references. See also R. Thurwaldt: l'Economie primitive, p. 345. "We know, moreover, that the family community of the southern Slavs was a relatively recent creation without deep roots in the past." This author cites as corroboration F. Kraus: Sitte und Brauch der Sud-Slaven, p. 64, and J.S. Lewinski: The Origin of Property, Etc.

Of course, these testimonies concern only the lives of free and sedentary peasants. About the pastoral life, to repeat, we know nothing.
171
233 However, ethnographic observation shows that in the Balkans nomadic herding was practiced chiefly by the Aroumain (Valaque), the Albanians (Arvanito-Valaque) and the Sarakatsani. The Bulgars and the Turks were ignorant of it, or almost so. And among the Yogoslavs it seems that in

/395 cont./

171 233 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mljaci" practiced it, even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Σ. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ : Ἀγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 233 191 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas" and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 181 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the

/396 cont./

17 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
18 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and
182 ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the [648] Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 [252] [263] The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

/9 cont./

174 [166] 2. The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into [173] [166] the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of [113] [114] this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

/126 cont./

582 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction
613 of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the
182 same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the
582 Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
I.	Sons	Brothers	
II.	Grandsons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
III.	Great-grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta:

Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth
613 degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and
173 defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 613 173 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and never beyond that. (3)

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

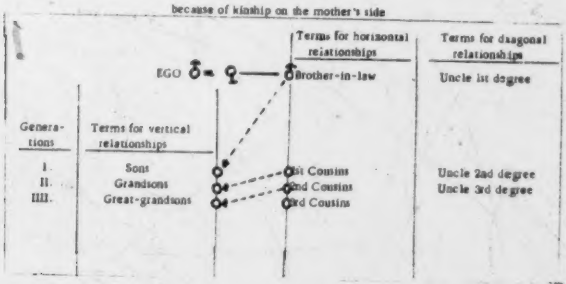
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



825 /281 cont./
842
789 itself is also a magic act.

825 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest
789 church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked
[783] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not
[778] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. (Ἠπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us
[173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939-45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans*. Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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174 villages.) But Capidan[8] and his followers also claimed that the
174 Sarakatsani, far from being the descendants of ancient Greek tribesmen, were not Greeks at all, but Rumanian Koutsovlachs who in comparatively recent times had become hellenized.[9] The complete absence of any reference in Byzantine authors, or in writers of chronicles as late as the eighteenth century, to any communities of shepherds known as Sarakatsani, only increased the temptation to wild flights of speculative fancy by both sides to this controversy. In the absence of any certain historical data much of the argument centred around the interpretation of what little the Sarakatsani themselves had to say about their past, and a number of ingenious but quite improbable solutions to the etymology of the name Sarakatsanos.[10]

The various problems which surround the origins of the Sarakatsani may never find definitive solutions. The affairs of unlettered shepherds were not considered important by classical, Byzantine, or mediaeval writers. The probability that, as a consequence of the existing conditions of climate and relief, transhumant pastoralism of one kind or another has, from the earliest times, been a feature of Greek country life, has no doubt discouraged curiosity and comment. A hundred years ago a significantly higher proportion of the country people lived by the herding of sheep and goats, whether they belonged to genuinely transhumant communities, or to established villages which sent away their animals for six months of the year under the care of shepherds whose families remained in the village. It is only in the last fifty years that, with closer settlement and more intensive agriculture, groups of transhumant shepherds have become a somewhat anomalous element in Greek country life. But the emergence of the different Balkan nationalities is the factor which essentially explains this sudden interest in wandering shepherds. Before and after the Balkan Wars (1912–13),

[13] [8] See Theodor Capidan, 'Saracacianii', *Dacoromania*, 1924–6, vol. 4, pp. 923–59.

[9] Cf. C. Jirec'ek, *Das Fürstentum Bulgarien*, Vienna, 1891, p. 118.

[10] A lucid review of these different solutions is found in an article by Δημ. Γεωργακᾶς, «Περὶ τῶν Σαρακατσανάων τῆς Θράκης», *Ἀρχεῖον τοῦ Θρακικοῦ Λαογραφικοῦ καὶ Γλωσσικοῦ Θησαυροῦ*, 1945–6, vol. 12, pp. 105–28. The second part of this article, 1947–8, vol. 14, pp. 193 ff., is concerned with other aspects of the problem of origin.

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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. 114 174

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13] [197]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs. [531] [532]

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρε'.

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114 or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people,
174 who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e, the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant
[175] life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

174 As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was
[178] ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrián, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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121 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their
182 existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement
361 in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in
182 Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired
174 by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

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7. A. van Gennep: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg: "Les Saracatsans", p. 211.

considers them (on the basis of a hypothesis) as descendants of the Turks settled in the country.

b) The Italian, A. Baldacci (8)

8. A. Baldacci: Itinerari Albanesi /Albanian Travel Diaries/, p. 106 and 254.

maintains that the Sarakatsani are originally Latin (Italiotes), who have become Hellenized.

c) The Rumanian, N. Jorga (9),

9. N. Jorga: Compte rendu sur C. Höeg, p.243-45, and Histoire de Roumains de la péninsule des Balkans, p. 36.

calls them Rumanians who settled in Illyria (present-day Albania), and eventually became Hellenized.

d) The Yugoslav Const. Jirec'ek (10), The Hungarian,

10. C. Jirec'ek: Gesty do Bulgharsky, p. 220.

L. Thalocsy (11), the German Karl Oestreich (12) and the Bulgarian P. Ts'ilef (13), propose that the Sarakatsani are Hellenized Arumani.

11. L. Thalocsy: Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte der Balkanhalbinsel /Contributions to the History of the Settlement of the Balkan Peninsula/, p. 60.

12. K. Oestreich: Die Bevölkerung von Makedonien /The Population of Macedonia/, p. 287.

13. P. Ts'ilef: Les Saracatsans, p. 51 f.

The Rumanian authors P. Papahagi (14), T. Papahagi (15) and T. Capidan (16), likewise adhere to this last theory with this difference that they locate the origin of the Sarakatsani geographically in villages inhabited by the Koutsovalaques in southern Albania.

14. P. Papahagi: Numiri Etnice la Aromani, pages passim.

15. T. Papahagi: Compte rendu sur: C. Höeg, p. 260 f.

174 (113) /6 cont./

16. T. Capidan: "Sarakacianii," (Compte rendu sur C. Höeg), p. 923 f.

174 114 However, none of these authors has been able to bring forward convincing proof in support of their theory about the foreign origin of the Sarakatsani. On the contrary, between Sarakatsani life and that of Rumanians, Arumani, Turks or Albanians there is no affinity or resemblance that would permit such a conclusion. The Hellenization of the Sarakatsani in the course of time, which these authors suggest in order to justify their theory, is an artificial hypothesis. In fact, the Sarakatsani have not mingled with or ever participated in peasant life, nor in the life of other nomads of the country. Now, if they were strangers and did not have contact with the natives how could they have had the opportunity to become Hellenized? Moreover, since they led a life apart from the other inhabitants of Greece, how could their isolation not have contributed to the /7/ preservation and survival rather than the disappearance of their original ethnic traits?

174 114 113 That is why a certain number of other authors, likewise of different nationalities, have maintained that the Sarakatsani are Greeks. They are:

--The Frenchmen L. Heuzey (17) and J. Ancel (18).

17. L. Heuzey: Le mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie p. 200.

18. J. Ancel: La Macédoine, p. 24.

--The Germans G. Stadmuller (19), A. Passow (20), A. Philipson (21), P. Kretschmer (22), Ed. Hermann (23), and P. Wahrmann (24).

19. G. Stadmüller: Problèmes relevant de l'étude historique de l'Épire, p. 156.

20. A. Passow: Carmina Popularia Graeciae Recentioris, p. 648.

21. A. Philipson: Thesalien und Epirus, p. 391.

22. P. Kretschmer: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 180.

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23. Ed. Hermann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 1389.

24. P. Wahrmann: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 359-363.

--The Austrian, A. Haberlandt (25).

25. A. Haberlandt: Compte rendu sur l'ouvrage de C. Höeg, p. 141.

--The Dane, Carsten Höeg (26).

26. C. Höeg: Les Saracatsans, p. 82 f.

--The Bulgarian, A. Ischirkoff (27).

27. A. Ischirkoff: Bulgarien, Land und Leute /Bulgaria, the country and the people/, vol. I, P. 31.

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--Finally, the Greeks, K. Amantos (28), A. Kéramopoulos (29), N. Bées (30), St. Kyriakidès (31), M. Triantaphyllidès (32) (professors at the University of Athens and of Salonica), J. Vlachoyannis (33), P. Aravantinos (34), J. Lambridès (35), K. Krystallis (36), E. Tziantzios (37) and very recently D. Géorgakas (38) and Madame Ang. Hadjimichali (39).

28. Κ. ΑΜΑΝΤΟΣ : Σαράκι καὶ Σαρακάτσανοι, p. 26.
29. Α. ΚΕΡΑΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ : Τί εἶναι οἱ Κουτσοβλάχοι, p. 21.
30. Ν. ΒΕΗΣ : Σαρακατσανοῖοι.
31. Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ : Βιβλιοκρισία ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ *C. Höeg*, p. 266-268.
32. Μ. ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΦΥΛΛΙΔΗΣ, ὁμίλιες, p. 5.
33. Γ. ΒΛΑΧΟΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ : Ν. Κασομούλη : Στρατιωτικὰ ἐνθυμήματα, p. 106.
34. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ : Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου, p. 146-677.
35. Ι. ΛΑΜΠΡΙΔΟΥ : Ἠπειρωτικαὶ Μελέται, p. 12 et 50-51.
36. Κ. ΚΡΥΣΤΑΛΛΗ : Οἱ Βλέχοι τῆς Πίνδου, p. 102.
37. Ε. ΤΖΙΑΝΤΖΙΟΥ : Τραγούδια τῶν Σαρακατσάνων.
38. Δ. ΓΕΩΡΓΑΚΑ : Περὶ τῆς καταγωγῆς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῶν Σαρακατσάνων, p. 94 et suiv.
39. Α. ΧΑΤΖΗΜΙΧΑΛΗ : Σαρακατσάνοι, Α, Ι p. ϛ - ρε'.

These authors do not all agree on the moment when the Sarakatsani appeared. Some of them claim that their origin goes back to antiquity.

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Carsten Höeg, P. Aravantinos, K. Amantos, A. Keramopoulos and Madame Hadjimichali strongly emphasize /8/ this idea. The Germans A. Kretschmer and P. Wharmann share the opinion of C. Höeg, but make no commentary. However, this theory, according to which the Sarakatsani would be Greek nomads going back to antiquity, does not seem to us justified. For in Greek or Latin literature one does not find any illusion by any ancient author to the existence of nomads on Greek soil. Indeed it seems that such a way of life did not exist among the Greeks. (40)

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40. A. Philipson: Das Mittelmeergebiet /The Mediterranean Region/, p. 188.

Madame Hadjimichali tries to explain to us that the Greek writers were not particularly interested in the Sarakatsani since the nomads did not belong to any town and consequently did not really participate in political and historical life. Moreover, she maintains that Sarakatsani art represents a survival of neolithic Greek art and is consequently a proof of the antiquity of their origin.

We find that we must reject these arguments, first because Greek authors, on the contrary, were enormously interested in modes of life different from that of the city: Pausanias, Herodotus, Aristotle, etc., tell us much of it. But they never spoke of Greek nomadism. (41)

[113]

41. These authors were acquainted with nomadism. Aristotle: Politics, book I, chapter III, paragraph 4, in treating the problem of modes of life, mentions nomadism but does not cite it as one of the forms of life of the Hellenes.--Pausanias: Description de la Grèce /Description of Greece/, also speaks of it, three times: book I, chapter VII, paragraph 2, book I, chapter 21, paragraphs 5-6, book VIII, chapter 43, paragraph 3. All these instances concern the barbarians--Libyans (Marmarides), Savromates, Blacks, Scythians.

Thus, if nomadic life had existed, we would certainly find references in legends, tales, folksongs, etc.

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114 What reinforces our objections is the fact that even down the centuries, when the cities no longer existed, we do not find any trace liable to justify this conception. The absolute silence which covers the supposed existence of the Sarakatsani for century after century only confirms the theory that their appearance is much more recent.

Furthermore, the second argument of Madame Hadjimichali based on Sarakatsani art, furnishes no proof either, in view of the fact that it concerns geometric art which one finds almost everywhere (in Kabylia, in Morocco, in Finland, in Peru, in Polynesia, etc.). Moreover forms based on geometric designs can be repeated, without this fact constituting proof of continuity. For these forms are limited by definition.

/9/ Thus it seems that this argumentation is not acceptible.

174 On the other hand, a careful and searching analysis of the idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani in conjuction with a certain number of facts which we shall enumerate below authorizes us to say that we are concerned with a group of sedentary Greek peasants who, from all evidence, were uprooted from their homes during the fourteenth century following an event thereof an unknown nature, and who sought refuge in the mountain region where, in order to survive, the began to practice herding and, as a consequence, nomadism.

This theory which has been proposed by the Greek scholar D. Georgakas, cited above, (42)

42. See p. 14

rests on a number of facts:

1. The idiom spoken by the Sarakatsani is one formed in the northern part of the country before the fourteenth century. Since the Sarakatsani lived isolated from other Hellenes, it would be inconceivable to suppose that they existed earlier than their language. If they had, how could we explain that the latter does not include more archaic elements, since this is the case among the populations of some Greek islands and among the Greeks of the Trebizond region? Nor can their isolation be subsequent to this date.

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174 [166] 2 The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395: "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

/10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into [173] [162] the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth [113] [114]

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174 century by Eustace, Bishop of Salonika entitled "Folklore"
113 (Ta Laographika), edited and annotated by Professor F. Koukoulès
114 (in two volumes, Athens, publication of the Society of Macedonian Studies, 1950)--can be of no use for lack of details.

The same is true of the other work of Professor F. Koukoulès: Vie et Civilisation Byzantines (Vol. I-VI, published in Greek in the Collection of the French Institute of Athens, 1947-1957) for although it includes a wealth of details, it gives information only about urban life.

174 Thus, the arguments presented above permit us to conclude that the Sarakatsani constitute neither an ethnic minority nor a special race, but a part of the Hellenic population, which is distinguishable from the others by the originality of its life-style.

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121 This digression ended, we should like to say that the preceding findings, bearing on the special problems which the Sarakatsani must solve and on the conditions under which these problems must find their solution, have already presented the framework for the present work. As far as our conclusions are concerned, we shall attempt, in an essay of synthesis and explanation, to show the broad principles on which Sarakatsani society and culture are based and to try to examine them from a dynamic perspective, that of the process of their formation and of /11/ the function that has been imparted to them. We shall likewise examine, from the same point of view, the constituent elements of the society and culture of the Sarakatsani and their mutual relationships. Finally, we shall concern ourselves with the character of the culture and the human type corresponding to their socio-cultural system, and we shall close on some findings about the reasons for their [sic] decline.

It remains for us only to present, in a few words, the method and techniques used in carrying out the present work.

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233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

G /200/
671 /200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: «Ἑλλήνων συνεταιρισμοί» with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life.
S 671 It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also
177 favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external
S law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same princi-
[174] ples,despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis,
[114] absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of data.

G Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within
671 the framework of the second period:
175 When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new
S state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to
[671] the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.
[177] The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely
G disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took
648 many years before services were created, before archives and registers
729 were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have
641 all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on
671 their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

/260 cont./

796 789 535 533 [539]

and the multicolored viper
as a collar around your neck...
/261/ May the stones of this house
never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 789 533 796 174

The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 789 796 823

It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil subterranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun, driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same forces, (35)

533 796 789 796 [821] [825]

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

Sara Katsani EH14

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece

Vlachs EH15

G. F. Abbott, *The Tale of a Tour in Macedonia* (London, 1903), gives evidence of the degree of Hellenization of the Vlachs fifty years ago.

H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future* (London, 1906), devotes a whole chapter to the Vlachs, beginning with the description of Pisoderi, which he considers a typical village. He also, contrary to Abbott above, foresees a weakening of connection between the Vlachs and the Greeks.

Rennell Rodd traces the derivations of the word Vlach and provides some historical background in his book *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* (London, 1892).

9. This is a thoroughgoing study of their migration practices, costumes, birth, marriage, burial customs, intervillage relationships, the distribution of the Vlachs, the Vlach language, and the history and origin of the Balkan Vlachs. Full citation is: A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans: An Account of Life and Customs Among the Vlachs of Northern Pindus* (London, 1914).

Without attempting to cover the references to the Vlachs in other Balkan languages, I might mention one in Serbo-Croatian, entitled *O Cincarima* (Concerning the Cincari), by D. J. Popovic (Beograd, 1937). These Tsintsars are Serbized Vlachs, who have also become urbanized. Th. Capidan, himself a Koutso-Vlach who studied and lived in Roumania, has written very extensively about these Balkan nomads, primarily with the purpose of showing that all of them, even the Greek-speaking Sarakatsani, were originally Koutso-Vlachs. See his *Les Macédo-roumains. Esquisse historique et descriptive des populations roumaines* (Bucarest, 1937).

10. See Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans, une tribe grecque* (Paris, 1925), for an excellent linguistic study. D. J. Georgacas, in his "Peri tes katagoges ton Sarakatsanaion kai tou Onomatos Auton" (Concerning the Origin of the Sarakatsani and Their Name), *Archeion Thrakikou Glossikou kai Laographikou Thesaurou,* XIV (1948–49), 193–270, argues against Höeg's theory that the Sarakatsani derive from an ancient nomadic tribe and claims that they did not become nomadic until the late Middle Ages.

11. This work of Demosthenes Sirakes is the best Greek source on the nomads. It discusses almost every possible aspect of their life, particularly in the economic sphere, and tries to indicate how the nomadic livestock producers can best be settled. Although the figures quoted here are old, they are probably as reliable as most estimates would be today. Full citation of the article is: "Orismos nomadikes, monimou kai georgikes ktenotrophias e e nomadike ktenotrophia en Helladi," *Georgikon Deltion tes Hellenikes Georgikes Etaireias* (Agricultural Bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society), XII (1925), 651–777.

12. Z. Duckett Ferriman, mentioned in note 7 above, has even more to say about the undesirable qualities of the nomads (see pp. 45–54). He calls the reader's attention to the shepherds' dogs as follows: "We are apt to associate the name of sheep dog with collie. That graceful and sympathetic member of the canine family is far removed from the savage cerberi who guard the folds of Greece. Huge and powerful mastiffs, with heavy jowls and ensanguined eyes, they are no doubt valuable auxiliaries in the presence of marauding wolves. But, like their master, they are of low intelligence, and they take everyone except their masters for a wolf" (p. 52).

13. The work by K. Koukkides, *To pnevma tou synergatismou ton neoteron hellenon kai t'Ambelakia, o protos synetairismos tou kosmou* (Athens, 1948), is a splendid source for the study of patterns of mutual aid.

14. It is of historic interest to note that many of these chief shepherds became important klephts during the days of Turkish rule over Epirus and Northern Greece. If the klepht was friendly to you, he was known as a guerrilla leader; if he opposed you, he was a bandit. It was ever thus in the Balkans.

15. For a scholarly treatment in Greek of the tselingata, one should consult K. Karavides, *Agrotika* (Concerning Rural Life) (Athens, 1931). He analyzes for the rural Balkans as a whole four major forms of economic organization: the tselingata, the feudal tsifliki (estate), the patriarchal family which he associates with the zadruga, and the kephalochoria, or independent village where the peasants were their

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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114 or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people,
174 who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant
[175] life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

174 As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was
[178] ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times.'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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the privileges of self-administration that have been described and which were not finally abrogated until 1866. So many men could not have left their families and villages unprotected, nor would there have been any security for the wealth they amassed, had the reciprocal rights and obligations of the authorities and the Zagori villages not been clearly acknowledged on both sides. In this situation an important sanction was the presence in Constantinople of a number of rich Zagori notables able to communicate the grievances of their compatriots directly to the Sultan. Not only were they able to dispense bribes to high officials on behalf of the confederation but they supplied the central Government with intelligence about the movements and intentions of the local governor in Jannina who was not infrequently intriguing against his own masters in Constantinople. Even in the case of Ali the Lion, the most powerful and greedy of Jannina's rulers, an awareness of this introduced some restraint into his dealings with the Zagori.

This concern with commerce and the professions, and the imperial ambience in which their local politics were implicated, gave the inhabitants of these villages a cosmopolitan rather than a peasant outlook. It is true that until 1912 they assiduously worked the small pockets of cultivable land and tended their vines and fruit trees, but generally with the manpower of gipsies or families of lower status. A few men of Zagori possessed large flocks of sheep but no self-respecting citizen of this district could himself lead the life of a shepherd. Consequently by the nineteenth century, if not earlier, shepherding in central, western, and much of eastern Zagori, whether of village sheep or their own, was in the hands of the Sarakatsani.

The villages in the plains of Jannina, Arta, and Preveza were in a different and less enviable situation. Originally many of their lands had been military fiefs. In terms of agricultural wealth they were richer than mountain villages but geographically they were more vulnerable to intimidation and exploitation. By the kind of process that has been described, most of these fiefs in time became private estates, chiftliks. By the early nineteenth century these areas had been considerably depopulated as a consequence of the capricious administration of chiftlik proprietors or their agents, and through looting by Albanian bands in the frequent disturbances of civil order during this period.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συλλίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own, were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
101 them in March the following year, when I was
114 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
122 in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
221 Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
342 halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
342 green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
161 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
233 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have mountain villages from which to migrate and to which
233 they return after their half-yearly journeys in
101 search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
175 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
131 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the
221

[p. 74-A]

175 221 131 nomads with the widest range of migration. The sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

175 131 221 101 Enormous though these journeys were, they were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for, until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So strong is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

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174 [166] 2 The various regions of Greece experienced many exoduses in the course of that epoch. One can cite several cases of entire populations taking refuge in the mountain region and establishing new villages in order to escape the oppression of invaders.

[175] 3. A pattern of life of nomadic sheep herders did exist in the country from the eleventh century on, according to the testimony of the imperial princess of Byzantium, Anne Comnène, who is regarded as one of the most famous chroniclers of her time. (43)

43. Anne Comnène /sic/, edited by Bonne, I, p. 395. "... those who have chosen the nomadic life commonly call themselves Valaques." We know that the Valaques practiced sheep breeding.

4. The ethnological analysis of certain customs observed among them indicates practices of agricultural origin. This conclusion is verified by the fact that these same very ancient customs are found among the agricultural populations of the north. (44)

44. See below pp. 290-294, 302-303, 322-324, etc.

Now, would a people who were nomadic from the beginning have preserved the practiced customs of this kind?

[173] [166] /10/ 5. Finally, their collective memory still recalls "a flight into the mountain region to escape oppression, and the subsequent adoption of the life of stock-breeding nomads." To tell the truth, considering the nature of the soil of the Hellenic peninsula, herding constituted their only available means of meeting their material needs.

Obviously, if to these five arguments (the first of which was proposed by D. Géorgakas and the others by ourselves) one could add a sixth, namely, the preservation among the Sarakatsani of customs existing formerly among the populations of the north of Greece, one would reinforce this theory. Unfortunately, the intellectual heritage of the Greek middle ages, the accounts and testimonies of chroniclers, do not include descriptions of popular life to which one could refer. And the only work of [113] [114] this kind which we actually possess--a work written in the twelfth

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361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

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361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

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Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

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In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

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Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

1. See particularly: Ἀπό τήν Λογίας Παραδόσεως εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κώδικα. — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

S /197 cont./
671 local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges
171 resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered
G according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as
671 the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)
175

3. CL N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Τινά περί τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν προνομίων. — N. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ : Τό Ἑλληνικόν Δημόσιον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΣΟΠΟΤΟΥ : « Γῆ καί Γεωργοί τῆς Θεσσαλίας ». — G. TENEKINES : *La notion juridique de l'indépendance.*

S A third movement must still be added: justice administered by
671 arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.
171
G As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law,
671 the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the
175 Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters
692 already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: Ἐπίσημα Γράμματα Τουρκικά.

S Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was
671 immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private)
175 first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

S At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the
671 official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the
175 rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals
G had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual
671 law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided
175 the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.
[692]

S /198 cont:/
671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this
[128] law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175] /199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
[638]

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 <u>Gradual liberation of the country</u>.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

G 175 548 922 <u>Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.</u>

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

S /403 cont./
175 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
177 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
121 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
G government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
175 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
648 were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
782 of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made
S to disappear.
[425]

S The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

175 The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
177 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
233 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
474 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
420 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
178 started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
S Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
474 of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
233 obliged to seek individual solutions.
178
177

S The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

177 In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
175 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
S registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
[656] consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S 177 175 /404 cont./
cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S 177 311 G 311 S [361] b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S 177 464 562 c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S 177 871 d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S 177 423 [452] [233] [241] The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures. Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S 177 423 656 G 656 423 At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result, all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on leased sites.

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 182 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be formulated:

177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 182 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we [176] were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

/ix cont./

121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social 121 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals: 177 one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the 178 third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding. Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which, assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community, hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed. To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

***

621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[196] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been [177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the [322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

283
824
→

Fig. 23

/45 cont./

233

Fig. 33 Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton [177] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.'

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40) are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

/Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

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The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 182 177 [176] To this characteristic another should be added, namely the traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

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/120 cont./

105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44), which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
[171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28)

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

in the highest degree.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 474 554 434 [436] [581] /163 cont./
not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 554 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 474 177 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a [872] [875] [562] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.

* * * *

596 594 [561] The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 594 613 554 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/175 cont./
233 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
427
571 (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small
426 herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the
177 peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing
484 funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only
426 rational solution for the indigent.
596

596 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended
494 family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock
496 which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with
233 other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their
464 supplementary work potential.

233 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to
177 say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their
[212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to
177 prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-
554 economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary
494 education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the
494 economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family
[233] already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/184 cont./

619 186 [474] Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 474 596 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

177 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign. [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./

619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
[179] and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[494] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[494] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

596 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

[571] This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/192 cont./

436 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
437 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
474 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
54
[489]
[171]

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
[421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
433
562

/192 cont./

462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
342 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly
562 related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
● 177 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

S /198 cont./

671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S
[128] We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175]

/199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
[688]

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.

177 [688] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 627 692 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani, for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 177 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 [178] It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/200/

G 671 /200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: «Ἑλλήνων συστηματώσεις» with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life. It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also S 671 177 favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same principles, despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis, S {174} {114} absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of data.

G 671 175 Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within the framework of the second period:

When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new S {671} {177} state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.

G 648 729 The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G 641 It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G 671 Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

/200 cont./

G 671 has developed gradually and in step with the organization of the administration.

S 671 177 However, the actual and practical introduction of public law among the /201/ Sarakatsani was disastrous to their way of life. The obligatory contacts with the sedentary population (army, dependence on villages), participation in political activity (elections, participation in local administration), the social policy of the State (integration of the Sarakatsani into agricultural cooperatives, concession of building sites, etc.), the legal control of their lives (application of the penal law, application of rules of public order), etc., have created conditions altogether unfavorable to their culture. Moreover, to the extent that our herders became legally villagers and found themselves involved in relationships and situations to which public law was applicable, they were obliged to conform to it and to adopt arrangements issuing from official private law.

G 671

Now the latter was also disastrous for Sarakatsani life, because it was promulgated, not in terms of their kind of life or of other kinds of traditional life that existed in the country, but according to principles of legal science formulated by lawyers, hence by technicians, who more often preferred faultless scientific constructions to what popular opinio necessitatis had developed in the course of centuries.

In this leveling and colorless juridical ambience Sarakatsani law has no chance to survive. Thus, the legal dualism of which we spoke at the beginning is yielding little by little to a monism, that of official law, public as well as private.

The day when this monism will be generally imposed is not far off. And that very day will sound the knell of the Sarakatsani, as such, since that law is deeply grafted to social reality.

* * * *

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 627 692 691 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another. Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [177] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 627 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[474] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, 60, 30, 8 et 5, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἐκκλησιαστικῶν Διατάξεων συλλογή, in : M. P. G., 104, 1 340, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[520] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
198

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
128

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 811 197 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 596 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence 796 comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood 788 of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above 474 554

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782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
77 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

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Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 163

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19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tseligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four"
(the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who
barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

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771 186 177 829 [429] who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand, since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 539 177 829 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another kind and very significant for our point of view.

--One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[178] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arà̀dhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/354 cont./

829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
564 the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
[596] the group and its good functioning.
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On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
[811] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
[562] guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

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181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
[197] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
[361] tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

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533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 535 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 533 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

/369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
177 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

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121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
496 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
496 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/401 cont./

598 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their
275 realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the
182 means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.
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121 As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists
[626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates
[177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional
178 elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing
182 the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of looseming the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions - too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 <u>Gradual liberation of the country</u>.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

G 175 648 722 <u>Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.</u>

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

S 175 177 121 G 175 648 722 S [425]

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region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

S 175 177 233 494 429 178 S 494 233 178 177

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

S 177 175 S [656]

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
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Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] [233] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[241] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
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177 241 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of [452] raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

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177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

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177 [114]

5. We may be criticized, and rightly so, for having silently passed over another decisive factor of change in the Sarakatsani type of life. This is "acculturation." We should like to explain that our silence in this matter is due to the fact that we have for several years been preparing a special study on this problem, which will soon appear.

Hence a dramatic struggle of these strained elements toward the quest for a new formula.

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CONCLUSION

Homo Saracatsanus

121 To know the Sarakatsani in his totality and on the basis of his socio-cultural works, this has been the objective we set ourselves in presenting this work. An ambitious goal, to be sure (more especially since the existing scientific means permit only approximations which rest on modest contributions), but a natural result of this anthropological study.

We shall now try to draw the profile of the Sarakatsani, the picture of the man who created the socio-cultural reality that we have analyzed and who, in turn, has been created by his own creations. In order to do this we shall turn to what is original and distinctive in him. This picture we have called homo saracatsanus, even though current terminology designates with similar words entire species and not simply variants. May we be pardoned for the heresy in the name of the evocative power of the formula.

We shall not go back to the works of the Sarakatsani in order not to repeat ourselves. We shall consider this dimension of our present problem as known. We shall proceed from another dimension which we shall call "Sarakatsani Anthropology" and which we can circumscribe in a formula that will at the same time outline the plan of our account.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

114 or disprove. Mme Chatzimichalis believes that they are a people,
174 who, in their pastoral way of life, social organization, and art, show forth certain prototypical elements of early Greek culture.[15] She is much impressed, for instance, by the similarities between the motifs of Sarakatsan decorative art and those of the 'geometric' style of pre-classical Greece.

Professor Höeg claims that a comparison of the Sarakatsan dialect with the other dialects of continental Greece[16] suggests that it was formed some four or five centuries ago. Arrived at this point in time he observes that although the peoples which invaded the Balkans during the Middle Ages, i.e. the Slavs, Bulgars, Turks, and Tartars, were all of nomadic origin, they rapidly changed to an agricultural economy as soon as they were established in Europe. Further, it is only in quite exceptional circumstances that sedentary populations revert to nomadism. The Sarakatsan material culture, he argues, shows no trace of sedentary origins; on the contrary it follows with precision and simplicity from the conditions of transhumant
[175] life in a particular physical environment. And on the other hand Höeg is able to supply literary evidence[17] that forms of transhumance existed in classical and Hellenistic Greece; particularly in northern and north-western Greece. By a form of argument *ex ignorantia* we arrive at the conclusion that the Sarakatsani, a people without history, must always have lived in more or less the same conditions and areas as we find them today.

174 As is proper for a social anthropologist not concerned with the problem of origins, my own more limited conclusion is that in their social values and institutions, the Sarakatsani, as they exist today, provide no evidence of a past history that was
[175] ever anything but Greek. They still hold to what villagers now describe as 'the old customs', moral attitudes in family and community which a hundred years ago were general throughout Greek mountain communities, and still persist today, although now in conflict with other values of urban and alien origins.

[15] Ibid., vol. i, Part A, in the section 'Sarakatsani, nomads since ancient times?'

[16] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 82 ff.

[17] For instance; Sophocles, Oedipus Rex, line 1135 ff.; Arrian, Anabasis, VII.9.2.

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συλλίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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584 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than
554 the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the
572 other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results
612 from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute
583 wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The
425 corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals,
[422] money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more.
[435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of
[178] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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584 within eight days. If the negotiator has worked skilfully, there is little chance of the girl's family rejecting the proposal. Within a few days a kinsman of the girl's family arrives at the future bridegroom's homestead, inviting the family to come to the home of the girl's family on the next Sunday to effect the betrothal contract (τὸ σύβιασμα).

[178] It is only in the last ten years that the betrothal ceremony, under the influence of village customs, has developed into a feast where both the families participate. Previously, the father or eldest brother came alone to the girl's house. He was offered Turkish delight and ouzo (κέρασμα), and immediately afterwards the two heads of family exchanged the rings, an act which indicated the formal sealing of the contract. The girl's representative handed over her wedding ring, tied in a white handkerchief, which contained also, rice, red and white wool, and a gold sovereign. In return, he took from the bridegroom's brother, or father, the ring which was to be worn by the groom at the wedding ceremony. Each side kept the other's ring until the day of the marriage as a pledge that the marriage contract would be honoured.

584 178 At the modern betrothal feast the exchange of rings is effected in the same manner. But in place of the single representative the whole of the bridegroom's family together with various close kinsmen make the journey on the appointed Sunday to the home of the bride's family where they are entertained with feasting and dancing until the early hours of the Monday morning. There is something inappropriate about this act of 584 178 578 commensality between future affines. At the moment of betrothal there are only feelings of suspicion and distrust between the two sides. This is reflected in the unhappy record of betrothal feasts since this village custom was adopted. Brawling between hosts and guests is not infrequent and generally the result of these celebrations is that relations between the two groups deteriorate yet further.

584 Under the old convention, when the groom's representative arrived to exchange the rings, it was customary to hide away the future bride in the hut of a close kinsman. The ostensible purpose of this manœuvre was to protect the reputation and sensibilities of the maiden from the shame of suffering the gaze of her future father- or brother-in-law. But, also, it was thought

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man [627] from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour. [614] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 178 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret. 584 178

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction. 584 [578]

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told 583

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596 for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
626 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] [i.e.: the taking over of family authority by the son] — Analyst

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [851]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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Greece EH1

S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 G 441 439 S [426] The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
a Zagori

a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones. [354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

114 lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

114 The author is now advanced in years, and the
178 bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken
[115] some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

221 The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is
[229] never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

996 Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

221 All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or
289 Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires,
werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony
[277] and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B] drop-ears

/ix cont./

121 cannot do without knowing what it is. That is the prime motive of the sciences of humankind and it amply justifies their existence.

To study in detail the situation of a category of human beings who are in the process of disappearing can serve the noble purpose of helping them in their distress, of inducing society to help them survive or die more tranquilly. This is a pious illusion, for social 121 177 178 progress wipes out cultures without shedding the blood of individuals: one generation will perchance regret, the second will adapt itself, the third has forgotten. Better cared for, better fed, better housed, the grandchildren of the last Sarakatsani shepherds, having become good servants of modern economy, will feed their imagination, like everybody else, on the pastoral adventures of a fictitious people, the cowboys of the Far West, the universal symbol of freedom in herding. Unless folklore is born from the ashes of Greek pastoral life, and unless in a century, thanks to this book, the adventures of the wild Thessalian nomads will be restored to the descendants of shepherds. In any case, we come back to the fact that humanity will have maintained its indispensable image of itself.

121 One could conceive of a third angle of vision, from which, assuming the principle that diversity of methods of production could lead to an economy less reckless in its consumption, one could imagine a veritable transposition from the archaic pastoral nomad to a modern pastoral nomad. It is here that an in-depth study without an apparent practical aim could, in the future, actually serve a /x/ concrete purpose. Every society that endures in a certain way of life performs an experiment the evidence of which cannot be useless. The general laws of equilibrium of human groups have been scarcely glimpsed. The subtle interplay of technical, economic, social, religious, esthetic values gives the feeling of actually being an individual within a community, hence of a truly significant unit. This interplay is discerned by sociologists, but its rules are only on the verge of being analyzed. To reason coldly, it matters very little whether an economy of a type

/xii/ /blank/

/1/

Introduction

121 Nomadic Shepherds of the Mediteranean--the Sarakatsani of Greece:
178 the title already announces the content of this work; the study of one of the forms of traditional life that are decreasing rapidly in the Mediterranean countries, under the influence of what we commonly call "progress."

121 This work, undertaken several years ago, comes under the heading of contemporary social-cultural anthropology and is defined within its framework.

However, since the scope and point of view of this discipline are still the object of epistemological controversies, it will be advisable to answer two fundamental questions: What are the problems relevant to anthropology? And, consequently, what is the precise orientation of this work?

In order to answer them we should recall the discussion of the function of anthropology already begun in the early part of the century, succinctly summarized in the contribution of G. Balandier to Traité de Sociologie, published under the editorship of G. Gurvitch. (1)

[113] 1. See G. Gurvitch: Traité de Sociologie vol. 1, chat. v. "Sociologie, Ethnologie et Ethnographie", by G. Balandier, p. 99-113 and bibliographic citations.

It is well known that the teachings of British and American schools of anthropology represent the chief poles of divergence. The first is oriented more towards the study of social relations and structures, while the second is directed more towards culture, the ideological and material assets of societies. (2)

[113] 2. See, for example, the works of A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Structure and Function in Primitive Society and A.L. Kroeber (ed.): Anthropology Today /both titles cited in English/, representatives of the divergence; as well as the controversy between G.P. Murdock and R. Firth in: American Anthropologist, vol. 53, no. 4, 1951, cited by G. Balandier, ibid.

/17 cont./
published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

--The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

--Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.

178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

***

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

412 /36/
415 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood,
824 oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani
[178] use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an
415 obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho,
296 a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now
234 have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce
[824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178]
[361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 53 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79).A Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[071] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

A. [Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental
178 Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it
[171] is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118]

[Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

583 /137 cont./
585 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
602 In impeccable fashion and bright
533 As the sun and the moon...
539 You must prostrate yourself,
562 You must honor your mother-in-law.
And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 (516) custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
(178) but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

[233] --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept [464] work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

[254] --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are [286] occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

[656] --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
554 give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
[584] of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[178] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very
[584] significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ <u>A strict hierarchy also exists among the women</u>. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/179 cont./

474 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who
554 have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage,
[434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not
[432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude
576 that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is
178 not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close obser-
675 vation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family
596 and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements
675 which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>
554 The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
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[188] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
627 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
177 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[198] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/253 cont./

different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon, there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in the great creative force which dominates the world and which is personified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity. It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Basilica, 60, 39, 5 et 8, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἑκλογοποιοῦν Διονύσιον ἐπίλογοι, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 349, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and ~~also Hera~~, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Ἡρακλῆς I, 314, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δεύκαλος τῶν Πλατωνίου, 6,

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΗΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, 1, 547 f.

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[178]

These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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536
[533]
[535]

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/273 cont./

751 789 [237] [832] used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171] 66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΥ: Δημοτικά, κ. ἀτρ.

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 585 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.

[178] [785] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches, aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

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in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5.

(Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p. 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21, citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

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Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulder-blade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

[182] The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/326 cont./

representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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796 533 [532] [471] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΚΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΤΥΛΟΛΑΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 181 sqq.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.p83

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

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The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
777 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have
[777] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

777 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
[782] disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[779] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the
789 magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany
[178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the
789 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual
533 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the
585 verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in
[531]
[535]
[538]

/366 cont./

789 company sings in her name and addresses the companions
533 of the fiance:
586
(539) --My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
53 peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
789 magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

53 The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
178 amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

<u>Table songs</u> sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental
(648) songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[233] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
[152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

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Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

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4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
[178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

/368 cont./

with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

/369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/370 cont./

53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully – the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function
462 or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
561 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

/374 cont./

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Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

[237] [783]

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

[718]

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/376/

PART FOUR

REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121

After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

/401 cont./

578 275 182 183 121 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists [626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates both these models and the social equilibrium. [177] Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional 178 elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing 182 the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

G 175 548 122 Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

/412 cont./

181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

* * * *

198 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel
198 about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

/412 cont./

human being.

Nevertheless, the means at the disposal of contemporary man by our urbanized and technicized civilization for /413/ an improvemnt of his condition also bear bitter fruits. The price of comfort and well-being is too often agony, insecurity, dehumanization of work, constant dissatisfaction, the rupture of ties between men, solitude, social injustice.

When one considers slums and shanty towns, when one consults the statistics dealing with certain diseases (neurosis and psychosis), prostitution or criminality, in countries in the process of rapid development, the picture takes on a disquieting glare.

Then, comparisons become inevitable. We are surely not advocates of the myth of the "noble savage" nor of maxims recommending "the return to nature." And we have no illusions about the condition of the Sarakatsani. However, one fact is certain: among them the phenomena of social pathology are unknown.

Thus, change among our herders, rapid and without any preparation that could lessen the brutality of the shock, fills us with great disquiet.

However, it is quite necessary to recognize and perhaps accept it: progress presupposes "human cost." "History," once the threshold of "tradition" is crossed, flounders but advances on muddy ground, drenched with sweat and, in some cases, with the blood of "human beings," the heirs of Prometheus.

/pp. 413-424 of foreign text not translated/

1: Campbell EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

181

/Information on social values, honor, prestige, etc., have been marked for category 577./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[p. 19]

II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. 181 182

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the 233 [422]

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γειουσάμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high 233
above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, 221
they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common 474
grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on 361
whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families un- 591
connected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during [578]
these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more
intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels.
It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total com-
munity is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative
difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390
square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shep- [574]
herds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance.
At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and
exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity
to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social
exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent
and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a fur- 233
ther consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which 474
are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of 591
intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens 578
even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the [181]
co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and
frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shep-
herds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circum-
stance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically
isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the
different flocks which have been described, limits the potential
moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The ani-
mals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep them-
selves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive
and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the
absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of
human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his
work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or
less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since
there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the
summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries
with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

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But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[5] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

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[113]

[5] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The family and the flock are both forms divinely
confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy 181
archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by 182
God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. 233
Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements 59
none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal cousin as his most trusted friend.

When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters simply because they are males and not because they are specifically agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is 181
considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is 562
at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior [183]
not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a [602]
unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these 591
preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his 596
father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained 596
on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Else- 591
where in the Greek world, where masculine values and pref- [191]
erence for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family [594]
of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[761] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[201] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

[p.85-A]

S 181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal straitjackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

S 114 [101] G- [669] I first caught a glimpse of them in December, when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw them again in early spring four months later near the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the S [361] birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After lighthearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12. Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
671 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and /one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/218 cont./

627 682 [602] [581] [182] 33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

627 628 682 182

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

[562]

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

837 181 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
[171] it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

/240 cont./

577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

* * * *

577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

/242 cont./

577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. (626) Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

/243 cont./

[577] [180] [671] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/

PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

/247 cont./

123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
124 to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/346 cont./

771 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively
181 and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an
829 expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is
157 not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)
781

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them
[174] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in parti-
771 cular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above
157 all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere,
[182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f.,
776 maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation
114 of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/354 cont./

829 562 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
[596] the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
[424] the group and its good functioning.
[621]

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
[811] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
[562] guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
[177] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
[361] tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by
[613] the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
182 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
361 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
233 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
182 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-
462 patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
182 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
291 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
261 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality -
181 frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 291 261 181 /382 cont./
in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among women).

182 671 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism, 182 671 681 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions; that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal [626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand, 182 579 181 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition, family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
496 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
496 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [971] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

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121 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings
182 that might alter the picture.

121 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply
182 a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on
233 nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani
181 culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion
191 to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

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121 181 171 Now, the culture in question belongs indubitably to the cultural area, in the meaning given this term by Mauss, of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean, and more precisely still, of the European Southeast. All the aspects examined testify to this. Technology /394/ and crafts, ideas governing family life, the system of socio-economic organization, magic, cosmology, anthropology, finally religion are deeply impregnated with the ideological universe established in this region of the world for centuries. Sarakatsani culture embraces elements, laid down in successive and super imposed layers, derived from all the civilizations that have appeared here from remotest antiquity. The preceding chapters having sufficiently shown the temporal dimension of this culture, we shall not speak of it again. We shall merely round out our previous remarks by a few words about the principle of cooperation and its forms among our nomads because of the lively discussion that this principle has called forth among certain historians.

121 171 Now, the idea of family cooperation was very soon put into practice among the populations of the Hellenic Peninsula. Life within the framework of the Greek genos, of which we have spoken before, is based on this same idea, despite its own peculiarities. We find it again in a later epoch, during the Hellenic middle ages where it is reflected in the nomos georgikas, the agrarian law of the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II (685-697; 705-711 A.D.), according to which "the inhabitants of the village appear at the same time to be joined together in a community; moreover, unlike the tilled fields, the orchards and the kitchen gardens which are the personal property of individuals, the pastures, the woods as well as all the other uncultivated land are the common property of the village. The village community is considered by the authorities as an administrative and fiscal unit, as a taxable unit..." (7)

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171 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it,
233 even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Κ. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ: Ἀγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas"
233 and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore
171 ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the
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171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and
182 ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

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177 433 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 554 181 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

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181

/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
[182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
[626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
[829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

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121 They show that the latitude offered the Sarakatsani to give free rein
181 to their originality, namely to their temperament, their talents, their imagination, is not very great. The latitude is provided in advance and obeys predictable models. This formula does not mean that our herders are automatons whose strings are pulled by their society and their culture, but merely that they are not supposed to go beyond certain norms. The fact that they are honored when they distinguish themselves in accomplishing certain tasks perfectly shows that Sarakatsani society knows how to appreciate talent and originality.
121 However, it does not permit the non-observance of the "prescribed."
181 This means that the Sarakatsani become "typical" individuals. (2)
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2. See M. Mead's distinction between "typical" and "atypical": Ibid., p. 268.

Those who are atypical are not tolerated. They are, in fact threatened with social banishment. Sarakatsani social molding is
121 therefore total. And, to express this statement on another level, we
181 might say that among them traditional cultural works /411/ flow into their psyches; in other words, their total social and psychological phenomena overlap almost completely. (3)

3. Inspired by G. Gurvitch.

Nevertheless, Sarakatsani society is interested not only in the molding of its members, but also in their destiny. It provides for them socially, it puts at their disposal its organization and its means. All the solutions of their vital problems that it has adopted converge toward "a primitive, socio-economic planning," according to a formula by Radin, (4)

4. See P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, pp. 99 and 201.

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121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-
[554] economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 181 156 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such. The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

* * * *

181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

3: Kabbadias--479 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/412 cont./

181 clearly to their advantage. The Sarakatsani "is not afraid to look straight into the sun." Between him and the universe there is no impassable abyss. For he feels capable of making a bridge across the void of creating what to the peasants and townspeople seems impossible, without compromising and without bending their backs. And how could it be otherwise? The mountain is a school of virility and up there there is room only for men who know how to struggle against nature, against their neighbor, against themselves. A great school, which brings to Greece human patterns of an exceptional quality, for the Sarakatsani and more generally all highlanders, have heroically defended its liberty and preserved its immense resources by renewal and creation.

* * * *

178 At the moment we write these lines the Sarakatsani are abandoning more and more rapidly the elements of their cultural uniqueness. In a few years there will be nothing left of it. A mixed economy, agriculture and sedentary or transhumant herding, has replaced the old system. The children go to school regularly and aspire to various careers. A small test we asked some Sarakatsani school children to take showed that the boys dreamed of the braid of an officer or a pilot, of a merchant's cash, of the salary of a specialized technician, while the girls longed for a sewing machine or a knitting machine, for the teacher's profession, for a realm certainly modest but how significant, to be mistress of a house.

121 Faced with this change, we cannot help asking ourselves how we feel
178 about it.

From the "humanitarian" point of view it is no doubt permissible. The Sarakatsani must have his place within the framework of the general change and of the present effort to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the globe. He too must commence to live like a "civilized"

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 19]

II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. 181 182

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the 233 [422]

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γιουσέμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

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But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[6] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

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[6] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

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The family and the sheep are both to have divinely
confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy 181
archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by 182
God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. 233
Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements 59
none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[735] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 771 783 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 [156]

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

121 /3 cont./
orientation of the analyses we are going to undertake, requires us to take a stand, even briefly, and to say what we ourselves mean by the term culture.

All creations merit the term culture which are relevant to man's constant effort to conquer all the obstacles he comes up against in the process of ceaselessly adjusting to the conditions imposed upon by his natural and social environment.

In other words, culture is merely the "composite of solutions and responses" that man puts forth in order to satisfy his material, psychological, spiritual, and social needs as these are formed by the concrete conditions of his existence. This composite varies according to societies and different periods of life of the latter; it is transmitted traditionally by custom and enriched by innovations and creations which are ceaselessly added to it.

It will be agreed, we hope, that this definition which /4/ is partly inspired by contemporary anthropology (6)

[113] 6. See: M.J. Herskovits: Man and his Works p.154; A.L.Kroeber: Anthropology p.8-9; B. Malinowski: A Scientific Theory of Culture, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1944, p. 36; F. Boas: "Anthropology," in Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, vol. 2, New York 1930, p. 79; C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale Paris 1958, p.390, etc.

is free from all philosophical or other bias and yet does not distort reality. It seems, therefore, to have all the qualities necessary for the guiding thread of our investigation.

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121 182 Placed in a pre-determined environment, the Sarakatsani, like any other human being, must apply his ingenuity to the solution of his vital problems in a manner peculiar to him, and in that manner we can recognize the originality of his way of life.

Thus, if the present work is conducted from an anthropological

/4 cont./

121 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and
182 try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

[361] On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved
[221] are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/5 cont./

121 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their
182 existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement
361 in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in
182 Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired
174 by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

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361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

342
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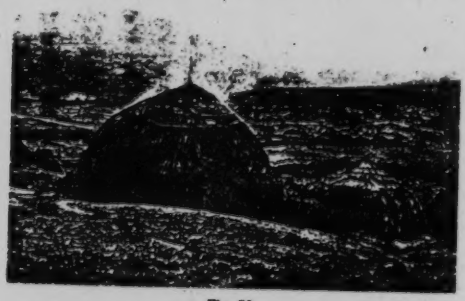

Fig. 78

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).*

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

*. [Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/120 cont./

121 could only partially be accomplished, chiefly because these herders make each object they need only once. Thus the observer can follow the making of the latter only occasionally. As a result, there is a gap here, which is all the more regrettable since it does not permit the establishment of the links existing between the chain of procedures in question and the corresponding nucleus in society--a significant aspect of the life of every traditional society.

105 Nevertheless, some positive and general findings should be
182 formulated:
177 To begin with, all the technology described which deals with crafts, clothing or food, etc., is southeast European or Euroasian technology. The geographical position of the Hellenic Peninsula, as well as the stages of its history, its contacts over the centuries with the Mediterranean world, on the one hand, and the Asiatic peoples on the other, justify this identification.

105 Then, the most salient characteristic of all the technology is
182 their great simplicity. All the crafts analyzed can be practiced by anyone at all, and demand only a minimum of knowledge, experience and skill.

The same holds true for the raw materials and the necessary tools.

105 To this characteristic another should be added, namely the
182 traditional character of this technology, in the sense that innovations
177 practically never occur. Our own experience taught us that each time we
[176] were able to observe variations of technology in the different groups we studied, they were a phenomenon of acculturation. The changes took place through the adoption of models coming from the outside. Of course, the integration of new elements was always accompanied by some adaptation or reinterpretation. (27)

27. On the idea of reinterpretation see: M. J. Herskovits: Les bases de l'anthropologie, p. 259f., as well as the commentaries of R. Bastide: Religions africanes. p. 17.

/120 cont./

105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44), which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
[191] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28) in the highest degree.

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

/021 cont./

105 That the technological expression of Sarakatsani society bears the
182 imprint of its fundamental conditions (pastoral life, nomadism, isolation, possibilities offered by geographic environment, etc.) is sufficiently evident, so there is no necessity to stress it further.

The dialogue between this society and its technology thus results in a true harmony of their respective aspects--a harmony of a definite effectiveness in the structuring of this human environment.

/122/ PART TWO

/123/ THE SOCIAL WORLD

121 KINFOLK, OTHER SARAKATSANI, THE SOCIETY AS A WHOLE

Kinfolk, other Sarakatsani, and their society as a whole constitute new aspects, three fundamental problems which are at the basis of the Sarakatsani social world in the strict sense of the term.

The kin, the other Sarakatsani, their integration into multiple groups, these groups themselves and their mutual inter-relationships, these are the specific sociological aspects of the more general problem of life together, of establishing relationships between people within their ingroup as well as with other people, a problem can find its solution only in the making of effective arrangements.

128 The present section will be devoted to it. We shall study succesively the forms of group life which constitute the core of it. How they come about. How they are organized and how they function, while reciprocally bound to one another. Finally, what kind of life takes place within them and means there are for its control.

121 In concrete terms, we distinguish five units in the social life of the Sarakatsani: the conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, finally, the society that surrounds them. Seen from the outside, they give the impression of a whole made up of concentric circles, with the conjugal family as its nucleus.

This impression is illusory and simplistic. For these units, considered as actual social groups, exerts their dynamic force on several levels and in numerous directions. They therefore develop multiple relationships, interchanges and communications from one to

/126 cont./

582 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction
613 of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the
182 same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the
582 Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth
613 degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and
173 defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 62 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 587 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 602 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.

The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[529] [414] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a dialogue between the future spouses: [533] [539]

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [593] [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It [182] merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539] 24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
593
594
533
829

/149 cont./

121 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which
593 their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set
594 of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family
594 and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the
596 descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family
182 allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form,"
613 is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/156 cont./

596 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
474 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
689 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
434
[431]

However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
596 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
474 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
689 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
431 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospi-
182 tality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
474 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles
474

/182 cont./

474 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the
596 same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families
675 take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

182 As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-31ff.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made
[474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
187 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
596
594
474

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
[177] and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

(474) As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
(675) between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

(177) The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

(474) The relations between these different organizations reflect the
(182) relationship between the corresponding units.

596 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
(571) to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/190 cont./

474 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic
182 level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and
433 consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not un-
439 mindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12. Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
671 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and
/one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

627 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

673 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
674 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/217 cont./

682 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of
627 Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the
[602] vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is
627 not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Other-
628 wise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be
182 ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed
682 out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies,
627 that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by
628 enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members,
182 the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta
682 mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave
627 one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals,
581 by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively.
182 They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

627 682 [602] [581] [182] 627 628 682 182

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the [562] young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

837 187 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

[171] Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

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121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group
676 agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/235 cont./

671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
(627) They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/240 cont./

577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

* * * *

577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

/240 cont./

577 Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending
[182] on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

* * * *

/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result,
[867] first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to
[626] morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

/243 cont./

[57] [181] [67] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/

PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 4-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described 182 shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the 831 sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus, 789 [342] [233] [171]

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed 789 at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys 535 disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and 533 wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they 539 dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
761 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

/320 cont./

789 182 152 154

121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption ~~of new~~ techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual [562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
233
791

789 /322 cont./
562 the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for
462 maintaining relations with the dark forces.
[233]
[791]

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential
[182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion,
554 develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks
182 once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some
[788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

788 /322 cont./
789 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
554 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
182 the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[851] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[848] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[585] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[604] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
[844] and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./
182 554 596 788 families and the Tsóligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers, thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 182 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

/325/

CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

[182] The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/326 cont./

771 789 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
182 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
178 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Cnristian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
[178] the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
[171] for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
[484] to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
778 to fertility and abundance.

778 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
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Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

791 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

/334 cont./

782 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the
182 attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may
771 be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. ϕμς'), probabl/ influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolégomena, p. 84.

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764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so
[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of
[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may
[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take
[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/338 cont./

764 775 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate [776] [825] of representation which determines magic action.

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead 775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall [596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 775 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity, according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in [764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We [182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for 775 764 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani, as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 989 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

771 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [594] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/346 cont./

771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [174] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 196 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/347 cont./

771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

006 /349/

Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

/362 cont./

12 prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[189] [182] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and experience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

121 /378 cont./

--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, it is impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

182 596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
[21] (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[430] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[4] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.

182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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583

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
182 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
596 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
554 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures,
197 etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 /382 cont./
291 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
261 women).
181

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
671 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
671 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
(626) apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
599 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

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182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other [illegible] Sarakatsani [illegible] both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain 182 812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal 787 to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have 755 also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. (787) The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

/383 cont./

182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
755 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
[464] extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
[233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
562 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
773 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely
developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the
Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive
almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from
the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter
is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has
no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a
syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely
coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another
and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to
conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account
all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/390 cont./

182 conditions and ideas and, of course, all that each of them in turn
121 represents of underlying phenomena.

121 The final synthesis that we sought from the beginning is just this moving, living, dynamic and supremely significant chain.

Although conceived on the level of the individual and the fundamental social ideas of the Sarakatsani, it does not reduce the social reality to the cognitive or the "cultural," but corresponds to the total social phenomenon. It is true to the following discerning remark by G. Gurvitch that: "Society is within us and we are in /391/ society," and, what is more, to the very principles of anthropology.

Lastly, in a final image, this chain evokes the over-all configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture, the parts of which we have presented somewhat like a mosaic in the preceding chapters, and which we now restore to its inner unity by casting a little light on its articulations.

We shall ~~wait~~ to define this configuration in what follows.

As for the explanation, we believe that the picture of the correlation of ideas, conditions and concerns is so eloquent that specific comments are unnecessary. Of course, this applies to the explanation of the "whole." But there is more.

The same picture explains the formation of its parts, of the principle links of the chain, namely, how the fundamental ideas were adopted, how social man decided in favor of them, forced by certain conditions. However, in this connection it is essential to be specific.

When we speak of fundamental concerns which are transformed into motivations for action and into needs felt by the Sarakatsani, and of natural objective conditions, we consider neither the one nor the other as outside the Sarakatsani social framework properly speaking. Thanks to

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With [771] strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [917] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

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121 182 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings that might alter the picture.

121 182 233 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

[113] 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 181 191 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

/396 cont./

171 Sarakatsani culture as South European is not contradicted by any of its
181 elements. And finally, if we have qualified it as Mediterranean and not simply as Greek, it is because the folk cultures still existing in Greece, and there are several, belong to a common base that could be called Mediterranean civilization, created in the course of time by cultural exchanges among shore-dwelling peasants, without loss of their original national character.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF EQUILIBRIUM AND DURATION

Decline and its Causes

121
182 The concern of the Sarakatsani to survive socially, culturally and ethnically, their concern about their continuance becomes a problem of the equilibrium of their socio-cultural universe. We have already said that as long as the latter is able to keep its elements firmly together, continuance is assured. But any breakdown of the equilibrium means splitting and dissolution.

The fact that the Sarakatsani have been able to safeguard their way of life over centuries shows that they have found a solution. Some of our previous analyses enable us to glimpse it. But we must try to describe it in detail in order to reveal the mechanism it presupposes.

* * * *

121 In order to respond concretely to the requirements of this new problem it seems to us practical to reverse the wording of it: what are the elements of Sarakatsani life that "threaten" its equilibrium? How does this threat manifest itself? And what are the means employed to neutralize it?

Let us speak first of their group life, beginning with the family the most important group known to our herders.

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578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories:

Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 629 182 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions, the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tséligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims
121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
591 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
622 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
695 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)

182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/400 cont./

578 to the Marxist theory, (3)
675
182 3. On the different meanings of the term alienation
121 in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol. II, pp. 253-258. although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds.
128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].
578 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and
675 distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or
182 psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may
121 be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

578 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 275 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their
182 realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the
183 means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

121 As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists
[626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates
[177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional
178 elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing
182 the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/402 cont./

S 121 178 182 solution and a possibly disastrous one. Finally, chiefly because all these solutions, as we have already shown, have been applied in terms of the objective conditions of Sarakatsani life. And since these conditions have remained the same throughout time, the solutions too have spanned centuries and their equilibrium has remained unaltered.

S 121 178 Finally, using Gurvitch's terminology the centripetal forces always prevail over the centrifugal forces. The mechanism of neutralization or threats that we have just analyzed is so strong that no change emanating either from grouped or one-dimensional elements is possible from "within."

S [177] If in our day we see a change happening, it is from the exterior that it arises, from the modification that factors alien to the Sarakatsani world inflict on certain elements "within"--very important points of support of the mechanism in question.

S 121 177 178 It would be very important from various points of view to define the process of change, the causes that have provoked it, the different levels on which it is manifested. We should do so first, in order to corroborate the assertion that the change comes from the outside; then, in order to demonstrate our statements on the decisive influence of certain aspects of Sarakatsani life upon its /403/ creation, its style and its stability; finally, in order to explain the change, we shall now bring out the events that have contributed to it.

S 175 177 121 G 175 648 922 Gradual liberation of the country.

It was completed in 1920. Surrounding society is no longer dominated by the foreigner and as a result of this fact it ceases to be hostile. It no longer threatens the independence of the Sarakatsani.

Emigration of Greeks from Asia Minor.

In 1922 the Greek army evacuated Asia Minor. The Greeks of that

/409 cont./

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829
462

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

121
181

/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
[182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
[626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
[829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two
later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a con- 684
siderable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Al- 605
though the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever 583
taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it 558
would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother)
whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree
that there was some force in this argument. But there are others
who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a
virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family
emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to
say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kins-
men concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship
between the brothers who were the heads of the two families.
Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in 835
upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something 605
which goes against nature and something also which inevitably
wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described
as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an
act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but
they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns [582]
the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between
second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent
years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani.
But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice
here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever
term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin
than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with
ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister'
(καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit [558]
affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably
destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two
parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same
catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships
as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the 612
norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which 183
is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakat-
san life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's
point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.
[539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
627 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [570] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his 574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (σύεργεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

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554 again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented For pride, article by
[585] article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 The elements of prestige have been divided into two cate-
577 gories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the
554 community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements
558 that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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203 older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and
626 shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas
[485] Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of
[183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more
[683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and
533 circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114]

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

(approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the
[583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/202 cont./

121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.
67

First, each point of law has a normative character. However,
121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this
183 critierion cannot be used by itself.
67

It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[191] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have
[113] bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[113] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

121 /203 cont./
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183
[113]

11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584] 12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

[113] 14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in therealization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

/204 cont./

121 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states
671 of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of
183 persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

[113]

of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

121 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the
671 other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

627 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

627 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims
121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
571 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamic of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
626 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

598 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

598 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 278 182 183 121 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists [626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since [177] surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 178 182 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
171 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

* * * *

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
[177] and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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/189/

CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs ('Αρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., the term "Vlachs" -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans. Étude linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1905. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

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[p.213]

IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

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master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakatsani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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S G 621 648 S 186 591

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S [776]

S G [838]

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle
221 George over there, with only one eye — he's one
103 of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten
[494] thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the
[648] Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatshani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right.
[173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said
101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro
186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze
[582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually
262 swelling in volume as the room filled with guests,
[252] had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted
[263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible]

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
171 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

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619 Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One
186 does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter
[474] being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani
474 society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically
596 limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

177 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corrobor-
[171] ates our own. However, this type of protection against magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
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/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacraments. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

> Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./

771 who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand,
186 since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the
177 Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism
829 with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend
[429] themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another
539 kind and very significant for our point of view.
177 --One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are
829 about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to Frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are 829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: on sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The
[481] look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara-Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni V [194] spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

585 [518] knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, [413] [233] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafts grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; [532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 291 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their 585 soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for [576] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. [91] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

11 THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly 19 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made 314 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the 233 details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They [777] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above [789] all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sarakatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

585 [518] knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *kombolói* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, [413] [233] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; [532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

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192 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the
233 first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle
221 George over there, with only one eye — he's one
103 of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten
[494] thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said
101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro
186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually
262 swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid
[252] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted
[263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

/395 cont./

171 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it,
233 even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Κ. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ : Ἀγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas"
233 and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore
191 ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsaniway of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the
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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[7] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[7] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

/237 cont./

577 12 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [584] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [191] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [888] [609]

/332 cont./

796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
755 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
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262

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585 we shall speak later on.
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The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation,
(114) very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
171 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσανᾶοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρς'.

585 [516] knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *kombolói* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, [413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. [233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; [532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more
S about these people and their way of life.

V I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by
[342] wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the
[361] edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number
[162] more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely
[291] wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many
G of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who
[291] now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

V Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for
[101] there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the
[197] nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to
[191] draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs)
[291] who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from
S whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who
[101] speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the
[197] Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

S Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement.
V The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent
[101] dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their
[361] summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each
[342] year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

V The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of
[174] the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words
[197] from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin.
[101] As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old
[175] provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced
G
[175]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the 585
assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with 602
the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οἱ συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally [201] succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the [578] criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 602 619 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπεθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [581]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [579]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 591
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 577
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
158 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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The laughter of other people is invited in all situations where a man, or a group, has failed. 'The world laughs' (ὁ κόσμος γελάει) at a man when he fails to defend his honour; for instance, when he does not reply to an affront. Equally, it laughs at him when he makes some slip in conventional behaviour, or when he is made to look ridiculous. It laughs at him if he does not adequately fulfil his social role. Conversely, the need to conform to social morality and etiquette is often supported by the statement that, if a man does not act in a particular way, 'the world will laugh at him'. To be ridiculous (γελοῖος) is to lack the recognition essential for social reputation. 156 626

The ridicule or laughter which a man suffers, or imagines he is suffering, is seldom crudely inflicted to his face. The sanction is more subtle. But he is not slow to sense that he is being ridiculed. A man who is insensitive to the attitudes of others (and among the Sarakatsani such men are rare) will speedily be informed of the situation through some kinsman who, because of their association, is anxious that the ridiculed man should reassert his position, if that is possible, or, in a case of moral delinquency, should mend his ways.

There are, however, certain situations where open ridicule may occur. A man of very low prestige who is 'lost' may sometimes be ridiculed to his face. On the rare occasions when Costas Pistiolis is in any social gathering he is invariably asked to sing, since this ability is one of the many social graces he does not possess. Everybody laughs. Mild as such mockery may seem, no honourable member of this community would accept it passively. Open ridicule may also happen at weddings when men lose their sense of caution. At one wedding a guest who was addled and aggressive from his drinking called for more ouzo. A bottle was brought to him. He poured a glass and drank it, only to discover it was water. A roar of laughter went up, a pointed comment on the weakness of a man unable to drink and retain a measure of self-control. At once his knife was out, but it was quickly wrenched from his hand and the man was thrown bodily from the arbour. 626

Although the community is dispersed, news travels with rapidity. Any interesting event is widely known throughout the community within two or three days. Weddings and festivals are centres of news exchange, but heads of families, and some 203 626

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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203 626 [485] older women are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 533 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
671 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
681 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
671 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
671 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
671 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
681 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
671 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group. 178 474 427 233 [452] [212]

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry. 178 474 233 [423] [802]

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

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596 for these arrangements[1] The sanction is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
626 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority. — Analyst

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.(54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 197 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 494 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 494 426 233 464 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 197 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 197 554 494 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 494 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 474 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

53 The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/17 cont./
16 published data. (1)
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1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," 858 the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of 842 greater importance to them than the number of girls. 562 This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the [582] Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information [582] to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)
[114]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

[125] In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large [178] Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. [217] Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

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Sarakatsani EH14

/For additional information on the seasonal migrations of the Sarakatsani with their flocks, see category 233./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Byzantine period. But it may also be used, in its original and more specific sense, to describe Koutsovlachs (Κουτσοβλάχοι) an ethnic minority group speaking a romance language akin to Rumanian, or the related groups of Albanian Vlachs (Ἀρβανιτοβλάχοι) who are trilingual, speaking the Koutsovlach language as their mother tongue and Greek and Albanian for political and commercial reasons. These different connotations of the word, Vlach, have led to some confusion, which has been all the greater because many Koutsovlachs lead a transhumant shepherd life, identical in its general outline with that of the Sarakatsani. To the uninitiated eye they may appear to dress alike, to build the same type of thatched hut, and many of their communities graze their flocks in areas of the Pindus mountains neighbouring on those used by the Sarakatsani. The result has been that many nineteenth-century travellers, and even some Greek observers, failed to realize the existence of the Sarakatsani and imagined that all 'nomad' shepherds were Koutsovlachs of one kind or another.

But although many Koutsovlachs are transhumant shepherds, many are not. For instance, in the eastern half of the Zagori district in Epirus, a majority of the Koutsovlach villagers make their living from timber and agriculture. Probably since the sixteenth century[3] a considerable number of Koutsovlachs have been established in their own villages in the high Pindus. They have pretensions to culture, and for generations sons of rich Koutsovlach families have been prepared for commerce, politics, and the professions. In these respects the Koutsovlachs differ from the Albanian Vlachs who, in so far as they continue to be recognized as 'Albanian', are generally concerned only with shepherding. Some of these Albanian Vlachs have grazing areas close to the Albanian frontier which until 1930 they were able to cross in their search for winter pastures.

With both these ethnic minority groups, Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs, the Sarakatsani are culturally contrasted. They speak only Greek; their values, institutions, and art forms are in many respects markedly dissimilar from those of the Koutsovlachs and Albanian Vlachs. They themselves claim that the klephtic heroes Katsandonis and Karaïskakis were

[3] See A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *Nomads of the Balkans*, London, 1914, p. 147.

[i.e., the term "Vlachs" -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
[234] of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

[232] Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
[234] relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
●221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high 233
above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, 221
they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common 474
grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on 361
whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families un- 571
connected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during [508]
these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more
intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels.
It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total com-
munity is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative
difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390
square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shep- [574]
herds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance.
At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and
exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity
to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social
exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent
and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a fur- 233
ther consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which 474
are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of 571
intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens 578
even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the [181]
co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and
frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shep-
herds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circum-
stance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically
isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the
different flocks which have been described, limits the potential
moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The ani-
mals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep them-
selves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive
and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the
absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of
human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his
work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or
less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since
there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the
summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries
with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[754] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[789] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[64?] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [485]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [426]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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474 233 423 648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

474 233 423 662 648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 233 221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same attention that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as single households which are not extended families), in the summer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In general, only married brothers continue to work together in the summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven him there. 596

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance.

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of 1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by John Stratos.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction.

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a

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S 4 554 master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, S 186 physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

S 619 The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education S 619 or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakat- 582 sani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

S 619 The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense 621 of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless 221 a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 G 441 439 S [426] The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

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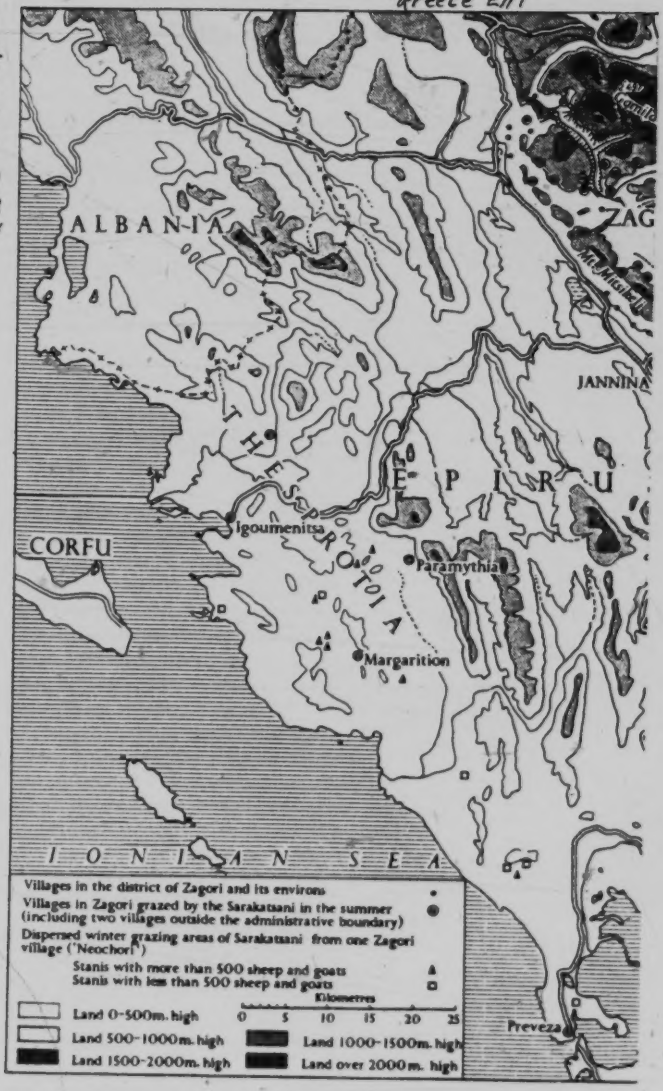

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

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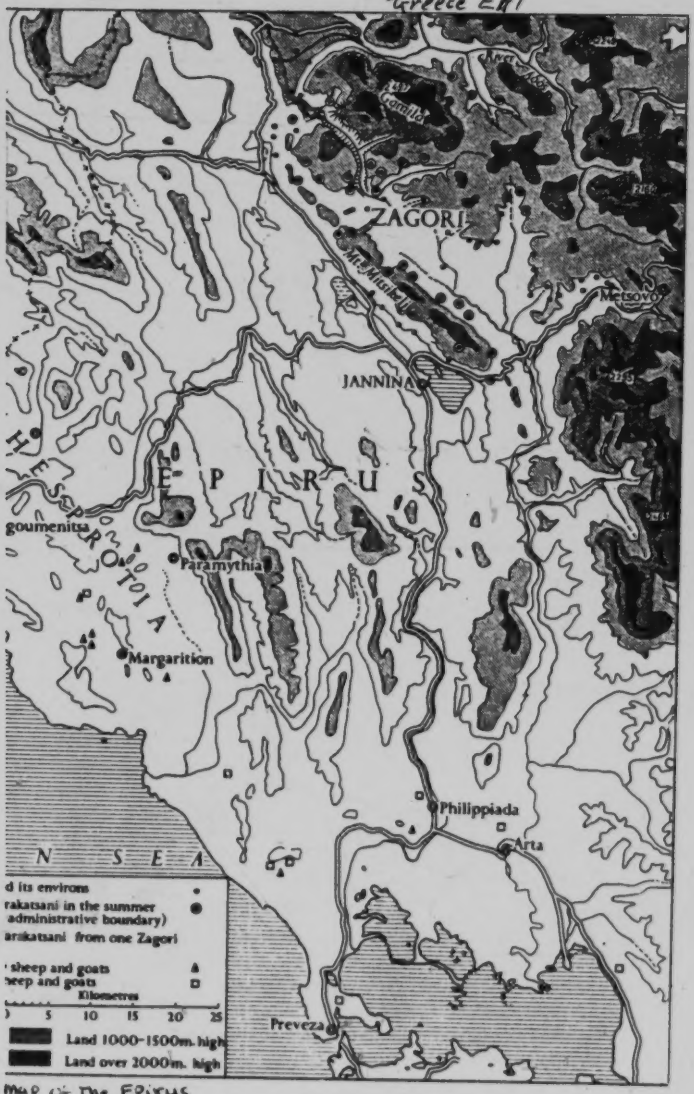

Map of The Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
[114] them in March the following year, when I was
[122] riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
131 in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
[221] seen them again and again, all over northern
Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
[342] high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
[342] seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
(161) these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
[101] they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
195 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

175 nomads with the widest range of migration. The
●221 sudden cage of new frontiers which sprang up
131 after the Balkan Wars failed to confine them, and they would fan out in autumn, from Epirus and Macedonia, all over southern Albania and across the lower marches of Serbia as far as Montenegro and Herzegovina and Bosnia and into Bulgaria, to the foothills of the great Balkans.

Those Sarakatsáns who thought of the Rhodope Mountains as their home were particularly bold in the extent of their winter wanderings. Not only would they expand northward, as they had in those first outposts which I saw years ago along the coasts of the Black Sea, but before the Hebrus River became the inviolable border of Turkey their autumnal caravans would reach Constantinople, and up would go their wigwams under the walls of Theodosius. Others would settle along the shores of the Sea of Marmara, looking out toward the islands of the Propontis. Yet others would spread over the rich green hills of the Dardanelles, and many would cross the Hellespont and pitch their camps on the plain of Troy. The boldest of all would continue their journey to the meadows of Bithynia, wintering there among the poplar trees, or pushing on further into Cappadocia as far as Caesaraea, scattering their flocks across the volcanic wildernesses around the empty rock monasteries of Ürgüb, or even as far as Iconium, the home of Jellalludin and the metropolis of the whirling dervishes.

175 Enormous though these journeys were, they
131 were scarcely looked upon as expatriation; for,
221 until the mass deracination of the 1920s, much of Asia Minor was still part of the Greek world, and
101 even beyond its confines, ancient Greek colonies, established for thousands of years but reduced by the later tide of invading Seldjuk Turks to scattered islets of Hellenism, still survived and prospered. There the invisible frontiers of nomadism overlapped and dovetailed into those of other pastoral wanderers, the Yourouks, autochthonous Anatolian shepherds who had grazed their flocks over the hinterland of Asia Minor for centuries before the Turks arrived there and even made return migrations, now and then, as far as Macedonia. No wonder some of the aura of a fable hangs about these men.

123 So strong is this aura for me that a quarter of an hour after catching a glimpse of this isolated Sarakatsán I was sitting at the table next to him, among the smithies and harness makers, on the outskirts of the town where old artisans settled down to quiet nargilehs after quitting work. I watched him order and drink a coffee, and

is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caiques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a church for forty days and then retrieved, is sovereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blunder on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/4 cont./

121 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and
182 try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved
[361] are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the
[221] Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and 586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden. 587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem- 221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

(113) 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with
[113] their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 500 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
22 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
36 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[191] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
36 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
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114

10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113]

11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

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361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
22 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

***

621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions [527] are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

236 /46 cont./
[527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats.
[221] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes
[462] place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March
[221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re-
[232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in
[412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29)[A] is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

[A] [See p.50--Anolyst]

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[239] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations
233
484 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
361 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
[462] entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/93 cont./

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484
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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in
233 the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real
234 cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as
484 is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation
361 of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new
[439] settlement.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233
361 --Unloading of the animals.
484 --Pitching of the tents.
--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.
[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the
[343] "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

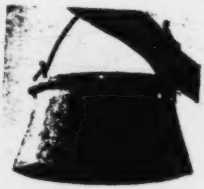

Fig. 91

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

596 /159 cont.
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[221] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

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in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

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The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

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32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/263 cont./

777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
22

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
754 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[789] volent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
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[171] 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[199] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arǎdhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Peloponnesos
Sara Katsani EH14

do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*fousstanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[252] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[372] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[312] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the
[442] stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[437] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
CCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent. 593 554 578

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles. 593

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister. [222]

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the 593 858

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

***

The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these
312 the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

239 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible-member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887]
the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463]
that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554]
the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231]
warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789]
various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

776 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
[789] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
723 ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
[588] der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daoutí*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large
[221] twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they
[825] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
[742] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
[231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
[372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
22 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).A

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

231 235

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

(492)

A [Fig. 75 appears on p. 109--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice
233 herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different
128 phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to
232 whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
234 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
[139] rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
* [231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

252 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

596 /159 cont./
364 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

/296 cont./

121 789 771

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

V 221 182 [422] [556]

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

S 361 342 [233]

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[16] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

S [101]

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

S 361 G [162] [166] S [342] S [241] [462] [233] [515]

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S 35 [231] [233] [252] [312]

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
234 of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

232 Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
234 relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[649] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

/46 cont./
236 [527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re- [232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in [412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the carding proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

[See p. 50--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice
233 herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different
128 phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to
232 whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/89 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which actually give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to:

--the quality of the grass,

--species of animals,

--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.

--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes;
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes;
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
241 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
(439) rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe
232 the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

(113) 20. P. Veyvret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

--the search for good fodder;

--the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;

--finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/91 cont./

232 question of that, at least within the framework of traditional life.
[154] Apart from precautions against the "evil eye" and witchcraft, these nomads do not hesitate themselves to undertake altogether empirical treatment and sometimes true surgery.

The most common sicknesses, according to the Sarakatsani nomenclature are:

Parmard. The sheep suffer from pains in their feet and can no longer walk; in addition, the ewes that are stricken with it cease producing milk. The treatment consists in preparing /92/ an infusion of elaterion (wild cucumber, family of American cucurbitaceae) which is administered to the sick animals.

Dragomara. The joints of the feet swell and suppurate. The treatment is the same as the preceding.

Fouskomma (tympanites). Here they resort to blood-letting by cutting a vein near the left eye. They also cut an ear or the tail of the sick animal.

Surgical operations consist of:

--setting dislocated or fractured limbs which are treated with ligatures;

--trephining /perforating/ the skull of the sheep. This procedure is applied when a small cyst forms in the head of the sheep, which makes them very excited (the Sarakatsani say that they become "insane"), using a technique the substance of which is as follows:

The shepherd most experienced in this type of intervention immobilizes the sick animal by tying its feet. Then he feels its head in order to determine the spot where he must enter. He thereupon shaves the wool and removes it by using an iron heated in the fire. After which, with a very sharp knife he cuts the top of the skull at an angle and detaches the bone he has cut. He thereby obtains an opening

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/95 cont./

232 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.
[432]

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62). A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A, [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
751 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

IN continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νς'.

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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the privileges of self-administration that have been described and which were not finally abrogated until 1866. So many men could not have left their families and villages unprotected, nor would there have been any security for the wealth they amassed, had the reciprocal rights and obligations of the authorities and the Zagori villages not been clearly acknowledged on both sides. In this situation an important sanction was the presence in Constantinople of a number of rich Zagori notables able to communicate the grievances of their compatriots directly to the Sultan. Not only were they able to dispense bribes to high officials on behalf of the confederation but they supplied the central Government with intelligence about the movements and intentions of the local governor in Jannina who was not infrequently intriguing against his own masters in Constantinople. Even in the case of Ali the Lion, the most powerful and greedy of Jannina's rulers, an awareness of this introduced some restraint into his dealings with the Zagori.

This concern with commerce and the professions, and the imperial ambience in which their local politics were implicated, gave the inhabitants of these villages a cosmopolitan rather than a peasant outlook. It is true that until 1912 they assiduously worked the small pockets of cultivable land and tended their vines and fruit trees, but generally with the manpower of gipsies or families of lower status. A few men of Zagori possessed large flocks of sheep but no self-respecting citizen of this district could himself lead the life of a shepherd. Consequently by the nineteenth century, if not earlier, shepherding in central, western, and much of eastern Zagori, whether of village sheep or their own, was in the hands of the Sarakatsani.

The villages in the plains of Jannina, Arta, and Preveza were in a different and less enviable situation. Originally many of their lands had been military fiefs. In terms of agricultural wealth they were richer than mountain villages but geographically they were more vulnerable to intimidation and exploitation. By the kind of process that has been described, most of these fiefs in time became private estates, chiftliks. By the early nineteenth century these areas had been considerably depopulated as a consequence of the capricious administration of chiftlik proprietors or their agents, and through looting by Albanian bands in the frequent disturbances of civil order during this period.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.

[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. 181 182

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζυγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the 233 [422]

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γκιουσέμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λυπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [257]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[417] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
[342] herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[462] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to
[417] build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
234 of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

232 Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
234 relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

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233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
571 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 474 571 578 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the directions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 828 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers [577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the [234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully [234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 461 [577] Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt. Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233 ●
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient
a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses.
And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887]
the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will
relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may
take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463]
that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they
happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally
necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult
Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no
specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554]
the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the
lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each
day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more
from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the
better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sara-
katsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around
the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with
their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at
a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maxi-
mum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to
the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the
shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours
before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is
driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a
situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe
is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf.
Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231]
warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789]
various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten
the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these
weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be
constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the
flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth.
A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to
ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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233 461 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since [232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate [136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 234 461 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety [754] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani [289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 221 461 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the mountains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not [642] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

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Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 825
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 233
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important characteristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [776]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

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Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 233
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do [834]
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [841]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

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1. Milking

[facing p. 32]

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[437] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
000 other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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The family and the flock are both forms divinely
confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy 181
archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by 182
God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. 233
Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements 59
none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will 612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [426] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in 612 hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd. 612 478 233

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals. 602 474 233

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen 612 [629]

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596 Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an
571 already established relationship, it only creates the necessary
[581] legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real
596 sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third
571 reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan tech-
233 nique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid
[171] for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a prac-
[594] tical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 474 233 [735]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thesprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the 474 233 423 648

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Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

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The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

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The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same attention that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as single households which are not extended families), in the summer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In general, only married brothers continue to work together in the summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
● 233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani
[691] is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [271]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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596 593 626 558 for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. However reluctant a man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 593 233 461 886 There are two other circumstances which may help to persuade a father to cede his position at the customary time. Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country. The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 212 178 596 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son — Analyst

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [573]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. 264
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [301]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [122]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [425]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [625]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [688]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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571 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action.
609 There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shep-
233 herds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such
578 acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group
685 against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the
571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live
609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes
578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica-
[578] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious
[521] in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the moun- 571
tains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the 609
main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south 221
of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who 233
normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the 578
same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction.

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited 571
in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is 578
the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And 571
it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general 578
context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from 685
honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'* The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] * Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[3] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[3] The minimum charge is 4½*d.* a head.

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S G 648 651 S 233 426 large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

S G 648 S 662 G 622 661 The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

S G 423 648 S 233 G 622 661 It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

S G 648 S 233 685 G 622 661 625 The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000. G 441 439 452

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given. S 434 234 426 439 G 441 439 452

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep S 233 435 236

[1] [see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

142
291
233
413

5. Sarakatsan Shepherd

[facing p. 288]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped. 554 [413] [233] [492]

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all. 554 221 [132]

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride, 554 585

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
[357]
162
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420
474
582
602

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas* or Leader of the band	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
Constantine Tangas		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Mihiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tselingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
162
233
409
494
596
602
[p. 357]

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zyoos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Grezgory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charris		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.												
‡ Constr. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myrsounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	3	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Papaprounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	330	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
E.359
162
233
420
424
592
602

[p.260]

162
233
427
454
592
602

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsoliagas or Leader of the camp	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Chiarisis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Dethikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis			2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

[E.361]
162
233
427
464
596
602

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[4.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954–5

511
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[233]
[162]

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

[804]
[436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

[474]
[662]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

[P364-A]

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

Zagori

Greece EH1

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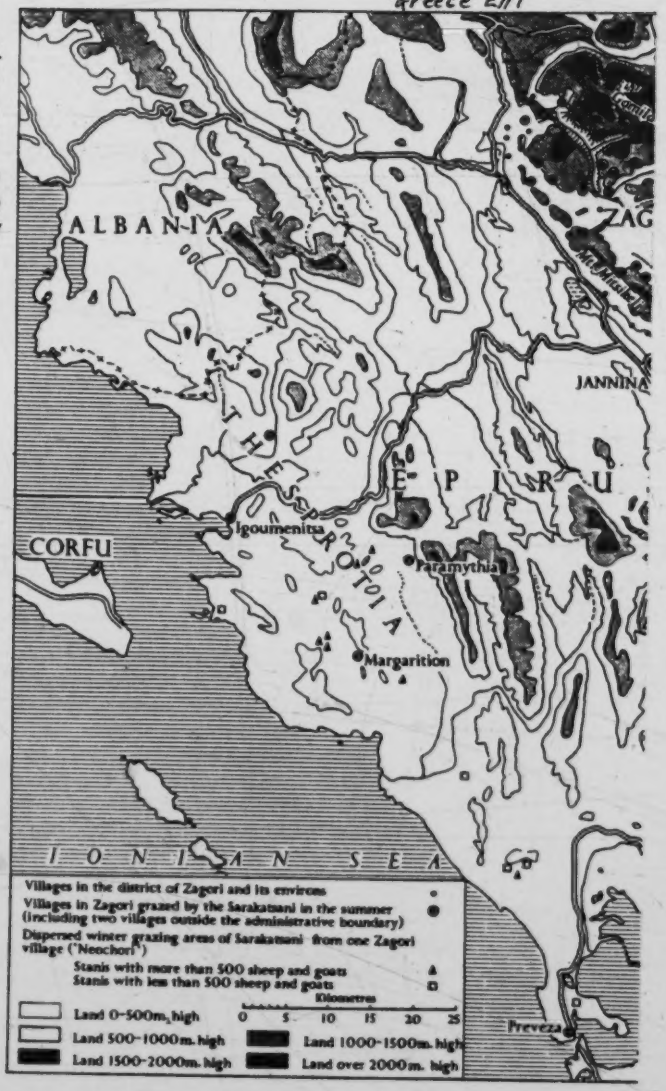
221
233
474



Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

Zagori

Greece EN1

[P364-B]

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103
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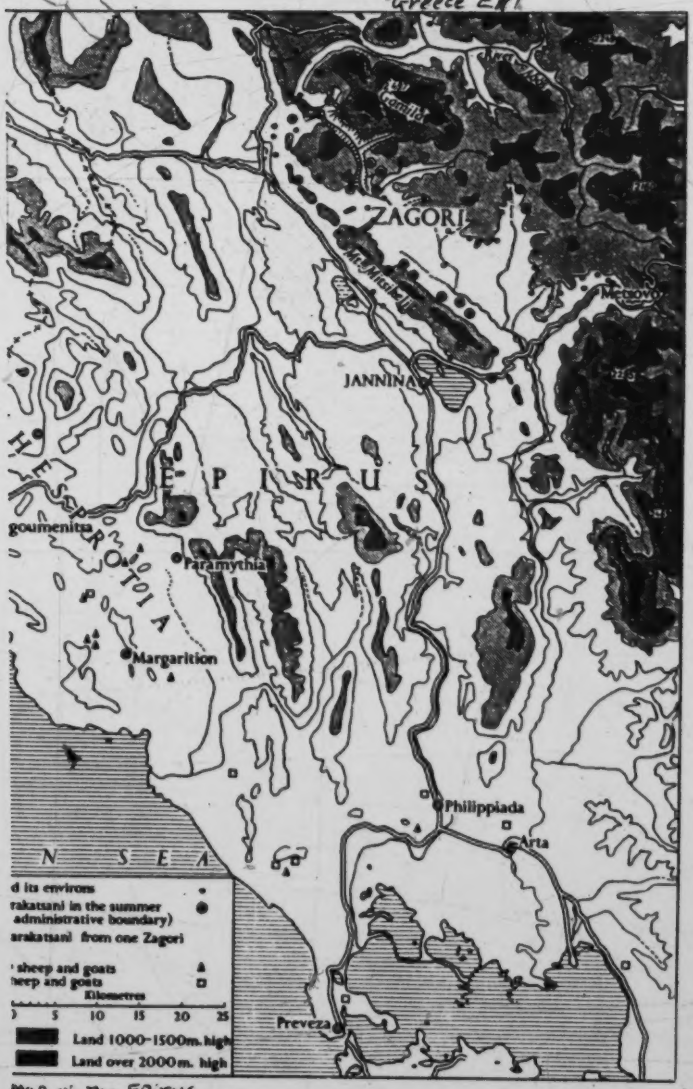
S
221
233
474



Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
[402] looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few mo-
ments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
[131] huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
114 them in March the following year, when I was
[122] riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
[221] Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
[342] high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
[142] seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
(161) these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
[101] they return-after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
135 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

Sikarayia turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

585 knees, others leaned back against the wall or the
[516] divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo,
[413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks.
[233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafts grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall;
[532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black
291 kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their
585 soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for
[576] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years.
[191] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

11 THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly
192 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made
233 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They
[777] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katmoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a [352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned; so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- 573 [529] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- 122, aneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow [133] gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for 1554 his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women 761 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] WHEN, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking S [291] more urgent. For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. I could understand [27] little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through G 169 its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

[p.86-A]

/19 cont./

361 221 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are [133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats. [139] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with [113] their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone, 233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate 22 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no 36 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions,

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature. (8)

[191] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[191] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463 10. Among these theorists we must mention P.
114 Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to prove the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
195 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

***

361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
22 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
621 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.
612

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[776] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

U

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[191]

8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andklui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

233 Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/45 cont./

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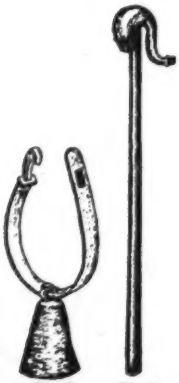

Fig. 33 Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton [197] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/81 cont./

343 - With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the
417 use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar
[352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).[A]

343 Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not
[252] unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated
417 that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[A] [See p.84--Analysis]

/82 cont./

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233
291

Fig. 66

417
233

/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and
(824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

/83/

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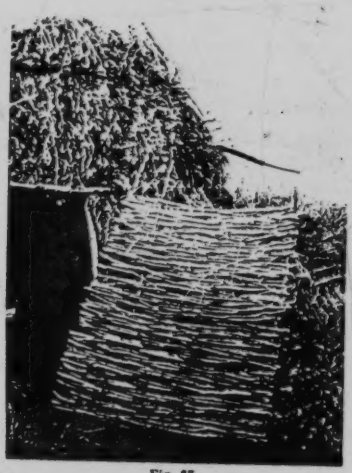

Fig. 67

/84/

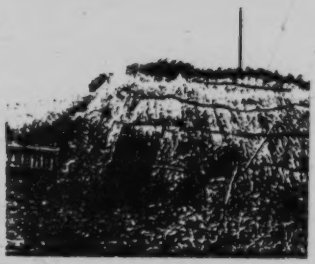

Fig. 68

/84 cont./

417
233

Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very [824] much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

5: Kabbadias--98 I-4,5 (no date) 1980 (1014 Saratsani 1972)

/85/

417
233

Fig. 70

233
343 /86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

/86 cont./

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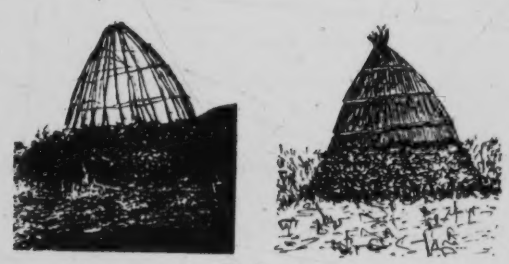

Fig. 71

shelters for the animals, let us mention the tsardhaki where the animals rest during the hot hours of summer days; this, of course, has a different shape from that set apart as a resting place for humans (fig. 72).

It is a kind of "kiosk" open on all sides and built from a certain number of forks of varying height, arranged in a circle, on which are laid horizontially /87/ long defoliated stems surmounted by foliage and boughs forming a roof. It is in this "kiosk" that the flocks seek refuge from the sun.

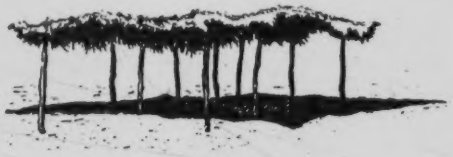

Fig. 72

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

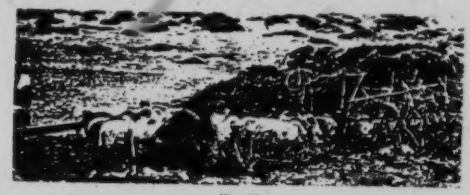

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

231 235

> 19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

[492]

A, (Fig. 75 appears on p 109--Analyst)

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice
233 herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different
128 phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to
232 whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/89 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which actually, give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to

--the quality of the grass,

--species of animals,

--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.

--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
241 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
(439) rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/90 cont./

233 out a second time early in the morning after the milking of the milch ewes, and they graze until ten o'clock. The final pasturing of the day takes place from three o'clock until twilight.

During the summer the flocks remain out-of-doors all night and rest during the day in the "tsardhaki" or in shady places/91/ sheltered from the sun and heat. Thus they graze only during the night.

233 232 "Taking salt": this is the term the Sarakatsani use to describe the practice which consists of feeding the livestock salt in order to replace that which the animals excrete in the summer. The salt is spread on flat stones and the flocks are led to them. The animals lick the salt and then hasten to the nearest stream in order to drink. The Sarakatsani maintain that this practice both increases the well-being of the animals and their milk production. Actually, the explanation is found in the fact that "the spray of very chlorinated sea water that the rains drop on the plants of the plains does not reach the uplands--The health of the stock and its resistance to diseases are therefore at stake..." (20)

(113) 20. P. Veyvret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 28-29.

Special care and veterinary medicine

From the hygienic point of view the care bestowed on the flocks is limited to:

--the search for good fodder;

--the indispensable precautions against bad weather: for example, the ground of the sheepfolds is covered with branches during the winter, so that the livestock do not lie on the wet and sometimes icy ground;

--finally, the ensuring of the well-being of the animals through certain magical practices. (21)

21. See below, pp. 298-324.

232 As for summoning scientific veterinary services there is no

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/93 cont./

221
233
484
361

Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 233 234 484 361 [439]

In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new settlement.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233
361 --Unloading of the animals.
484 --Pitching of the tents.
--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.
[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the
[343] "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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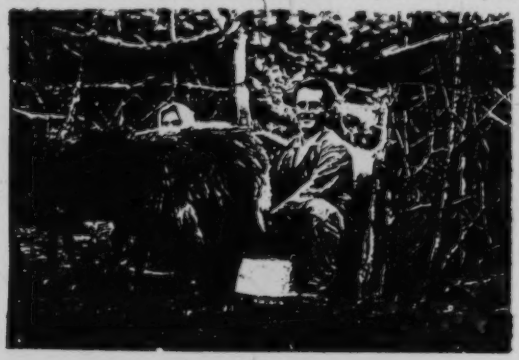

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/95 cont./

233 [432] sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 353 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).A [513] Piled one on top of another all around the hut and covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A,[Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(574) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
121 as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
596 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
474 their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
[594] and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tsiligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[36] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical</u>
233 <u>criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,
/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,
--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.
--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).
--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.
--Salt and sugar.
--Medicines (quinine, etc.).
--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Sarakatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) (464) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) (286) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 429 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 427 571 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
(54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 177 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 404 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 474 476 233 474 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 177 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 177 554 474 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 474 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
554 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/181 cont./

474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[887] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[675] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
[825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are
[527] living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and <u>feliki</u>--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
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25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
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[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
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27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[191]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
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29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

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(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: 'Η Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

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mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 826 189 [777] [527] [171]

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: ~~Ἰωάννου~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 737 821 189 [221] [776]

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

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These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 171

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 'E-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the women of the Tséligato. [128] In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [342] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 609 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[293] [782] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[823] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
53 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)

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48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

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49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. [illegible]

[771]

The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)

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51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: Λαογραφικά Δημοτικά [illegible], p. 48, n. 2.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

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53. G. Megas; Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of [312] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening [823]

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
[823] the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[171] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, Τ. Β', p. 292 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι,

says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

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372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, [illegible] we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

(176) (191) 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Περί δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873,

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

(191)

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

(184)

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

755 /278 cont/
[824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

[263]
[372]

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes
789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new
[754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

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83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)

233 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well
[171] known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[833] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to
[765] find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
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787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/296 cont./

121 789 ML 105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
951 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
(233) contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
(232) utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
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789 562 462 [233] [79] /322 cont./
the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 554 182 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (aràdhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that
212 the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write
[554] and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction
[875] given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend
[562] a few weeks in the konakia.

871 But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in
212 particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the use-
233 fulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning,
596 but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within
494 the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas.
[461] During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

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533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 535 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 (534) A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 533 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[233] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
[152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

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Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

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4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
[178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by
[613] the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which
182 means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
361 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
233 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
182 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
462 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the
182 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
291 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
261 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
181 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents 233 the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes 596 concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
[464] scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
[233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
662 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
773 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [971] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

/393 cont./

121 is advisable to give some details in order to avoid misunderstandings
182 that might alter the picture.

121 The symbiosis of the Sarakatsani with their animals does not imply
182 a parasitic solution--that of living on the animal and the animal on
233 nature, spontaneous growth--as might offhand be believed, especially under the influence of certain authors trying to draw up a general theory of pastoral nomadism. (5)

(113) 5. See Lawrence Krader: "Ecologie du nomadisme pastoral", in: Revue Intern. des Sciences sociales U.N.E.S.C.O., Vol. XI, no. 4, 1959, p. 521.--J. Berque: Introduction to the same number of the same periodical.

On the contrary. Using an excellent formula by A. Toynbee in connection with the same problem (general, but applicable to the case of the Sarakatsani), we find that between them and their stock there is "...a fair exchange of benefits. If the flocks are kept to give their milk and meat to man, the latter must provide subsistence for the animals. Neither the one nor the other...can exist...without reciprocal help." (6)

6. See A. Toynbee: Histoire, p. 194.

121 The second point refers to the characterization of the Sarakatsani
181 culture as Mediterranean. In the preceding chapters we have had occasion
191 to emphasize repeatedly this characteristic of the cultural works of these nomads, beginning with their technology and ending with their cosmology and their religion. If we return to it, that is because the origins of the ideas of cooperation and its forms in the Balkans have been the subject of the liveliest discussions among historians. Some of them maintain that this is a practice of Slavic inspiration. If this assertion is true and if we consider the extremely important place that cooperation occupies in the lives of these herders, it would seem that the designation of their culture as exculsively Mediterranean is erroneous.

3: Kabbadias--459 E-4,S (no date) 1965 ? EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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7. G. Ostrogorsky: Histoire de l'État byzantin, French translation, p. 120, footnote 1.

It is precisely this village community which has given rise to the most lively controversies about its origins. For it has been interpreted by certain historians such as Zacharia, Vasiliev, Kij and Ouspenskij as an organization inspired by the Russian mir. On this particular point G. Ostrogorsky, the historian from whom we borrowed the preceding quotation, says distinctly, while criticizing the works of the authors mentioned, that the mir is late phenomenon; and he adds: "...a communal regime such as this, characterized by the community of fields, never existed in Byzantium, and if one wants to stick to the sources, one must agree that no community of this kind among the ancient /395/ Slavs is known; on the other hand, Byzantium and other countries and peoples along with it were acquainted, well before the Slavic invasion, of a community in the sense we spoke of above." (8)

8. See O. Ostrogorsky: op. cit., p. 165, footnote 5, the entire criticism with copious bibliographic references. See also R. Thurwaldt: l'Economie primitive, p. 345. "We know, moreover, that the family community of the southern Slavs was a relatively recent creation without deep roots in the past." This author cites as corroboration F. Kraus: Sitte und Brauch der Sud-Slaven, p. 64, and J.S. Lewinski: The Origin of Property, Etc.

Of course, these testimonies concern only the lives of free and sedentary peasants. About the pastoral life, to repeat, we know nothing.
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However, ethnographic observation shows that in the Balkans nomadic herding was practiced chiefly by the Aroumain (Valaque), the Albanians (Arvanito-Valaque) and the Sarakatsani. The Bulgars and the Turks were ignorant of it, or almost so. And among the Yogoslavs it seems that in

/395 cont./

171 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it,
233 even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Cf. KARAVIAS, 'Αγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas"
233 and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore
191 ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsani way of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the
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/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
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Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
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/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[146] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

1:Sanders Z-5.4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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do not go far toward meeting the basic economic issues faced by the shepherd today.

As we talked with these shepherds, all of them dressed shabbily in patched trousers and coats and none of them in the traditional white kilt (*foustanella*), I realized again the inexorable push of social change. Americans by the hundreds in Greece were diligently and intelligently teaching Greek farmers how to improve their agricultural methods, how to make use of fallow land without losing its fertility, and even encouraging the plains farmers to keep more sheep or cows of their own for milk production. But to the degree that these sensible, reasoned programs succeed, to that extent the shepherds of the mountain villages face what we call in impersonal terms "occupational displacement."

These were my thoughts as I reflected on the experience of my acquaintances in Valtetsi and the shepherds from other Peloponnesian villages with whom I talked at many roadside stops. As background for their hesitant but sincere discussion of their problems is the recollection of the natural setting for our conversations: the brilliant bloom of wild flowers, the blue flax blossoms, the tender new green of the mulberry trees, the leaves pushing out from the gray fig trees standing in terraces on the mountainside, and the vineyards and olive groves stretching out far below, with the shimmering indigo sea off in the distance. Close at hand the earth looked stony and inhospitable to growing things, but always at a little distance the springtime colors caught the eye and made one glad to be in Greece. Now and then I found the shepherds themselves appreciatively viewing the scene around them while keeping a careful watch over their dusty, weary sheep which still had many miles ahead before reaching the succulent summer pastures. I had a feeling that these men on the move would be the first to agree that transhumance in the Peloponnesos, though beset with many problems and facing a clouded future, still had its compensations in the serene beauty of the land through which they walked.

The "Nomads" of Epirus

I had no idea when I left the Peloponnesos and its sheep-filled roads that a month later I would be encountering the same kind of migration in Epirus, the rugged and legendary northwestern province of Greece.

There was one important difference between the shepherds whom I met in Epirus and those in the Peloponnesos. The latter, such as the people of Valtetsi, had been bona fide Greek rancher-peasants who just happened to live in mountain villages where transhumance was their basic adaptation to their environment. In Epirus the shepherds were "nomads," who from time immemorial have made their circuits through Albania, what is now Yugoslavia, southern Bulgaria, and Northern Greece.[8] They dress differently from the Greeks; their dwellings are very different; and some of them

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15

Sarakatsani EH14

V 221 health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in con- 182 sequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why [422] an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migra- [556] tions is a sign of wealth.

S But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a 361 recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thes- 342 saly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small [233] winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

S "Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?" [101]

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

S It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Al- 361 banian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sara- G katsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been [162] increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, [166] primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another S village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the [342] mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working S the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, [241] apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rec- [462] tangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women [233] handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen [515] days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered 35 the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out [231] as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be [233] the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his [252] flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking [312] hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks V [194] present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total ● 233 of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. [433] In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece.*[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[239] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (γαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λιπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [417]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as χεραλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[412] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[417] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined to- 233
wards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats [419]
are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening [343]
to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. 233
The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village 474
two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village [361]
in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the [577]
year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their 233
milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese 234
merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of [132]
neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μακρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[527] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[597] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[208] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[649] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant
[239] closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[735] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

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1. Milking

[facing p. 32]

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which through common membership can commit him to any 571
duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship 609
or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person 593
would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of 578
betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very 571
clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose 609
they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is 476
established high in the mountains above the village so that the 234
various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular mer- 578
chant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S [651]

S 234 439 G 441 439 S [426] The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

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The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family. S 234 251 221

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one. G 441 439 472 S 234 439

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer. G [458] G [452]

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints. S [433]

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G The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first
441 place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which
439 the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital
472 for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and
435 his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost
452 of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses.
S Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on
• 234 the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value
439 and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working
435 capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the mer-
426 chant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants
G store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make
[465] in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metro-
politan market in the later months of the year when milk pro-
ducts are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is
borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is
secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on
all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In
general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about
3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the
pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which
he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous
exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence.
He is caught between two limits, the highest price which con-
sumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk
products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just
make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For
if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin
S between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the
234 individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substan-
439 tial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him
426 to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the
G extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom en-
441 tirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own
439 and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of in-
452 creasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the
S Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the
[511] absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved
this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of bind-
G ing himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it
441 pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By
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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[1] [see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10. S 434 426

In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again. S 426 G 652

On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape. S 234 ● 426 439 G 441 452 439

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. S [237] For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

533 tracted patterns of great complexity. Repeated and accelerating trills led on to sustained high notes which left the tune quivering in midair before plummeting an octave to those low and long-drawn initial semibreves. Notes of an icy clarity alternated with notes of a stirring, reedy, and at moments almost rasping hoarseness. Then, after a long breath, they sailed again into limpid and piercing airs of a most touching softness, the same minor phrase recurring with diminishing volume, again and again, until the final high flourishes presaged the protracted bass notes once more, each of them preceded and followed by a lengthening hiatus of silence. One can think of no more apt or more accurate reflection in sound of the mountains and woods and flocks and the nomads' life.

12 Less lulling music cannot be imagined. But, overcome at last by the day's doings, I must have fallen asleep in the middle of it and been covered with a cloak where I lay. I woke up an hour after midnight to find the hut in the dark except for the embers of the fire and empty of all but the lightly snoring patriarch on the other side. Yorgo's hooded departing back was outlined for a moment in the doorway against the stars. There was a [234] murmur of voices in the cold outside as the shepherds, like monks before the night office, assembled for the first milking; this was the equivalent of matins in their pastoral book of hours. Then silence fell, and after a minute or two, a faint stirring of bells and of waking flocks was hushed by the returning currents of sleep.

002 Now, a little reluctantly, I must call a halt to these postscripts and flashbacks and return to the point where we began to deviate from the main thread of this narrative among the tassels and the buttoned upholstery of the carriage rocking back with us through the Thracian darkness between Sikarayia and Alexandroupolis.

Not many minutes had passed before the guard worked his perilous way along the duckboard outside and climbed in, not to punch our tickets, but for a chat. We were his only passengers. He was a dark, jovial, round-faced refugee from Smyrna.

"Well," he said cheerfully, offering cigarettes, "did you find out where they hide their pots of gold? Any for me? I could do with it, at this job."

We told him about the wedding. As I had already absorbed one or two hazy notions about the possibility of the extremely ancient descent of the Sarakatsáns, I asked him what he thought.

/36/

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

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234
824

/37 cont./
of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21).

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

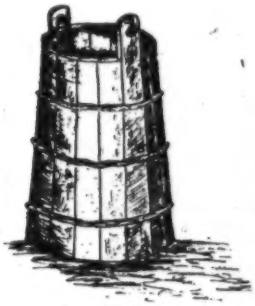

Fig. 22

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824
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Fig. 23

/93 cont./

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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in
233 the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real
234 cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as
484 is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation
361 of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new
[439] settlement.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233
361 --Unloading of the animals.
484 --Pitching of the tents.
--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.
[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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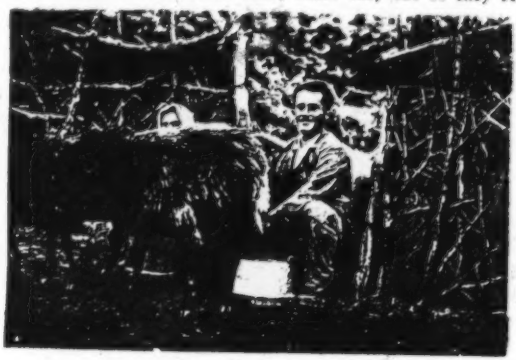

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

Fig. 91

/110 cont./

234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

257 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/111/

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Fig. 94

252
262 /112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical
233 criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[432] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
CCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178]
[361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/78 cont./

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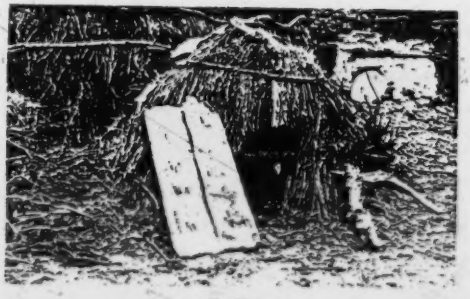

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings:

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is [354] nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).▲

343 Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not [252] unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated 417 that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

▲ (See p. 94--Analyst)

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).A

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

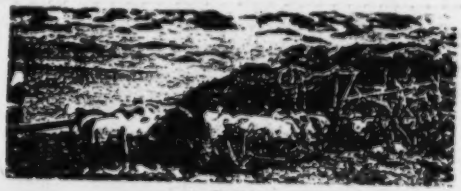

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

231 235

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

[492]

A [Fig. 75 appears on p. 100--Analyst]

596 /159 cont./
364 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
●236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [478]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III) begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

[291] [51]

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/45 cont./

233

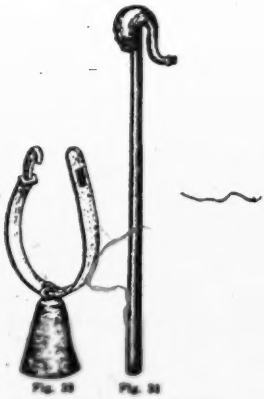

Fig. 33 Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

[826] [804]

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

[197]

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions [527] are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

236 [527] /46 cont./
all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] [232] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to relieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in [412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

[Sex p. 80--Analyst]

/47 cont./

236 her feet;. With her right hand the carder holds the upper board by its handle. Finally, with the left hand, she brings the tufts of wool between the toothed surfaces of the boards.

Sorting: it is done in the course of the carding. The longest strands are put aside as the carding proceeds and are reserved for the manufacture of the better fabrics, those which are used for making clothing. The short strands are for other uses.

[283] It is also during the carding that the wool is prepared in advance for spinning; each two or three cardfuls make a distaff-feel.

283 Spinning: the bunches are then placed on the /48/ distaff. Once this is loaded, the Sarakatsani woman starts to spin by using a spindle. (10)

10. The three stages of this operation among the Sarakatsani, as elsewhere, are: drawing out, twisting and winding on. See A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, p. 259.

The handling of the spindle varies according to the quality of the yarn one wishes to obtain. If one wishes to prepare fine yarn for clothing, the spindle is suspended by the thread itself and turned freely in the air (fig. 26).A On the other hand, if the thread

A. [See p. 49--Analyst]

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

142
291
343
234
516
415

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

596 /159 cont./
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[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

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[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

789 /263 cont./

585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

[203] [182] [823] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden

789 825 322 53 233 283 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance

777 236 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

[A], /See p. 429--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain
236 number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any
777 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must
22

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to
776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed
754 to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, male-
[789] volent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

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to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
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lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (άψιδωτά).
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women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
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[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

114 lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

114 178 [115] The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

221 [229] The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

996 Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

221 183 All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony [237] and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B] drop off

776 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
[789] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
[235] ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
[588] der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large
[221] twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they
[825] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
[742] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
[231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
[372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824
312 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.)] serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 88 et 27.
--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see
Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναλεκτὰ καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερομ. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
574 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:
Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 105 et commentaires de Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Ἀναγνώστης, p. 634. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : *Ibid.*, p. 200 et suiv. — Ἐ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θράκης, p. 89-90, etc.

/271 cont./

844 574 789 [783] likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 783 789 [788] Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the childbirth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos [842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 789 [527] The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child [237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/271 cont./

751
787
[239]

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[239] On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects
[824] enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
(237)
(832)

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

(171)

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible], [illegible] σελ.

(178) It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
(178) First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
(785) aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

(176) And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[196] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[239] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[176] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί δαιμονίου Δαιμόνων, Μ. Ρ. Ο. 188, p. 878.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

[171]

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

[184]

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
(237) applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

/374 cont./

534

Fig. 110

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill. [237] [183]

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared. [178]

/375/ PART FOUR

/376/ REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121 After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[372] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[312] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the
[482] stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[432] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
000 other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
241 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
[439] rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

/405 cont./

177 241 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

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health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

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But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

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"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

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It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

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He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπαπζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori
Greece EH1

The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints.

353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
[251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost pre-lapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

[p.87-A]

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

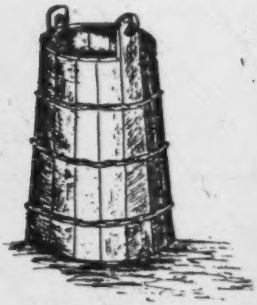

Fig. 22

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Fig. 23

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

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415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

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343 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal
824 shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)[A] are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

[A], /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

257 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
252 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[412]
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might
cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
235 garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They
[437] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
000 other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 605 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first [252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por- [264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual [261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the [603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important [252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

796 781 'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is [751] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back 796 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is 769 for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the [252] souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

796 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely 781 bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.* Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

* Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξθ'.

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid [252] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted [263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred mag-
[252] nificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
[609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Ork!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

/75 cont./

343 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters
417 high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the fretzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the
252 basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

Fig. 60

/76 cont./

343 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long,
252 defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged
333 horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is
252 covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178]
[361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the
419 use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar
[352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not
[252] unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated
419 that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[Sec p.84--Analyst]

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
43 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
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[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

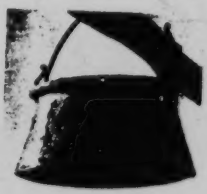

Fig. 91

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.
252 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/111/

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Fig. 94

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262 /112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

/112 cont./

252 262 with water and gathers up the small balls which form spontaniously. Water is brought to a boil. A small quantity of oil or butter and then seasoning are added. Sometimes these pellets, are fried in oil together with onions.

"Tripsàna," "papàra," and "kousmari" are dishes prepared chiefly by shepherds during their stay in the sheepfolds far from the dwellings. Here we have an exception to the rule (23)

23. See below, pp. 177-179.

which demands that culinary work be reserved for the women.

Now we come to the preparation of pastries, the most characteristic of which are the following:

The pastry with grasses: between layers of dough well rubbed with oil or butter and placed in a flat receptacle one spreads a layer made up of a mixture of edible wild aromatic herbs finely chopped, onions, cheese, butter or oil seasoned with salt and pepper and slightly cooked beforehand in a saucepan.

/113/ Another mixture may also be substituted, likewise cooked beforehand and containing cheese, milk, butter and flour. In this case the pastry which is called "galatopitta," is considered a treat.
/Fig. 95 appears here/

For the "striftopitta" or "psaropitta" the method of preparation is completely different. One starts by kneading a dough with a flour base whereupon one divides it into several parts. Each part is carefully worked with the "plastis" on the "plastiri" (fig. 95) until one obtains a circle approximately 60 centimeters in diameter, as thin as a sheet of paper, which is called /114/ "fylla" (leaf). Let us say parenthetically that these "fylla," placed one on top of the other in a receptacle may take the place of the various layers of dough in the preparation of the pastries already described. Then one prepares a mixture of white cheese and "trachanas." (24)

/113/

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142
412

Fig. 91

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[191]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parolla [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [524] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64).[1] In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

1./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/115 cont./

372

Fig. 96

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

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With regard to cooking, various methods can be distinguished:

Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the "ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/116 cont./

252 415 [412] flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15) A in its handle. Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.

252 262 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

A,/Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134]

3: Kabbadias--133 E-4,S (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/117/

252
415
291

Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

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462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical</u>
233 <u>criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[412]
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/331 cont./

796 474 554 788 [252] [596] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [776] [474] [554] [574] [782] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

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health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept (464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are (286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 605 [252] Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. [264] When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. [261] After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 [603] [252] The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 [516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

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775 /339 cont./
777 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
773 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776
789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 951 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

791 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of [591] these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, [688] meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 476 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 /382 cont./
291
261 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
181 women).

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
691 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
671 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
591 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, κάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred magnificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this
[252] delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
[409] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.' " This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Oré!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

S 123 a movement or revolution — but little more." (It
G 669 occurs to me now that they may have been prudently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking
S 123 their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidí, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

S [262] [263] By the time we had finished the hot milk with black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay
S [272] panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of
S [276] scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

ooo There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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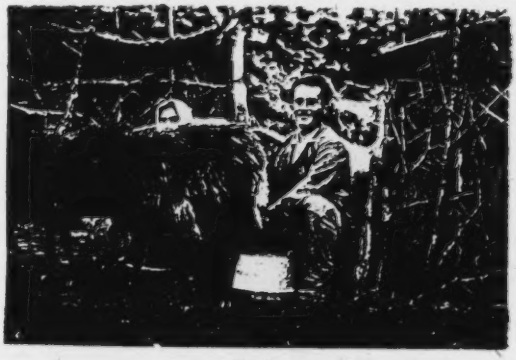

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)A are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

A, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotri" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
434 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
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[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

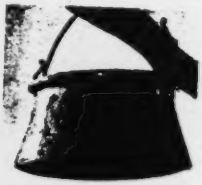

Fig. 91

/110 cont./
234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

257 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/111/

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Fig. 91

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/112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of omions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

/112 cont./

252 with water and gathers up the small balls which form spontaniously.
262 Water is brought to a boil. A small quantity of oil or butter and then seasoning are added. Sometimes these pellets, are fried in oil together with onions.

"Tripsana," "papara," and "kousmari" are dishes prepared chiefly by shepherds during their stay in the sheepfolds far from the dwellings. Here we have an exception to the rule (23)

23. See below, pp. 177-179.

which demands that culinary work be reserved for the women.

Now we come to the preparation of pastries, the most characteristic of which are the following:

The pastry with grasses: between layers of dough well rubbed with oil or butter and placed in a flat receptacle one spreads a layer made up of a mixture of edible wild aromatic herbs finely chopped, onions, cheese, butter or oil seasoned with salt and pepper and slightly cooked beforehand in a saucepan.

/113/ Another mixture may also be substituted, likewise cooked beforehand and containing cheese, milk, butter and flour. In this case the pastry which is called "galatopitta," is considered a treat.
/Fig. 95 appears here/

For the "striftopitta" or "psaropitta" the method of preparation is completely different. One starts by kneading a dough with a flour base whereupon one divides it into several parts. Each part is carefully worked with the "plastis" on the "plastiri" (fig. 95) until one obtains a circle approximately 60 centimeters in diameter, as thin as a sheet of paper, which is called /114/ "fylla" (leaf). Let us say parenthetically that these "fylla," placed one on top of the other in a receptacle may take the place of the various layers of dough in the preparation of the pastries already described. Then one prepares a mixture of white cheese and "trachanas." (24)

3: Kabbadias--129 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Fig. 95

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[191]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [527] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64).[A] In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

[A]./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
[412] by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15) in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

A,/Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134]

/248 cont./

121 842 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with [233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must 262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter [825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep 754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly 825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell 789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally, 233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to 825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above 789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears [531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/249 cont./

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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).[A] The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

[A] /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. . --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] [825] [128] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
176

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
164 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 134 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] or disastrous.
[787]

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. 9v') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, ~~shepherd~~ reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

/See p.100--Analyst/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789
782 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[796]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[191]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [171] [342]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an

233 825 789 262 531 [171]

influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: [illegible] A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the

233 825 789 770 527

fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

[171]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: [illegible] and even

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
(824) hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
(412)
(372)

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the tera can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
(515) head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
(251) had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/331 cont./

796 474 554 [188] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [176] [474] [554] [574] [782] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./

the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
777 [602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

S V 511 434 233 [433] [262]

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

S V G [427]

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

G 124 521 152

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

G 124 341

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece.*[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

G 114

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

G 563 162 S V 162

is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

S 123 a movement or revolution — but little more. (It occurs to me now that they may have been prudently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. S 123 When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidi, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

S [262] By the time we had finished the hot milk with black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with [263] hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay S [272] panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of S [274] scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saΐtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saΐtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίου Μάρτυρος: Περὶ Τρίφωνος, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[992] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above [789] all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

/278 cont./
755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes 789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new [754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

233 789 114 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
605 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάτ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [573]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [269]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [831]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral 596
blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut 596
that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection 577
and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside 152
his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion 596
to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole 517
family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth 152
in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The (264)
centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this 596
protection and support. The most general of these obligations 597
is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

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1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

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Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
594

593 /144 cont./
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264

22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
42 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

/159 cont./

596 264 [562] The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from [233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 462 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] [233] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] [235] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to the women.

[361] [22] [484] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] [322] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
771
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs 585
which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides 602
and its limitation within conventional bounds.

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγγαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [56] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[254] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

S 123 a movement or revolution — but little more. (It occurs to me now that they may have been prudently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. S 123 When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidí, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

S [262] By the time we had finished the hot milk with [263] black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay S [272] panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of S [276] scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

/118 cont./

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[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

354 Light and heat.

Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A,/Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B,/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [272] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 784 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] [761] [771] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 602 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 599
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 605 [252] Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual portions. [264] When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual portion of meat. [261] After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 [603] [252] The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [273] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were 585 292 [302] those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred mag-
[252] nificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
[609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Ori!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A./Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

(606) (607) (273) (782)

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

([71])

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
(171) pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
(293) (782) (823) say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden 789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric 825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes 322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the 531 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of 233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself 283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance 777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the 236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A. /See p. 429--Analyst/

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

 We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly pos-
sessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded
earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small
kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstan-
tin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The
look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of
humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[582] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations. 596

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

596 519 [275] 596 [431] [405] [205]

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

S 123 a movement or revolution — but little more. (It occurs to me now that they may have been pru-
G 669 dently waiting to see what sort of bird I was; what tobacco I smoked, as the phrase goes.) It seemed hardly credible that they were unapprised of events which had taken place so few miles away and had split the whole of Greece in two. Anyway, eagerly or ironically, they listened to my stumbling, gesticulating, half ancient and half modern, onomatopoeia-laced pantomime of the tidings: the revolt of half the armed forces in favor of Venizelos, the bombardments in Athens and Attica, the advance of the government forces through Salonika to the Struma River, the battle at the bridge, how the mutinous battleship *Averoff* had sailed away to Crete, how Venizelos himself had fled, probably to Cyprus, while the Macedonian leaders were retreating to Thrace, and perhaps into Bulgaria. A score of hooded nomads had gathered around me, leaning on their crooks and clicking
S 123 their tongues deprecatingly at the right moments. When I finished I noticed that their weather-beaten faces, possibly because of amusement at the odd idiom in which this communiqué had been delivered, had lost their sternness; the blue-gray eyes of the beetling despot who had first spoken had assumed a paternal look. "*Eh, paidi, mou,*" he said, with a cheerful expression that clashed with his words, "*kakos einai o polemos.*" ("War's a bad thing, my child.") Then, over his shoulder, he said to the others, "The boy must be hungry." I clambered down, a fair-haired boy took my horse, and another the saddlebags and the saddle and a bag of oats, and we headed through the dusk for the huts.

S [262] By the time we had finished the hot milk with
[263] black bread broken into it, and sprinkled with hammered salt — their only food it seemed, which we all spooned in unison out of the same dish — about forty shepherds were eagerly settled, unshod and cross-legged on the spread blankets, nursing their crooks around a fire of thorns in the center of a great domed hut. Half a dozen dogs lay
S [272] panting in the dark doorway. The old man was forever pushing, with oak-apple-jointed fingers, a minute saucepan into the embers, and we hissed and gulped in turn over the same small cup of
S [276] scalding and bubbling coffee. Another shepherd was busy slicing up handfuls of tobacco leaves on a log with a long knife, then rolling them and politely offering the rough cylinders for the smoker to lick shut and light with a twig. The day's halting saga, the oddity of its language evoking friendly laughter from time to time, was demanded all over again and discussed for hours.

ODD There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
(237) applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

759 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281 415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342 343 824 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [476]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λαναρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 585 596 if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[1] The bride 283 may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 789 one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 585 596 one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152 only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585 gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593 may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596 her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[1] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[197] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

283
824
→

Fig. 23

/38 cont./

283 Equipment related to weaving and wool

This equipment includes:

The distaff: there are two kinds of distaffs found among the Sarakatsani.

[824] The first is merely a tree branch 60 centimeters long which ends in a three-pronged fork onto which the tuft of wool is fastened (fig. 23).

/39/ The second is made up of two parts: first, a branch of the same length as that we have described makes up the vertical part of the distaff; a small, board fastened perpendicularly to the preceding part forms a cross ready to receive the tuft (fig. 24 and 25).

[531]

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142]
[291]

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

[286]

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/47 cont./

236 her feet;. With her right hand the carder holds the upper board by its handle. Finally, with the left hand, she brings the tufts of wool between the toothed surfaces of the boards.

Sorting: it is done in the course of the carding. The longest strands are put aside as the carding proceeds and are reserved for the manufacture of the better fabrics, those which are used for making clothing. The short strands are for other uses.

[283] It is also during the carding that the wool is prepared in advance for spinning; each two or three cardfuls make a distaff-feel.

283 Spinning: the bunches are then placed on the /48/ distaff. Once this is loaded, the Sarakatsani woman starts to spin by using a spindle. (10)

10. The three stages of this operation among the Sarakatsani, as elsewhere, are: drawing out, twisting and winding on. See A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, p. 259.

The handling of the spindle varies according to the quality of the yarn one wishes to obtain. If one wishes to prepare fine yarn for clothing, the spindle is suspended by the thread itself and turned freely in the air (fig. 26).[A] On the other hand, if the thread

A. [See p. 49--Analyst]

/48 cont./

283 is intended for making covers, velentza, as well as rugs, the spindle is turned by the hand of the spinner, and this process, called drougha, produces a thicker thread (fig. 36).

[291]

Fig. 36

It is obvious that the position of the distaff is different in each of the two instances.

The wool of goats is always spun by the second method.

The yarn intended for the warp of the textile to be produced is twisted less than that used for the weft. Moreover, when a very fine thread is required, the Sarakatsani women place themselves at the top of a rock and let the spindle fall into space.

/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks, [482] [313] her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water, in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 386 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 386 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

/49 cont./

283 the preparation of the loom.

386 The rest of the procedure "dyeing with aniline colors" is not of particular interest ethnographically, hence it will not be treated here.

386 The Sarakatsani also dye the fabrics intended for the making of garments. The technique that applies to it will be described in a separate paragraph.

The preparation of the loom.

286 When these various procedures are finished, the yarn is ready to be woven. However, before setting to work, the women must prepare the loom.

These preparations include:

--mounting the warp,

--installing it on the loom,

--finally, preparing the shuttles.

/50/ Mounting the warp is a task both complicated and delicate, which requires a series of micro-procedures.

The most important procedure is that which consist of warping the loom.

In order better to understand the detail of this procedure let us suppose that the warp is but a single thread.

Five pegs approximately 30 centimeters high are planted in the ground according to the arrangement indicated in the following diagram:

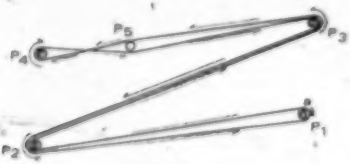

Fig. 37

/52 cont./

286 There remains the preparation of the bobbins for the shuttle.

283 286 We have already said that the yarn, whether dyed or not, is wound into balls. For it to be transferred to the quill of the shuttle. it must be given the shape of a spindle. The women therefore wind the yarn on the distaff and remove it as soon as it is loaded, so that the yarn wound around itself forms a cylinder, and the quill is placed into its cavity.

286 And this final micro-process ~~completes~~ /53/ the preparations for weaving, which we shall now describe in detail.

Weaving. - procedures and products.

In general, weaving presupposes the passing of the shuttle through the "shed" of the warp, the successive working of each of the treadles

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[191] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[273] [782] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[823] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatšani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden 789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric 825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes 322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the 531 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of 233 283 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance 777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the 236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

[A], /See p. 429--Analyst/

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these
312 the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [478]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
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three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The [294] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect [288] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested [584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

000 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 All was different here. Not only was there no silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

292 [286] [531] [301]

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor. Their forearms and legs were encased in geometrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

[301] [531] [531]

[p.79-C]

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142] [291] ←

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

● [286] →

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

[291] [516]

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/42/

286 [432] /42/ The weaving loom: there are two kinds of looms among the Sarakatsani. The first is made by them, while the second is bought from peasant artisans (fig. 30 and 31).

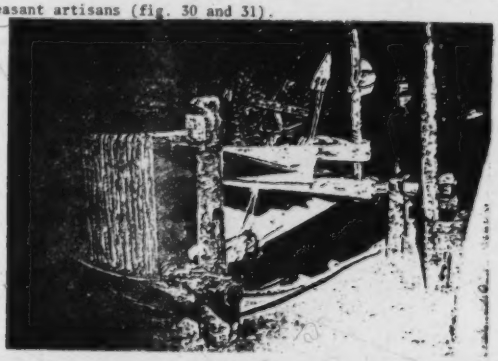

Fig. 30

The requirements of this study are such that it is the first type of loom which will be described here, especially since the second /type/ is not integrated in the traditional life of the Sarakatsani.

This loom is very simple. (7)

7. For a description of this loom we are using the terminology and outline given by A. Leroi-Gourhan in L'homme et matière, p. 239 f., while keeping the originality appropriate to our subject.

It is composed of six posts driven into the ground in two parallel rows and placed opposite each other as though delineating a rectangle. These posts are of unequal height. The tallest are in the center; those placed in front of the weaver, very short, measure approximately 20 centimeters, while the posts placed at the opposite extremity are almost 70 centimeters high; those in the center reach 1.50 meters.

286 /43/ /43/ Two cylindrical pieces 90 centimeters in length, rest horizontally on the pair of posts at the two ends. These each have a groove approximately 60 centimeters long into which the wrap is

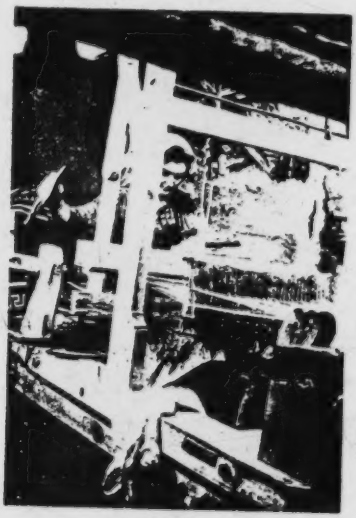

Fig. 31

first drawn and then rolled. These pieces which can turn or be locked by a very simple mechanism form the cylinder of the loom and the beam on which the woven fabric is wound.

However, here it is necessary to mention a novel detail: the posts intended for the beam bearing the warp sometimes show a /44/ second groove toward the lower part. It is in this groove that one then places another cylinder of wood (small tree trunk) called the upper beam, which serves to hold the threads of the warp.

286 /44 cont./

One of the two ends of each bean is pierced transversely. And it is by introducing of a stalk into this hole and attaching it by means of a cord that one obtains the simple mechanism for locking and turning mentioned above.

On the two high center posts another small tree trunk is set and from it are suspended the parts that serve to raise the threads alternately, and by means of which one weaves, that it to say, the two heddles on the one hand and the batten on the other.

The batten which holds the comb that presses together the threads of the weft at each passage through, is itself attached at the top to two sticks of wood called swords /?/.

The heddles (each framed along their entire length by two stalks of reed) are set in motion by ascending and descending movements and suspended by ropes, or rather by a harness, on pulleys. [432] They are made by the Sarakatsani themselves, whereas the batten is bought commercially.

The servicable breadth of the heddles, and consequently that of the batten and of the weave that can be produced, is approximately 60 cnetimeters.

The movement of the heddles is controlled by two pedals, two treadles parallel to the warp, the alternate action of which brings about the spreading apart of the threads of the warp, thus permitting the introduction of the shuttle, on the center quill of which is wound

Fig. 32

/44 cont./

286 the /45/ weft thread (fig. 32). These pedals are set in a small trench hollowed out in the ground at the center of the loom, so that the weaver can sit on the ground at the edge of the trench. (8)

[171] 8. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in his work L'homme et la matière, p. 306, says that one finds this trench in African looms, Prince Peter of Greece, for his part, informed us that the nomadic peoples of Asia (Ba'laisie community, Yezd, Central Iran--Turkoman, Allali, Andklui, N.E. Afganistan) use a loom of the same type. It would be interesting to know whether the African looms of which A. Leroi-Gourhan speaks belong to nomadic or sedentary peoples. Thus one could ask oneself whether the simplicity of this loom, lacking a bench for the weaver is the result of the needs of travel, or if the way of life on the bare ground is reflected in the construction of the loom.

This construction fully justifies the name which the Sarakatsani have given this loom. They call it "trench loom"; it is extremely simple to transport, as is appropriate for nomads.

233 Objects pertaining to the safety of the animals

These consist of collars for the animals and the shepherds staff.

The first are made of a fir branch, flexible and flattened, one end of which has a slit while the other is shaped into a hook. Once the collar is placed around the neck, the hook catches in the slit, thus making a simple and strong closing. The shepherds suspend a bell from the collar, the sound of which tells them the place where the animal is (fig. 33).

/49 cont./

283 the preparation of the loom.

386 The rest of the procedure "dyeing with aniline colors" is not of particular interest ethnographically, hence it will not be treated here.

386 The Sarakatsani also dye the fabrics intended for the making of garments. The technique that applies to it will be described in a separate paragraph.

The preparation of the loom.

286 When these various procedures are finished, the yarn is ready to be woven. However, before setting to work, the women must prepare the loom.

These preparations include:

--mounting the warp,

--installing it on the loom,

--finally, preparing the shuttles.

/50/ Mounting the warp is a task both complicated and delicate, which requires a series of micro-procedures.

The most important procedure is that which consist of warping the loom.

In order better to understand the detail of this procedure let us suppose that the warp is but a single thread.

Five pegs approximately 30 centimeters high are planted in the ground according to the arrangement indicated in the following diagram:

Fig. 37

/50 cont./

286 When the pegs have been set, the weaver starts to wind the yarn around them. She starts from point a of peg P 1. The yarn is wound around the other pegs as indicated by the arrows. It crosses between pegs P 4 and P 5, after which it is brought back to the point of departure where it is knotted at its initial extremity. The worker has thus obtained a closed circuit, through the crossing back of threads at one point.

The description of the operation pertaining to a single thread permits us to understand what actually happens.

Since a warp customarily has 500 to 600 threads, it is obviously impossible to wind them one by one. Thus, the weaver takes bunches of 25 to 30 at a time. This bunch of threads is called a "head." In order to put them on the loom she uses the idiastra, the instrument we have already described (fig. 27), which serves a double purpose: on the one hand, to facilitate threads. The latter are threaded into the holes of the idiastra and their ends are fastened to peg P 1.

Thus, a double circuit of threads is obtained which is made up of 12 components on each side.

/51/ The weaver holds the idiastra in her right hand by one of its handles and vertically in relation to the ground; she begins to draw the threads around peg P 2 which is on the right. There, she changes hands and, taking the idiastra in her left hand, she proceeds to P 3, passing around it so that the idiastra remains at the left. She changes hands again and, now holding the idiastra in her right hand, she arrives at peg no. 4 which she leaves to the right, winding around peg no. 5, carries the threads to peg no. 4 and hence goes to the left, and returning successively to pegs 3, 2 and 1. Thus, between pegs 4 and 5 the threads are crossed. The procedure recommences until the number of threads desired are placed in postion and crossed. The nappe /span?/ of the warp is approximately 60 centimeters wide and its length depends on the fabric one wishes to produce. In general, among the Sarakatsani, the nappe is long. (11)

A [See p.49--Analyst]

/51 cont./

286 11. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 293.

Let us now pass to the phase in the preparation of the loom which consists in transferring the warp onto the loom and involves another series of micro-procedures.

[291]

Fig. 38

The warp threads are first tied together at three points with a string. These points are set by pegs P 1, P 4 and P 5 (the branches of the crossing).

Then the warp threads are lifted from the pegs, plaited almost like hair, so that they can be put aside until the time when they are used (fig. 38).

Next, on the two posts that are 80 centimeters high and set in the ground at approximately one meter intervals one puts the beam--the one which is placed at the end of the loom opposite the weaver. /52/ It is on this beam that the plait of warp threads will be wound.

286 /52 cont./

To this end one inserts the top of the outside loop of the crossed threads into the slit in the beam (see description of the loom pp. 51-54) and wedges it into this slit with a stick.

In order to preserve the crossing one then introduces, on either side, two sticks (two reeds) three centimeters in diameter and two meters in length. Then one undoes the plait as well as the fastening and starts to turn the beam on the posts while keeping the warp very taut. Thus the warp is wound, while the crossing of the threads, preserved by the sticks, (12)

12. The same sticks whech are also used on the loom serve as spreading rods. A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 294.

moves forward little by little to the opposite end.

This process is followed by what is called beloniasma which is equivalent to rentrage /?/. What is involved here is the insertion of the warp threads into the heddles placed on the other side of the two sticks and consequently beyond the point where they are crossed. The threads of the warp are inserted, one by one, alternately into the noose of each heddle, after which they pass across the teeth of the beater and end at the beam where they are firmly secured.

When the warp is mounted on the loom, the latter is ready for action.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to mention further details, for the process of rentrage varies according to the fabric one wishes to produce.

For a simple fabric which is made with two heddles, one passes the threads two by two across the teeth of the beater.

For the kaltsoskoutti fabric, a name which may be translated "knit weave" one passes the threads three by three.

/52 cont./

286 There remains the preparation of the bobbins for the shuttle.

283 We have already said that the yarn, whether dyed or not, is
286 wound into balls. For it to be transferred to the quill of the shuttle. it must be given the shape of a spindle. The women therefore wind the yarn on the distaff and remove it as soon as it is loaded, so that the yarn wound around itself forms a cylinder, and the quill is placed into its cavity.

286 And this final micro-process completes /53/ the preparations for weaving, which we shall now describe in detail.

Weaving. - procedures and products.

In general, weaving presupposes the passing of the shuttle through the "shed" of the warp, the successive working of each of the treadles

/53 cont./

286 moving the two heddles, and one or more thrusts of the beater; these steps are necessary whether the fabric is intended for garments, blankets or rugs.

Using this classic method, the Sarakatsani produce various kinds of fabrics:

A simple fabric in wool or in cotton and wool.

The kaltsoskoutti fabric meant chiefly for the making of women's skirts and men's leggings.

The velentza blanket, made with thick sheep wool yarn that has been twisted by the "drougha" method.

The toslia rugs woven half in sheep wool, half in goat wool.

The coarse goat wool fabric used to make shepherd capes.

Peculiarities are to be noted in connection with the weaving of twill of the flokotti and karamelotti blankets and of rugs called thiliasto or fouskotto. These peculiarities reside sometimes in a variation of the number of heddles and consequently the number of treadles, at other times in the method of weaving.

Let us examine first the twill weave, the very closely woven serge (woven in a diagonal). To obtain it, one places on the loom four heddles to which correspond four treadles.

In order to facilitate the description of the following process, let us number the treadles from left to right. We thus have treadles number 1, 2, 3, and 4. The weaver works treadle no. 1, opens the shed, passes the shuttle through and strikes the beater. Without raising her foot, she works treadle no. 4 and continues as before. Then she shifts her feet and steps on treadle no. 2, then treadle no. 3 without releasing no. 2, passing the shuttle and striking the beater successively after each movement of the treadles.

The flokotti blanket imitates, so to speak, the hide of /54/ the sheep. One should picture a thick wool shag, the hairy side of which looks like fur (fig. 39).

/54 cont./

286 In order to produce this shag the weaver first passes the shuttle from two to seven times through the shed while of course, successively working the treadles. Then she slips through the "shed" a weft which makes a peculiar ball. Once the weft is inserted from

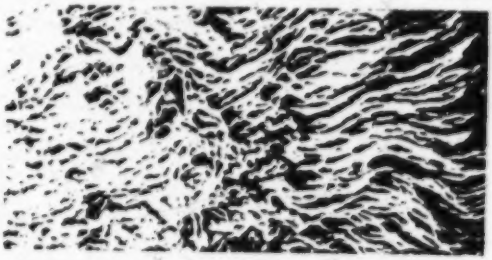

Fig. 30

one end of the warp to the other, she pulls it out by inserting the fingers of the left hand between each couple of threads of the warp, to a height of five centimeters. Thereupon she gives two or three strikes of the beater. The loops of thread thus formed, very compact, remain unaltered.

The procedure is repeated until the flokotti weave is finished.

As soon as this blanket is completely woven, the loops are cut at a certain point with scissors.

The rug called thiliasto or fouskotto is in fact only a variation of this kind of blanket. Here the procedure is the same, except for one detail. Inasmuch as the diameter of the small loops forming the shag is reduced to one centimeter, a rod which formerly served to load guns is pushed into these loops, in order to keep them in place before they are pressed together by the striking of the beater. And the distinguishing feature lies in the fact that one does not cut these loops which remain as they are.

/54 cont./

286 Finally, there are /55/ the karamelotti blankets, which have
531 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles, and consequently with the same number of treadles; moreover, several shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).

[171]

13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in L'homme et la matière, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

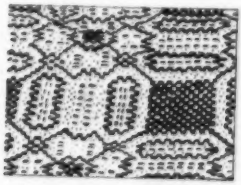

Fig. 40

286 Fulling.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a mandani.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

S /55 cont./
286 and the water /56/ falls on the fabrics (fig. 41 and 42). This procedure takes two or three days.

S The mandani is a wooden machine which consists of a large
286 cylinder and big hammers, also made of wood. When the cylinder turns,
G the hammers beat regularly each in turn. The operation of the unit is
286
408
[372]

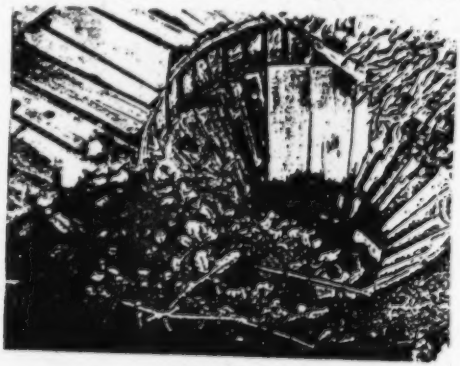

Fig. 41

based on hydraulic power. The fabric slowly unrolls on the cylinder and the hammers beat it ceaselessly. A stream of water continually floods the cylinder containing the fabric, so that the latter is simultaneously exposed to the action of the water and the hammers. It is chiefly twill which is given this treatment.

The construction of this equipment is the work of peasants who also keep it in operation. It is therefore to the peasants that the Sarakatsani turn for the fulling of the fabrics and covers they make.

S /57/ The dyeing of fabrics
286
386

In order to complete the description of the techniques relevant

/57 cont./

286 to woo crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 13

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
(824) continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
(804) commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
(829) is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept (464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are (286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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Conversation

[Frontispiece; facing p. iii]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσανᾶοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word. Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [476]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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~~[p. 65]~~

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2. The Women

[facing p. 64]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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3. Sarakatsan Grandmother

[facing p.176]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Greece EH1

these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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5. Sarakatsan Shepherd

[facing p. 288]

2:Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962
EH14 Samakrunii EH14
Greece EH1

G 114 [103]

PERHAPS because it was my first Greek town after a few years of absence, I had taken a strong liking to Alexandroupolis. Large as it is, there is nothing overpoweringly polished about the citizens of this Thracian town; rather the reverse. Many of the limitations of a new provincial town pervade it; and the long evening hours of the officers and civil servants sitting in the *kaphenria* are spanned by familiar anecdotes and yawns and yet another coffee. The tedium of unchosen and unchanging company lurks there, and for some fastidious ones, the acute pain of listening to the same jokes and the same stories again and again.

G 517 275

S 484 291

All at once, however, the boredom of the dusty evening street was halted by the passing of a wild, solitary, and alien figure that no streets or houses should ever have confined; it was a presence as inappropriate in these tame surroundings as a wolf in a main street of Byzantium. A rough black pillbox was tilted askew on his matted and whiskered head. He wore a black double-breasted waistcoat of homespun goat's hair, tucked into a black sash, below which a hairy and broad-pleated black kilt jutted stiffly to his knees. Black tights of the same stifling stuff covered his long legs, and he was shod in those Greek mountain shoes which turn up at the tip and curl back in a broad canoelike prow and end in a wide black

[p. 73-B]

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
[482] looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few mo-
ments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
[131] to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
101 them in March the following year, when I was
[114] riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
[122] in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
[221] Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
22 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mou-
[342] tains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or
[492] halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[349] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs ex-
[161] cept, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
[233] about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 Unlike the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which they return after their half-yearly journeys in
[101] search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
195 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katmoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okar* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

595 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[534] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [234] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. S [291] For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. [22] I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bum-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinma* —

2:Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962
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[p.87-C]

/39 cont./

283 However, one finds variations, the most interesting of which is this: the vertical part is flattened at its upper end, thus producing the form of a lyre (fig. 26).

The bobbin which is fundamentally only an accessory of the distaff is the principal twisting tool and the object around which one winds the spun wool (winding-on). It consists of two parts: one is the bobbin properly speaking, or the spindle; the other, the weight is /40/ a piece of hard wood in the shape of a truncated cone pierced at the two ends, so that it can set on the spindle (fig. 106 [probably a misprint; reference seems to be to Fig. 26]).

[142] [291]

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

[286]

286 The idiastra: this is a thin wood or board in the shape of an elongated rectangle (4 x 30 centimeters), each of the two long sides of which is pierced with regularly spaced holes, and the ends of which are shaped like handles (fig. 27). It resembles a draw-plate /filiere?/.

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

[291] [516]

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/48 cont./

283 is intended for making covers, velentza, as well as rugs, the spindle is turned by the hand of the spinner, and this process, called drougha, produces a thicker thread (fig. 36).

[291]

Fig. 36

It is obvious that the position of the distaff is different in each of the two instances.

The wool of goats is always spun by the second method.

The yarn intended for the warp of the textile to be produced is twisted less than that used for the weft. Moreover, when a very fine thread is required, the Sarakatsani women place themselves at the top of a rock and let the spindle fall into space.

/51 cont./

286 11. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: op. cit., p. 293.

Let us now pass to the phase in the preparation of the loom which consists in transferring the warp onto the loom and involves another series of micro-procedures.

[291]

Fig. 38

The warp threads are first tied together at three points with a string. These points are set by pegs P 1, P 4 and P 5 (the branches of the crossing).

Then the warp threads are lifted from the pegs, plaited almost like hair, so that they can be put aside until the time when they are used (fig. 38).

Next, on the two posts that are 80 centimeters high and set in the ground at approximately one meter intervals one puts the beam--the one which is placed at the end of the loom opposite the weaver. /52/ It is on this beam that the plait of warp threads will be wound.

/59 cont./

342 The round hut

Seen from the outside, it gives the impression of a solid created by a parabola around a perpendicular axis whose tangent is at the top of the hut (fig. 45).

From the ground to a height of 1.60 meters its diameter is about six meters. From this height upward the diameter starts to diminish progressively but rapidly, ending, at a /60/ height of approximately five meters, in a geometric point which forms the top of the hut. They /the huts/ therefore proceed "imperceptibly from the ground to the summit, they have neither walls nor roof properly speaking, but a conical surface." (16)

16. According to the typology of huts established by A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, p. 261, which corresponds perfectly to this type of Sarakatsani hut.

The entire construction rests on a framework composed of vertical elements and intersecting horizontal elements.

Fig. 45

[291]

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354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

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Fig. 65

/82 cont./

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Fig. 66

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/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and
(824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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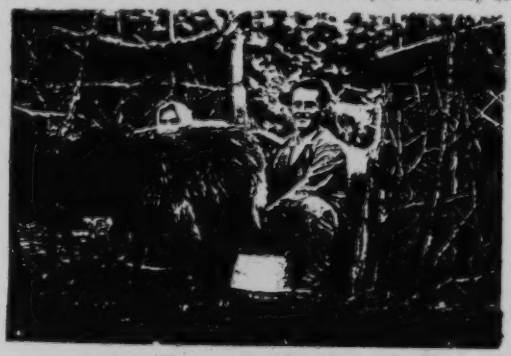

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

In general, one may say that:

291 The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical
[191] with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

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Fig. 77

[Men's Apparel]

/99 cont./

Sarakatsani clothing.

291 We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

[191] Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and [292] their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79).* Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[171] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

*[Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/101 cont./ /Men's Apparel/

291 178 (171) apparel that is worn by almost all the highland shepherds of continental Greece. It is true that, the present clothing is less picturesque; it is, on the other hand, much more practical (fig. 78).

This apparel includes:

1st The "tsarouchia" (mocassins).

2nd Ordinary wool socks, knit by the women.

3rd Trousers of very heavy white wool, which are called "bourazana" or "panovraki floro."

It should be mentioned that in the recent past these trousers which have no opening in front and are fastened at the waist by means of a string were the apparel of old men and of the chief, that is to say, of those who did not work in the sheepfolds. The work trousers were of the same kind but were dark blue. We should specify that in our day, saved for rare exceptions, the use of the dark blue trousers has become generally established (fig. 80).

4th The drawers.

5th The undershirt.

6th An ordinary shirt.

7th An ordinary vest.

8th A jacket.

291 The Sarakatsani also use two kinds of overcoats: the first is a coat with sleeves called "maliotto" equipped with pockets as well as a wide and long collar. The second is merely a /102/ /Men's apparel, Figs. 78-83 appear here/ /103/ long cape without sleeves, finished off with a hood and made from goat hair, therefore water repellent. This is the "kapa." And it is very often in this cape the the shepherds wrap themselves for sleeping out-of-doors. For these clothes see figures 81, 82, 83.

Finally, their outfit is completed with a cap called "skoufia" (fig. 79).

Women's apparel

The women's apparel consists of the following articles:

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 118]

[Figs. 78-83 will be found on p.117--Analyst]

/102/

142
302
291

Men's Apparel

Fig. 78

Fig. 79

Fig. 80

Fig. 82

Fig. 81

Fig. 83

/Women's Apparel/

/103 cont./

29 [531] 1st The previously mentioned "tsarouchia", likewise ornamented with pompons though considerably smaller ones than those of the men.

2nd "Stockings" (fig. 87) that cover the legs only to the knee. [531] These stockings are knitted in geometric motifs, but only in black on white.

3rd By way of underclothing the women wear in winter a pair of pants stopping at the knees and woven of goat hair, to protect them from the cold, especially when they are obliged to cross streams on foot.

4th A wool undershirt protects the bust. On top of this undershirt they wear a very short shirt (it reaches to the hips) made of a cotton fabric. It has relatively short sleeves, that are very full and pleated. The scantiness of this shirt constitutes a health measure. If it were longer, the lower part would be in danger of becoming wet during the crossing of streams; now, drying next to the skin could cause serious health problems.

[531] 5th The dress proper includes: a very wide skirt falling to the feet, pleated and decorated with white embroidery in geometric designs. This skirt is fastened at the waist by a leather belt (fig. 88).

[531] 6th A bib, likewise embroidered with geometric motifs, as a rule black on white, protects the chest and reaches down to the waist (fig. 86).

7th From the wrist to the elbows the forearms are covered with "stockings" identical with the stockings that protect the legs.

8th The vest, three varieties of which we have described, is also a part of the women's apparel, but only in two forms. On the one hand, there is a simple black vest, which does not button in front /104/ /Women's Apparel Figs. 84-88 appear here/ /105/ thus leaving the bib showing and, on the other hand, a longer vest the back of which is ornamented with two false sleeves embroidered and open, starting at the shoulders. It is rather a kind of short coat, as its name also suggests: "kontokapa" (fig. 85).

9th An ornamental collar, pleated and likewise embroidered, completes the dress. /Fig. 89 appears here/

5: Kabbadias--119 E-4,S (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/104/

291
292
531
[301]
[142]

Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 85

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

291
142

Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

[531]
[765]
[888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

30| colored precious stones (fig. 84).
[292]

This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from
[53] those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the
[30] relative absence of embroidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

*****

291 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider
294 Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40) are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

4, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

3: Kabbadias--133 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/117/

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415
291

Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/179 cont./

[474] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
[59] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[594] negotiations with merchants take place.
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

[675] If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

> 122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
> [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the <u>richtologos</u> to ask for his exorcisms;
467 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
235
791

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

> 13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [302] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/373/

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302
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Fig. 108

/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 [613] statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which
182 means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
361 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
233 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
182 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
462 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the
182 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
291 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
261 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
181 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

182 /382 cont./
291 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
261 women).
181

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
691 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
691 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
599 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

S V I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

[342] [361] [162] [291] G [291]

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

V [101] [197] [191] [291] S [101] [197]

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

S V [101] [361] [342]

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

V [174] [197] [101] [175] G [175]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
SaraKatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni V [194] spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the S 186 Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons V 584 having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) 434 of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will 233 average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. [433] In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were 585 292 [302] those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 292 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his [531] outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in. [352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

S 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet,
583 but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
S the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
[513] many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular
patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
S 585 looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black
and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall,
with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with
her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the
bride stood motionless. On either side of her on
the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-look-
S [576] ing girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kaloriziki!*"
("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined
her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable.
Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move
a fraction when other latecomers arrived and
hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were effigies in an ethnological museum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

S [292]

G 292 In those Greek villages where the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
G [184] as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder mountains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
000 deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[text continues on p. 79-C]

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FH14 Sarakatsani EH14

Sikarayid village

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[p.79-B]

Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

All was different here. Not only was there no silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor. Their forearms and legs were encased in geometrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 THERE was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

[Men's Apparel]

/99 cont./

Sarakatsani clothing.

291 We shall begin our analysis with a description of Sarakatsani clothing.

(191) Men's apparel: Until a relatively recent period the apparel of the Sarakatsani male was the Greek "foustanella". Figure 77 shows this apparel which, from bottom to top, consists of the following articles:

The "tsarouchia": These pointed shoes made of calfskin, are a kind of very firm mocassin with heavy nailed soles; the vamp, curved front, has a large pompon at the tip. This type of footgear was common to both sexes.

2nd. The Sarakatsani was not familiar with socks and slipped his bare foot into the mocassin. On the other hand, from the ankle to the thighs he wore stockings of white wool which were fastened to the drawers. Black garters worn below the knees completed the /100/ leg adornment. The stockings worn on festival days were knit and [292] their garters ornamented with pompons, while the everyday stockings were cut out of white fleece passed through the "mandani" and were held up with very simple garters.

3rd. Short, cotton drawers were hidden under the "foustanella."

4th. The term "Foustanella" refers to a pleated skirt--a sort of kilt--of white cotton fabric. It was made of a number of isoseles trapezoids with narrow bases, brought together in seams. This permitted considerable fullness of the garment in a multitude of pleats which, moreover, remained unalterable. The "foustanella" was fastened at the hips with hooks.

5th. The chest was protected with an undershirt of the same fabric as the stockings, a fabric that always woven on the loom.

6th. In addition a white shirt of cotton was worn with very wide pleated sleeves.

7th. Two belts made up the indispensable accessories to the male outfit. The first served quite simply to fit the foustanella

3: Kabbadias--119 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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[301]
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Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 85

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

301 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from [531] those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the [301] relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

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291 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider 294 Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
59 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
293 a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
492 horse.

291 His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
342 always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
361 highest point.

417 Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
351 hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
574 negotiations with merchants take place.

439 It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
574 down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
233 happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
824 the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
675 the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432 434
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342 the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462 lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237] ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461] of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [428] taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236 the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462] naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283 been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236] (λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286 thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221] women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294 ● fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291 material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432 bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks,
482 313 her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water, in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 386 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 386 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "ferméli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who wore it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79). Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[101] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

[Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

301 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from

[531] those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the

[301] relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

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291 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider

294 Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40) are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/36/

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [192] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 292 [302]

600 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 All was different here. Not only was there no
292 silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West
[286] and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came
[531] from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying
[301] or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor.
[301] Their forearms and legs were encased in geo-
[531] metrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these
[531] clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be baptized. But they are always named at once, and
[775] should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication, adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
[684] known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[761] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or, on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[201] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

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Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

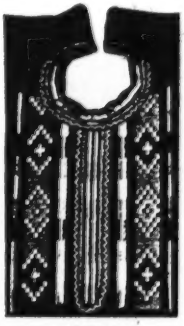

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 85

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

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Fig. 80

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

[531] [765] [888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

301 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from [531] those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the [301] relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

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291 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider 294 Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Conversation

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery.

As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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884 156 577 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 577 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

[292] [202] [142] 585 292 [202]

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

149 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 THERE was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

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Fig. 77

/102/

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302
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Men's Apparel

Fig. 78

Fig. 79

Fig. 80

Fig. 82

Fig. 81

Fig. 83

/270 cont./

600 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
75 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[191] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... verse 88 et 27.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναλεκτὰ καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
974 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] [191] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 185 et commentaires de Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς λαογράφος, p. 664. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 280 et suiv. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς θρέψης, p. 89-90, etc.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: ~~Griech. Antike Religion~~ pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[789] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[796]

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Fig. 108

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Greece EH1

precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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APPENDIX II

311 LAND UTILIZATION IN THE ZAGORI EXPRESSED IN PERCENTAGES

	%
Cultivated areas (including arable land and orchards)	2·16
Previously cultivated land, now barren	3·13
Open pasture land	25·74
Forest or bush pasture	26·05
Forests	36·65
Roads, ditches, village sites, barren land, etc.	6·27
Total	100·00

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, 1956–7

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

/174 cont./

596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
420 obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.
(423)

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
422 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[462] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[437] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
000 other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses. 585 602

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

585 596 [312] [415] [461] [462] [482] [822]

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

***

The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824
312 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

237 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

V 221 182 [422] [556]

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

S 361 342 [233]

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

S [101]

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S 361 G [162] [166] S [342] S [241] [462] [233] [515]

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

S 35 [231] [233] [252] [312]

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

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/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands
[482] are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks,
[313] her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water,
in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in
386 rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start
386 with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

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[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596
462 /159 cont./

[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical</u>
233 <u>criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
● 32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
[251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost pre-lapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

[p. 87-A]

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

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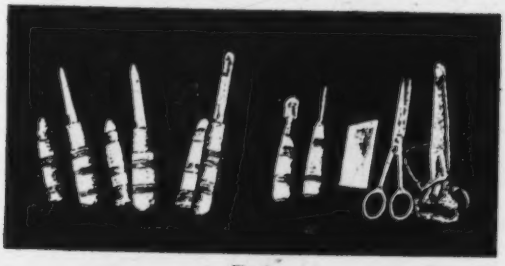

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

283
824
→

Fig. 23

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[184] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

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The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

789 /263 cont./

585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

[293] [182] [823] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden

789 825 322 53 233 283 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).[A] It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance

777 236 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/26 cont./

222 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and
313 building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.
824
312 Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

239 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence
824 fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are
323 ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid
285 only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

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[381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

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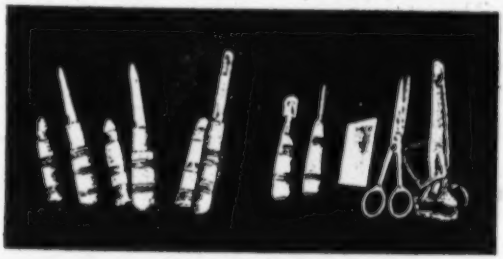

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/76 cont./

343 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long,
252 defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged
333 horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is
252 covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./

343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

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18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/60 cont./

342
335 The vertical part is built of strong posts approximately 1.30 meters high, which are driven into the ground and thus constitute the foundations of the hut. That is why the posts must be planted at regular intervals (about 60 centimeters) on the circumference of the base, marked off beforehand on the ground.

The fundamental framework completed, one proceeds to the construction of the top, called "crown" which acts as the "keystone" assuring the balance and solidity of the entire building. /61/ It consists of a ring 50 centimeters in diameter, made up preferably of wicker stalks, slender, strong and flexible, that are twisted together.

Next, long, defoliated branches, one end of which is notched, are fastened to the crown which thus rests in the groove formed by the totality of the notches (fig. 46).

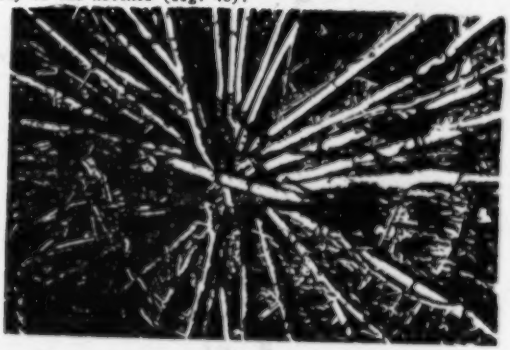

Fig. 46

Care is taken that the length of these branches, when they are attached to the posts previously mentioned, corresponds to the height that one wishes to give the hut.

If the length of these branches is insufficient, several of them are fastened end to end until the desired length is obtained.

/61 cont./

342 When the construction of the branch-crown combination (the frame-
335 work of the roof and part of the vertical framework) is finished, it is set in place. The crown is mounted on a long fork of wood and raised so that the fork, set vertically, rests on the ground in the center of the hut where it is firmly secured. After that, the free ends of the /62/ branches are fastened to the upper ends of the posts, the number of the first corresponding to that of the second.

However, the framework is not yet finished, for it requires horizontal elements.

Perpendicularly to the posts and parallel to the ground one arranges long, preferably slender, branches which one attaches with

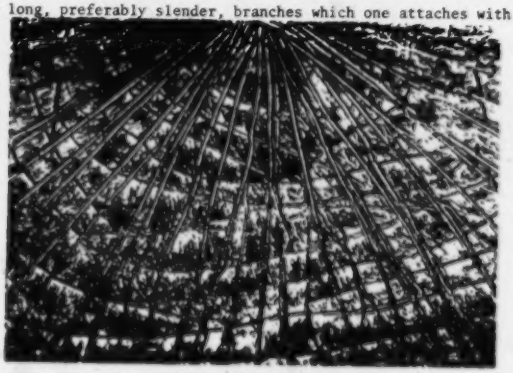

Fig. 47

plant cords to the vertical elements around which they turn. Actually, they are large circles which are placed over the vertical structure at intervals of approximately 30 to 40 centimeters (fig. 47) between the base and the summit.

342 The construction of the hut is completed with the construction of the covering, which may be divided into two phases.

/63 cont./

342 The rectangular hut, called "sloping"

This is a rectangular hut also called "house-hut" by the Sarakatsani because it looks like a village cottage but is entirely built of branches (fig. 48 and 49).

The materials used for this construction are the same as those that go into the construction of the round hut.

This building, obviouly more complicated than the preceding one, [335] for it includes vertical walls amd a roof with two sides, rests on forks made of trunks or long branches of fir, plane tree, etc., specially selected and slightly shaped.

/64/ The dimensions of its rectangular base are on an average eight meters long by four meters wide, but they may vary according to the number of inhabitants.

342 335 After having traced on the ground the outlines of the plan, that is to say, a rectangle of the desired dimensions, one sets in the center of each of the two sides representing the width of the rectangle a fork approximately three meters high; then four forks 1.60 meters high are set successively at the four angles of this rectangle.

According to the length of the projected hut, one drives into the ground one, two and sometimes three additional forks of the same height along each of the big sides of the rectangle. Thus we have a total of eight, ten or twelve forks which constitute the foundations of the hut. Then the framework proper is erected (fig. 49).

On the two high center forks is placed a trunk which serves as ridge pole, while from one fork to the other one places a series of trunks, one after the other, in such a way that, by joining their upper ends, one obtains a tie-beam forming a rectangle parallel to that which was traced on the ground. Then, two small trunks or branches are placed obliquely on either side of the center fork which they join to the forks at angles, similar to rafters forming two gables. All these trunks and all these branches are fastened to each other or

/64 cont./

342 to the forks by plant cords or ropes.
335

Finally, the top of the hut, which ultimately takes the shape of a roof with two places slanting from the ridge is built parallel to the main rafters. It is made up of a series of long branches that serve as rafters, their number determined by that of another series of long posts set vertically in the ground. Actually, one plants on each of the long sides, at intervals of 40 to 50 centimeters, a certain number of posts 1.60 meters high ending in a fork. Now, to each of these posts which reach the height of the tie-beam there corresponds a rafter to which it is lashed in the manner we have already described.

It should be said here that the ends of the rafters sharply project beyond the tie-beams to form an overhang protecting the hut from rainwater.

For the construction of the low sides of the rectangle one also uses posts planted sometimes vertically, sometimes at an angle /65/ / Figs. 48 and 49 appear here/ /66/ so that, in the latter case, they delineate an arc at the base, the span of which represents the width of the hut and the height of which (approximately 50 centimeters) inclines outward from the center fork.

342 As a consequence, the two short sides of the hut are either rectilinear of parabolic at their base; it follows that the corresponding walls are flat in the first instance and convex in the second.

Finally, the covering of this framework remains to be described.

[824] Horizontal stalks are lashed to the vertical components at intervals

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

3: Kabbadias--76 · E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/65/

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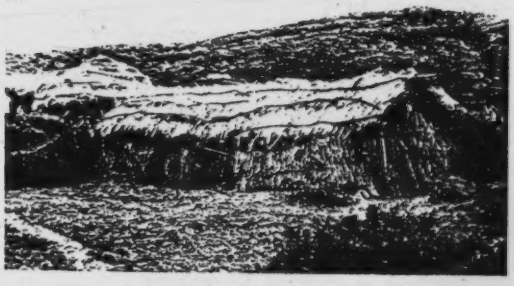

Fig. 48

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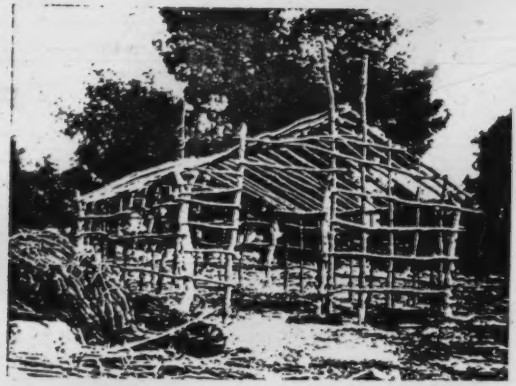

Fig. 49

3: Kabbadias--80 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/69/

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[335]

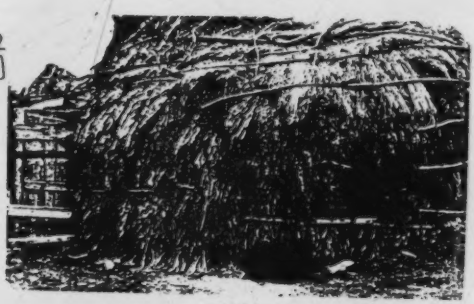

Fig. 53

343

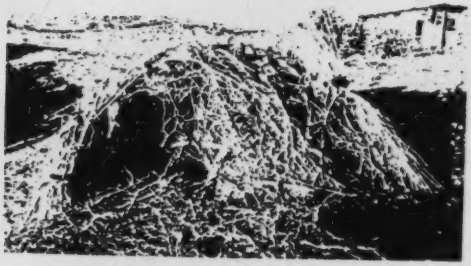

Fig. 54

/70 cont./

342 For the first /variation/ the basic materials consist of:
335

Fig. 55

a) Only two forks set in the middle of the short sides of the rectangle drawn on the ground, that is to say, opposite each other.

b) A trunk resting horizontally on these forks.

These forks are approximately two meters high, whereas the horizontal trunk is from two to three meters long.

Long branches are then driven into the ground on the two large sides of the rectangle at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters; their height exceeds that of the forks. Their upper ends are tied to the horizontal trunk that constitutes the ridge pole: they thus form true crossed arches (fig. 53 and 55).

/71/ The side walls of these huts are always convex in shape.
342 Of course, the method used in the construction of the frame as well as the covering, scarcely differs from that of the buildings already described.

343 The second /variation/, that is to say the sloping huts built

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

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516
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Conversation

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσαναῖοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word, Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[342] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λιπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through
which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye',
at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to
be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side
of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only
a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But
the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs.
However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in
great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all
their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning
them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the
condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce
their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven
or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are
finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-
maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining
grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to
the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock
of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer
mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are
strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[417] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter
storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-
herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep,
especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes.
Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total
stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[417] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to
build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237] ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461] of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [426] taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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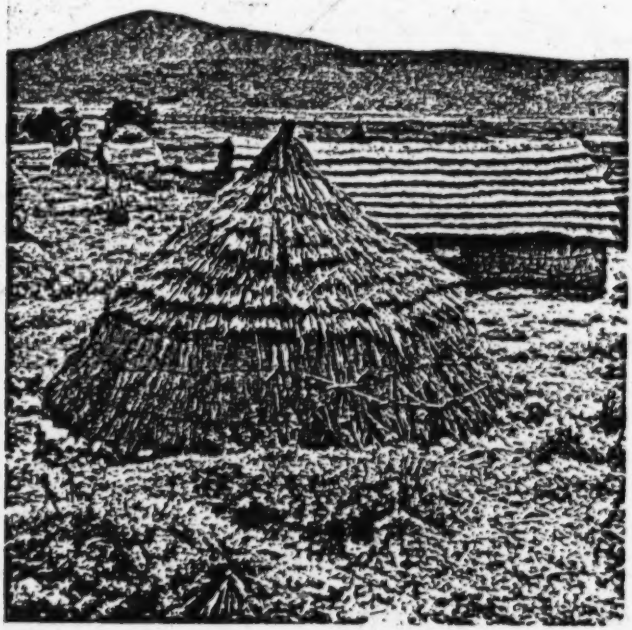

4. Stani in Winter

[facing p. 208]

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
10 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
[402] snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few mo-
ments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
[131] huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
233 to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
114 them in March the following year, when I was
122 riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 seen them again and again, all over northern
221 Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
342 high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
492 seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
342 green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
161 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of
233 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
101 they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
195 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

2:Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

291
342

[p.87-C]

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto [128] examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a [824] heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281
415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then
[251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342
343 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal
824 shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/58 cont./

342 343 Metal is never used as a building material, not even in the form of nails. The same holds true for stones or bricks. However, clayey earth is sometimes used.

To the problems of the dwelling, its outbuildings and shelters for the animals, the Sarakatsani has a single solution, always /59/ the same: the hut. For all the Sarakatsani building derive from the method of erecting a hut.

The dwelling and outbuildings.

342 The Sarakatsani are acquainted with two main categories of dwelling huts:

The round or circular huts surmounted by an almost conical cupola which, from a distance, makes them resemble wicker hives (fig. 45).

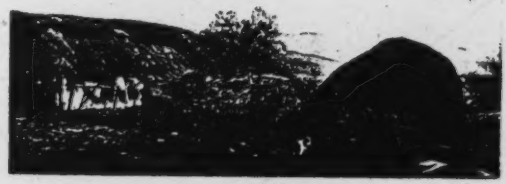

Fig. 44

The rectangular or "sloping" huts, (15) the base of which forms a rectangle (figs. 48-49).

15. According to the terminology of the Sarakatsani. They are called sloping in comparison with the circular huts which are also called "upright."

These categories include numerous variations, of which we shall speak after having described the fundamental types. Figure 44 shows these two types of huts.

/59 cont./

342 The round hut

Seen from the outside, it gives the impression of a solid created by a parabola around a perpendicular axis whose tangent is at the top of the hut (fig. 45).

From the ground to a height of 1.60 meters its diameter is about six meters. From this height upward the diameter starts to diminish progressively but rapidly, ending, at a /60/ height of approximately five meters, in a geometric point which forms the top of the hut. They /the huts/ therefore proceed "imperceptibly from the ground to the summit, they have neither walls nor roof properly speaking, but a conical surface." (16)

16. According to the typology of huts established by A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Techniques, p. 261, which corresponds perfectly to this type of Sarakatsani hut.

The entire construction rests on a framework composed of vertical elements and intersecting horizontal elements.

[291]

Fig. 45

/60 cont./

342
335 The vertical part is built of strong posts approximately 1.30 meters high, which are driven into the ground and thus constitute the foundations of the hut. That is why the posts must be planted at regular intervals (about 60 centimeters) on the circumference of the base, marked off beforehand on the ground.

The fundamental framework completed, one proceeds to the construction of the top, called "crown" which acts as the "keystone" assuring the balance and solidity of the entire building. /61/ It consists of a ring 50 centimeters in diameter, made up preferably of wicker stalks, slender, strong and flexible, that are twisted together.

Next, long, defoliated branches, one end of which is notched, are fastened to the crown which thus rests in the groove formed by the totality of the notches (fig. 46).

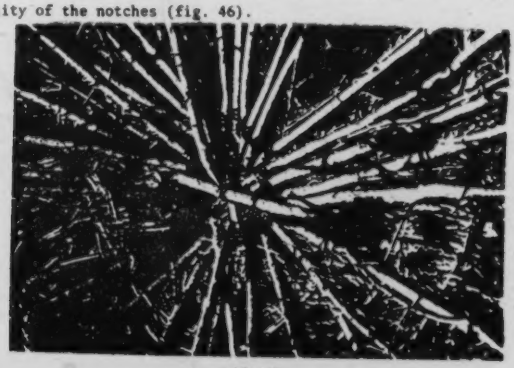

Fig. 46

Care is taken that the length of these branches, when they are attached to the posts previously mentioned, corresponds to the height that one wishes to give the hut.

If the length of these branches is insufficient, several of them are fastened end to end until the desired length is obtained.

/61 cont./

342 When the construction of the branch-crown combination (the frame-
335 work of the roof and part of the vertical framework) is finished, it is set in place. The crown is mounted on a long fork of wood and raised so that the fork, set vertically, rests on the ground in the center of the hut where it is firmly secured. After that, the free ends of the /62/ branches are fastened to the upper ends of the posts, the number of the first corresponding to that of the second.

However, the framework is not yet finished, for it requires horizontal elements.

Perpendicularly to the posts and parallel to the ground one arranges long, preferably slender, branches which one attaches with

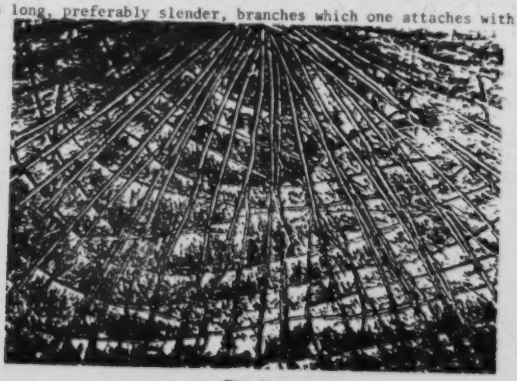

Fig. 47

plant cords to the vertical elements around which they turn. Actually, they are large circles which are placed over the vertical structure at intervals of approximately 30 to 40 centimeters (fig. 47) between the base and the summit.

342 The construction of the hut is completed with the construction of the covering, which may be divided into two phases.

/62 cont./

342 824 The first /phase/ consists of filling in the checker work formed by the intersection of the vertical and horizontal elements of the framework by spreading on them branches, foliage, even bushes in a thin and sparse layer that is kept in place by plant cords.

The second /phase/ consists of covering this first layer with bushes (holly, etc.) or with small branches of fir, /63/ plane tree, etc., previously tied into bunches, thay are placed vertically side by side all around the hut, beginning at the ground, and only to the height of the posts. From there to the top one proceeds in similar fashion but using aquatic plants (reeds, rushes, etc.).

It should be added that these bunches of aquatic plants, meant to insure the impermeability of the hut, are spread out in circular layers arranged in such a way that the lower side of each layer slightly covers the upper side of the one placed directly below it. This arrangement, which forms very distinct areas overlapping from top to bottom, in a succession of real tiers, promotes the running-off of rain water.

342 Finally, the construction described is supported by horizontal lacings--concentric rings wound around the exterior surface of the hut--which hold in place the covering and increase the stability of the construction, especially against the wind.

It sometimes happens, especially in the case of huts used for winter living in cold regions, that a second roof is added. That is to say, a hood the size of the hut, made of bunches of rushes superimposed on one another, entirely prepared beforehand on the ground, is set in place by means of forks. [824]

In order to complete the description, it is necessary to add that in the course of the construction an opening is left to permit entrance into the hut.

A closing, in the form of a dry hedge or of boards, acts as a door; a firm post is used as an upright.

/63 cont./

342 The rectangular hut, called "sloping"

This is a rectangular hut also called "house-hut" by the Sarakatsani because it looks like a village cottage but is entirely built of branches (fig. 48 and 49).

The materials used for this construction are the same as those that go into the construction of the round hut.

[335] This building, obviouly more complicated than the preceding one, for it includes vertical walls amd a roof with two sides, rests on forks made of trunks or long branches of fir, plane tree, etc., specially selected and slightly shaped.

/64/ The dimensions of its rectangular base are on an average eight meters long by four meters wide, but they may vary according to the number of inhabitants.

342 335 After having traced on the ground the outlines of the plan, that is to say, a rectangle of the desired dimensions, one sets in the center of each of the two sides representing the width of the rectangle a fork approximately three meters high; then four forks 1.60 meters high are set successively at the four angles of this rectangle.

According to the length of the projected hut, one drives into the ground one, two and sometimes three additional forks of the same height along each of the big sides of the rectangle. Thus we have a total of eight, ten or twelve forks which constitute the foundations of the hut. Then the framework proper is erected (fig. 49).

On the two high center forks is placed a trunk which serves as ridge pole, while from one fork to the other one places a series of trunks, one after the other, in such a way that, by joining their upper ends, one obtains a tie-beam forming a rectangle parallel to that which was traced on the ground. Then, two small trunks or branches are placed obliquely on either side of the center fork which they join to the forks at angles, similar to rafters forming two gables. All these trunks and all these branches are fastened to each other or

/64 cont./
342 335 to the forks by plant cords or ropes.

Finally, the top of the hut, which ultimately takes the shape of a roof with two places slanting from the ridge is built parallel to the main rafters. It is made up of a series of long branches that serve as rafters, their number determined by that of another series of long posts set vertically in the ground. Actually, one plants on each of the long sides, at intervals of 40 to 50 centimeters, a certain number of posts 1.60 meters high ending in a fork. Now, to each of these posts which reach the height of the tie-beam there corresponds a rafter to which it is lashed in the manner we have already described.

It should be said here that the ends of the rafters sharply project beyond the tie-beams to form an overhang protecting the hut from rainwater.

For the construction of the low sides of the rectangle one also uses posts planted sometimes vertically, sometimes at an angle /65/ / Figs. 48 and 49 appear here/ /66/ so that, in the latter case, they delineate an arc at the base, the span of which represents the width of the hut and the height of which (approximately 50 centimeters) inclines outward from the center fork.

342 As a consequence, the two short sides of the hut are either rectilinear of parabolic at their base; it follows that the corresponding walls are flat in the first instance and convex in the second.

Finally, the covering of this framework remains to be described.

[824] Horizontal stalks are lashed to the vertical components at intervals

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

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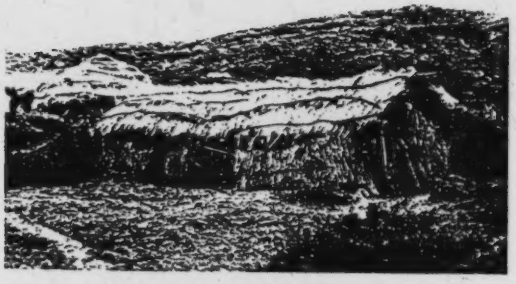

Fig. 48

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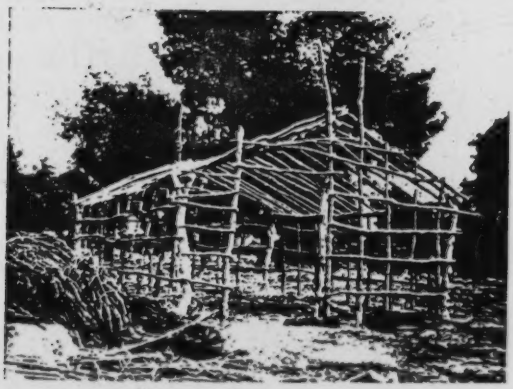

Fig. 49

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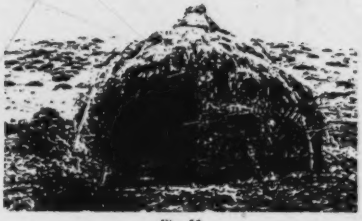

Fig. 50

342 of 30 centimeters, while on the roof long stalks are attached parallel
824 to the tie-beams. With bunches of branches and leaves, and proceeding in the manner described for the round hut, that is to say in tiers, one covers the walls and the roof. In addition, bunches of aquatic plants are spread on the latter.

It often happens that the walls themselves are finished off with a layer of these aquatic materials.

342 While the construction of the round hut provides a single opening
354 that serves as entrance, that of the rectangular hut also provides a window, sometimes even two. Depending on the size of the hut, the opening, 1.30 centimeters high by 80 centimeters wide, is situated /67/ either on the width (in the case of large huts) or on the length (in that of small ones), while the windows are situated either on the side opposite or the side continguous to that of the door.

However, in most cases what we call "windows" are only narrow openings cut into the two small sides of the hut, particularly at the point where the large center forks join the ridge pole. Usually, the

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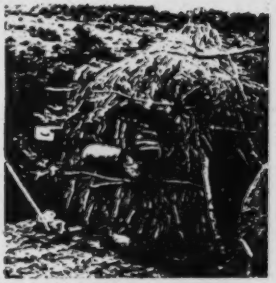

Fig. 51

[354] walls on these sides stop several centimeters below at this point, thus leaving an opening approximately 60 centimeters wide that is never closed (fig. 52).

The door proper is the same type as that of the round hut.

Variations of the two kinds of huts described (fig. 50 and 51):

Variations of the round hut: the diameter of these huts does not exceed 2.50 meters and in general they are from 1.80 to 2.20 meters high.

Their construction is really very simple.

/68/ Long stems, starting from the ground on a circumference marked out in advance, join at the ridge thus forming the vertical part of the frame, the general appearance of which reminds us of a wicker beehive.

Horizontal lacings attached to the vertical components spaced at intervals from the ground to the top, in the manner previously described. An opening permitting entry is always provided; it is closed by a door made either of branches, boards or a cloth.

/68 cont./

342 [824] Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

342 [354]

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

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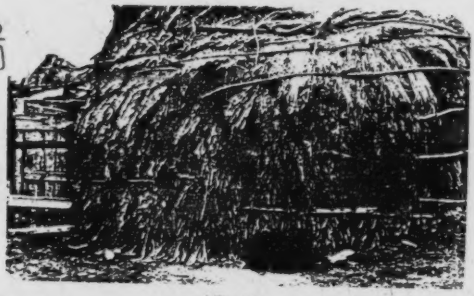

Fig. 53

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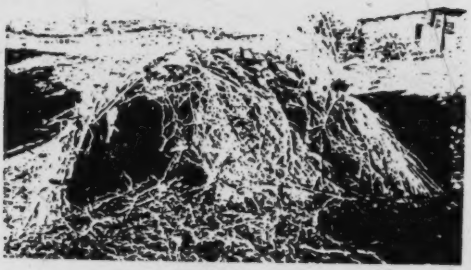

Fig. 54

/70 cont./

342 335 For the first /variation/ the basic materials consist of:

Fig. 55

a) Only two forks set in the middle of the short sides of the rectangle drawn on the ground, that is to say, opposite each other.

b) A trunk resting horizontally on these forks.

These forks are approximately two meters high, whereas the horizontal trunk is from two to three meters long.

Long branches are then driven into the ground on the two large sides of the rectangle at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters; their height exceeds that of the forks. Their upper ends are tied to the horizontal trunk that constitutes the ridge pole: they thus form true crossed arches (fig. 53 and 55).

/71/ The side walls of these huts are always convex in shape.

342 Of course, the method used in the construction of the frame as well as the covering, scarcely differs from that of the buildings already described.

343 The second /variation/, that is to say the sloping huts built

/71 cont./

343 without forks, are even more simple. In general, their shape is no longer rectangular. Their base is more of an ellipse, the large axis

Fig. 56

of which is of variable length, according to circumstances. On the outline of this ellipse, always drawn on the ground in advance, the Sarakatsani plant long branches spaced 30 to 40 centimeters apart; the free end of each of these branches is lashed to that of the branch opposite it, so as to form a high arch from 1.50 to 1.80 meters. Basically, what is involved is a vaulted framework (fig. 54, 56).

An opening in these huts, which must serve as entrance door, is always provided for at one of the two ends of the big axis.

From the technical point of view there is no difference to be noted in the process of construction.

342 343 With respect to the use to which these two variations of the hut are put, it is necessary to say, in anticipation of our analyses concerning utilization, that those which are based on forks are always intended for living quarters.

The others serve:

--as sheds or storerooms,

--to shelter looms,

/72/--as stable for the chief's horse,

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/73/

342
417

Fig. 57

417
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Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 417 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut, specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

The "frétzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round (343) or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger); then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 417 The second type of this construction is the "independent frétzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki," let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

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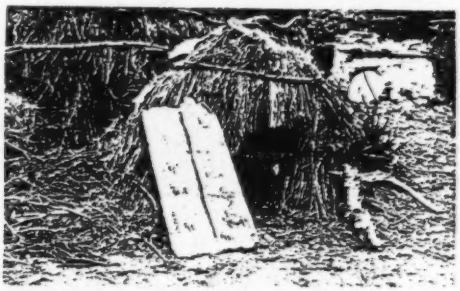

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings:

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

/79/

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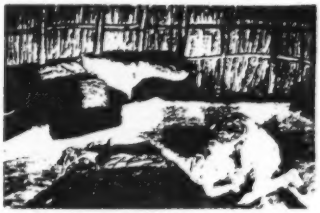

Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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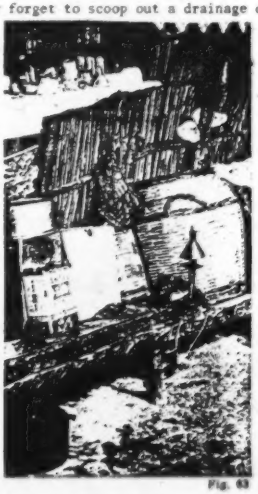

Fig. 63

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

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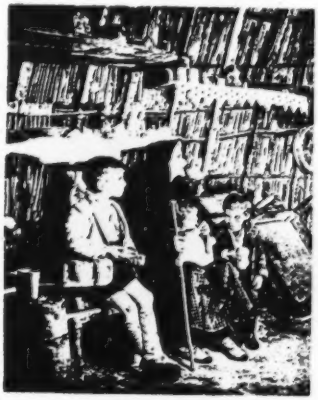

Fig. 65

/95 cont./

233 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A,[Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

342
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Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(574) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
> [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
> despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
> extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
494 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
[594] 34. The model of this type of living-together already
[613] existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
[171] Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

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462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical
233 criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,
--of ewes from that age on up,
--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,
--of sterile ewes,
--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
559 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[594] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/192 cont./

436 437 474 54 [589] [571] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani 433 476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio- [571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/192 cont./

462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
342 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly
562 related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
179 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833]

21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

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[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

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[824]

23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[196] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
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widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani
EH14
Vlachs EH15

563 differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more
S about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by
V [342] wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the
[361] edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number
[162] more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely
[291] wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers
and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over
their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many
G of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who
[291] now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated
homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for
V there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the
[101] nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to
[197] draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily di-
[191] vide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs)
[291] who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly
the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because
of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, al-
S though they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from
[101] whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who
[197] speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the
Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced
endogamy.

S Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement.
V The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent
[101] dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their
[361] summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each
[342] year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The
Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance
(like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call
home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their
winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the en-
campment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

V The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of
[174] the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words
[197] from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin.
[101] As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several
[175] extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old
provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria
and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds
as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced
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1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
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health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of
522 humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

I. VARIOUS FORMS OF THE GREEK POPULAR HOUSE

A. THE MODERN GREEK HOUSE

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First, we must note that in Greece, in ancient times as well as to-day, we see both basic forms of dwelling, namely both curved and rectangular. As regards the first form (round, elliptical, horse-shoe), this is limited to the most primary forms of life, that is to the nomadic or semi-nomadic shepherd populations (Sarakatsanoi, Vlachoi) and sporadically to the poorest class of the farmers living in the Thessalian and other plain districts, who have kept, by tradition, the elementary and primitive methods of construction and roofing of the conical and saddle-type huts, and especially the use of organic materials such as wood, branches, weeds and reeds, which are easily provided by the marshes and the forests of these areas (1). As regards the rectangular houses, these are now more prevalent, as they were even in prehistoric Greece. The reasons for this may be that the rectangular buildings can be easily added to and divided into regular compartments (2). That is why we shall mainly speak about the rectangular houses.

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Greece, from a geographical as well as from a housing point of view, finds herself on the boundary between the northern temperate zone and the desert zone, which includes Northern Africa and Front Asia with Asia Minor and Iran. Consequently, continental Greece belongs to the countries of houses with sloping or eagle type roofs, and insular Greece together with Cyprus (excluding the Ionian Islands and the Islands of the Northern Aegean) to the countries of houses with flat roofs.

The explanation of this may lie in the fact that the flat roof may have originated from the simple flat shelter-roof which is essential

1) **G. Megas**, Θεσσαλικαὶ οἰκήσεις, Athens 1946 pp. 11-16. For further details on primitive types of dwelling see also **Franz Œlmann**, Haus und Hof im Altertum. I Berlin 1926 pp. 45 foll.

2) See **Fr. Œlmann**, op. cit. pp. 39 and foll., 41.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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Sarakatsani
EH14

B. THE ANCIENT GREEK HOUSE

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I will not mention the curved buildings of the prehistoric era, namely the circular, elliptical, horse-shoe and arched forms, although they represent a primitive type ot human dwelling, seen in Greece from very ancient times, and although we could greatly increase our knowledge through the study of the construction of the thached or branched conical and saddle-shaped huts, used with us even to-day, by the Sarakatsanes, the Vlachoi and the Karagounides of Thessaly. For instance, the elliptical hut at Kaminades, Karditsa[1], which is not entirely curved, but has straight lines to connect the two arches and forms thus a rectangular and curved construction, teaches us how, through the influence of the rectangular shapes the arched forms were created as it is shown in the egg-shaped house at Rini in Thessaly (beginning of bronze age) and also what the type of covering in this mixed type of house would have been[2].

Consequently, I shall confine myself to the examination of the straight lined, and especially the rectangular, houses, since these today, as in the prehistoric times in Greece, constitute the most prevailing form of building.

The type of house, known as the megaron, can already be found in the neolithic age in Thessaly, in its main elements, namely the external shape and the internal arrangement of space. It is a rectangularly shaped dwelling, divided in depth, having its entrance on the narrow side and consisting of an ante-room (πρόδομος) with two posts or columns between the two antae (or even without the columns), and of two rooms, one of them larger with a hearth in the middle, and the other smaller (Plate X, 1. 2).

In the most elementary form, this building form is bipartite consisting of one room and one ante-room, and it is found under this elementary form in the palaces of the Mycenean and Homeric ages, as at Phylakopi in Melos, at pre-mycenean Troy II and at Tiryns, where, as at Mycenae, there is another room between the ante-room and the main room (Plate X, 3-5). This simplest form

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Architecture, Cambr. 1929, 2 edit. 1943. **Carl Weickert,** Typen der archaischen Architektur in Griechenland u. Kleinasien 1929. **G. P. Oikonomos,** Ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀργείου Ἡραίου πήλινος οἰκίσκος, Contribution to the History of Architecture in Archaeol. Ephemeris, 1931.

1) **G. Megas** Θεσσαλ. Οἰκήσεις, p. 11, Fig. 2.

2) **B. Rider,** The Greek House, p. 64 Fig. 8; **G. P. Oikonomos,** op. cit. pp. 20 foll. Cf. **G. Mylonas,** Ἡ νεολιθικὴ ἐποχὴ ἐν Ἑλλάδι. Athens 1928.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined to- 233
wards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats [419]
are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening [343]
to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. 233
The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village 474
two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village [361]
in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the [571]
year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their 233
milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese 234
merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of [432]
neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

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This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

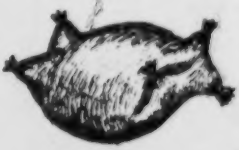

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the foro part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

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All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/58 cont./

342 343 Metal is never used as a building material, not even in the form of nails. The same holds true for stones or bricks. However, clayey earth is sometimes used.

To the problems of the dwelling, its outbuildings and shelters for the animals, the Sarakatsani has a single solution, always /59/ the same: the hut. For all the Sarakatsani building derive from the method of erecting a hut.

The dwelling and outbuildings.

342 The Sarakatsani are acquainted with two main categories of dwelling huts:

The round or circular huts surmounted by an almost conical cupola which, from a distance, makes them resemble wicker hives (fig. 45).

Fig. 44

The rectangular or "sloping" huts, (15) the base of which forms a rectangle (figs. 48-49).

15. According to the terminology of the Sarakatsani. They are called sloping in comparison with the circular huts which are also called "upright."

These categories include numerous variations, of which we shall speak after having described the fundamental types. Figure 44 shows these two types of huts.

/68 cont./

342 (324) Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

342 (354)

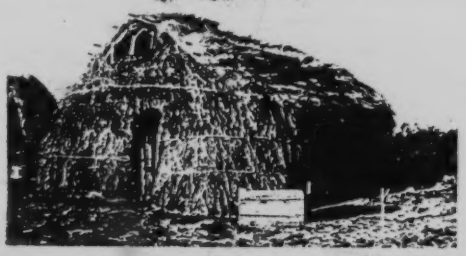

Fig. 53

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

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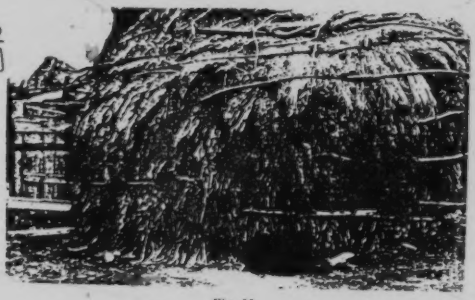

Fig. 53

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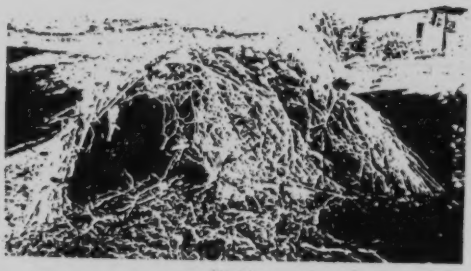

Fig. 54

/70 cont./

342 For the first /variation/ the basic materials consist of:
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Fig. 55

a) Only two forks set in the middle of the short sides of the rectangle drawn on the ground, that is to say, opposite each other.

b) A trunk resting horizontally on these forks.

These forks are approximately two meters high, whereas the horizontal trunk is from two to three meters long.

Long branches are then driven into the ground on the two large sides of the rectangle at intervals of 30 to 40 centimeters; their height exceeds that of the forks. Their upper ends are tied to the horizontal trunk that constitutes the ridge pole; they thus form true crossed arches (fig. 53 and 55).

/71/ The side walls of these huts are always convex in shape.

342 Of course, the method used in the construction of the frame as well as the covering, scarcely differs from that of the buildings already described.

343 The second /variation/, that is to say the sloping huts built

/71 cont./

343 without forks, are even more simple. In general, their shape is no longer rectangular. Their base is more of an ellipse, the large axis

Fig. 56

of which is of variable length, according to circumstances. On the outline of this ellipse, always drawn on the ground in advance, the Sarakatsani plant long branches spaced 30 to 40 centimeters apart; the free end of each of these branches is lashed to that of the branch opposite it, so as to form a high arch from 1.50 to 1.80 meters. Basically, what is involved is a vaulted framework (fig. 54, 56).

An opening in these huts, which must serve as entrance door, is always provided for at one of the two ends of the big axis.

From the technical point of view there is no difference to be noted in the process of construction.

342 With respect to the use to which these two variations of the hut
343 are put, it is necessary to say, in anticipation of our analyses concerning utilization, that those which are based on forks are always intended for living quarters.

The others serve:

--as sheds or storerooms,

--to shelter looms,

/72/--as stable for the chief's horse,

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated," Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order, seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/72 cont./

343 417 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others, such as:

a) The frétzato.

b) The oven.

c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / Figs. 57 and 58 appear here/

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343] [354]

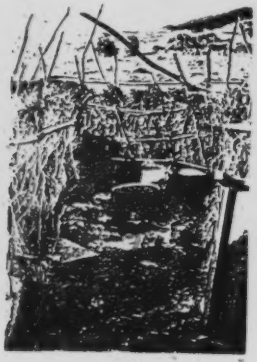

Fig. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

A ¿Sc p. 85--Analyst]

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Fig. 57

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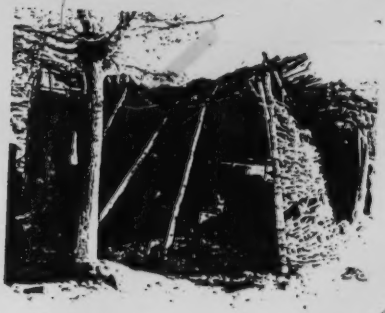

Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut,
417 specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

The "frétzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round
[343] or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger); then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 The second type of this construction is the "independent
417 frétzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki," let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

/75 cont./

343 417 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the frétzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 252 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

Fig. 60

/76 cont./

343 252 The oven, always in the open air, rests on a framework of long, defoliated branches. These branches are set in the earth in a circle approximately one meter in diameter at 20 to 30 centimeter intervals, and their free ends are fastened together so as to form a cone.

On the periphery of the cone and at a specific point the branches are spaced to provide for the opening of the oven.

343 333 252 The inside of the cone is filled with small stones arranged horizontally up to a height of 50 centimeters; then the surface is covered over with flagstones properly aligned and cemented with clay.

Then, the entire exterior of the cone is covered with a very thick layer of boughs which is covered with a coating of potter's clay. The opening of the oven remains uncovered, but during the building /77/ of the walls it is covered with a plank or a large stone which is removed when the outside of the oven is completed.

Only the interior now needs to be finished. As in the case of the exterior surface, the interior of the oven is coated with a layer of potter's clay.

The ventilation of the oven is provided by a hole near the top in the part across from the opening; it is called "the ear."

To complete the construction the oven is heated for several hours; the next day the procedure is repeated. Thus, the clay of the walls dries and becomes as hard as brick. The oven is then ready to be used.

However, this technique of oven building is not the only one found among the Sarakatsani. Here is another:

One starts by building the lower part in the shape of a cylinder 50 centimeters high by one meter in diameter, entirely by means of stone slabs and clay.

The upper surface of the cylinder, well leveled off, is paved with small, fixed flagstones. On these flagstones stones are piled up without being attached and arranged in such a way that the heap takes on a cylindro-conical shape. It is then overlaid with a thick layer of

/77 cont./

343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

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18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/78 cont./

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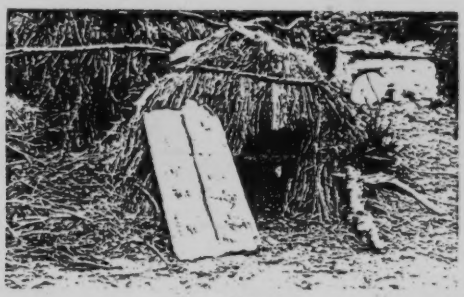

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended.- We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 417 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p. 84--Analyst]

/85/

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Fig. 70

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343 /86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

/86 cont./

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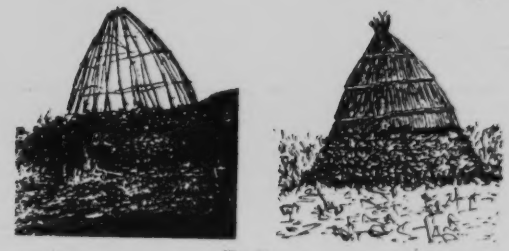

Fig. 71

shelters for the animals, let us mention the tsardhaki where the animals rest during the hot hours of summer days; this, of course, has a different shape from that set apart as a resting place for humans (fig. 72).

It is a kind of "kiosk" open on all sides and built from a certain number of forks of varying height, arranged in a circle, on which are laid horizontially /87/ long defoliated stems surmounted by foliage and boughs forming a roof. It is in this "kiosk" that the flocks seek refuge from the sun.

Fig. 72

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).[A]

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

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19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

[492]

[A] Fig. 75 appears on p 109--Analyst]

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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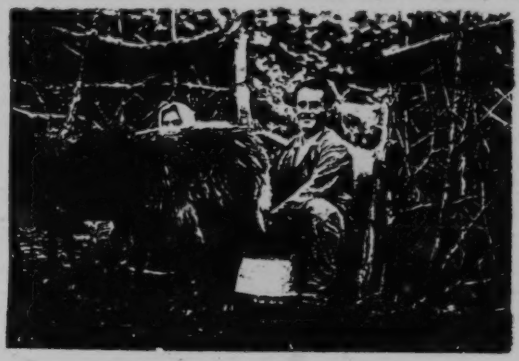

Fig. 76

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(574) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [202] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were 585 292 those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her [202] flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

1:Sanders Z-54 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Vlachs EH15

Sarakatsani EH14

V 221 182 [422] [556]

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

S 361 342 [233]

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

S [101]

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

S 361 G [162] [166]

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S [342] S [241] [462] [233] [515]

S 35 [231] [233] [252] [312]

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[582] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
559 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[417] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[351] negotiations with merchants take place.
[594]
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

585 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed
292 black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of con-
[531] fused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and
[123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday,
[576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.
● [352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor;
[539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with
[576] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying [352] on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- 573 [525] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- 122 aneled. If he should die on the road — and the [455] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for 1254 his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women 861 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/30 cont./

5. Ibid., A, II, p. 355.

352 [114] This cradle probably no longer exists, for we ourselves, in the course of our investigation in the field, were never able to find one anywhere.

/31/

Fig. 4

The only type of cradle that we came across among the nomads did not differ to any extent from that used by the peasants, and it is always made with boards (fig 4).

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

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Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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Fig. 63

/79 cont./

352 Often, a row of benches almost the same height and some 50 centimeters wide, called "the beds," is added to the low wall. These benches which run the length of the low wall and complete it, are made of small forks set vertically in the ground; interlaced twigs and branches laid on these form the servicable horizontal surface (fig.63).

354 In the round hut the hearth is placed in a definite spot which often, but not necessarily, coincides with the center of the hut.

On the other hand, in the rectangular hut the hearth is situated on that side of the two forks sustaining the rafters which is nearest the entrance.

/80/ In all these cases the hearth is more or less perfectly round in shape. The foundation consists of a series of rough stand flags set side by side and held in place with mud. The part of the hearth turned toward the entrance always has a border of a low wall of an equal mixture of earth and pebbles, from 35 to 40 centimeters

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Fig. 64

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

352
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Fig. 65

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not [252] unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 233 417 Buildings intended for animals.

In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p.84--Analyst]

/95 cont./

232 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62). A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A. [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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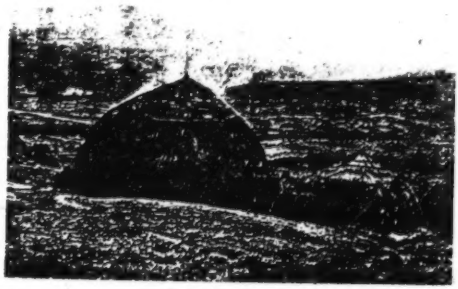

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(574) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

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302
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Fig. 77

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)[A] are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

[A], /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are
[527] living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

● 353 There seemed to be hardly a thing in the hut
32 that could single out our surroundings for any particular date in the last few millennia, and almost nothing the nomads had not made themselves; either hanging from the lopped and fire-darkened stumps of branches jutting from the hut's timbers, neatly piled against the brushwood walls, or underfoot — guns, tools, choppers, adzes, spades, billhooks, cooking pots, saddles, harness, the tin frills around the icons, and among a pendant grove of dried and shaggy waterskins, a gleaming branchful of new horseshoes. Otherwise, all was hewn and carved wood or homespun from
[251] the backs of their flocks. Aloft, among the sooty twigs and the cobwebs, hung strings of onions, garlic, corncobs, and tobacco leaves. Higher still, the osier-bound reeds of the thatch all converged
123 symmetrically in the apex of the dome. An agreeable and pungent aroma of milk, curds, sweat, goat's hair, tobacco, and woodsmoke filled the place. The thorns on the fire crackled nearly smokelessly, and whenever a new fagot was thrown on, the flames made the tall hut dance in a brief gold concavity above a mob of shadows and lit up the bleached and matted hair and those faces shaped by the blasts of winter and the summer solstice. Their features glittered and flashed like the surfaces on a flint, and whenever my eyes met any of theirs, a smile of welcoming friendliness would answer back.

I had begun to grasp, in the past few weeks, one of the great and uncovenanted delights of Greece; in my case, it was a pre-coming-of-age present. This is a direct and immediate link, friendly and equal on either side, between human beings; something that cuts through barriers of hierarchy and background and money and, except for a few tribal and historic feuds, through politics and nationality as well. It is not a thing that functions in the teeth of convention, but in almost pre-lapsarian unawareness of its existence. Self-consciousness and awe and condescension (and their baleful remedy of forced egalitarianism) and the feudal hangover and the post-Fall-of-the-Bastille flicker — all the gloomy factors that lame and hobble and limit the range of life and deoxygenate the air of western Europe are absent. Existence, these glances say, is a torment, an enemy, an adventure, and a joke that we are in league to undergo, outwit, exploit, and

[p. 87-A]

/79/

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352
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Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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415
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Fig. 63

/95 cont./

233 [432] sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A, [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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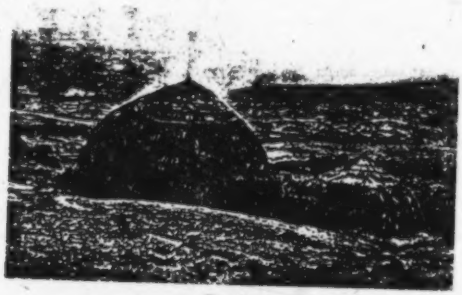

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65). A

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

A. [Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

[343] The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 [514] The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

[514] Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

[128] Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

791 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [594] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 474 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 103

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his 585
sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He 833
may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two 596
months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like [513]
blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping [354]
velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [554]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάτ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

585 The Sarakatsáníssas usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p. 81-B]

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones. [354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

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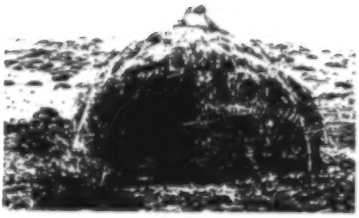

Fig. 50

342 824 of 30 centimeters, while on the roof long stalks are attached parallel to the tie-beams. With bunches of branches and leaves, and proceeding in the manner described for the round hut, that is to say in tiers, one covers the walls and the roof. In addition, bunches of aquatic plants are spread on the latter.

It often happens that the walls themselves are finished off with a layer of these aquatic materials.

342 354 While the construction of the round hut provides a single opening that serves as entrance, that of the rectangular hut also provides a window, sometimes even two. Depending on the size of the hut, the opening, 1.30 centimeters high by 80 centimeters wide, is situated /67/ either on the width (in the case of large huts) or on the length (in that of small ones), while the windows are situated either on the side opposite or the side continguous to that of the door.

However, in most cases what we call "windows" are only narrow openings cut into the two small sides of the hut, particularly at the point where the large center forks join the ridge pole. Usually, the

/67 cont./

342

Fig. 51

[354] walls on these sides stop several centimeters below at this point, thus leaving an opening approximately 60 centimeters wide that is never closed (fig. 52).

The door proper is the same type as that of the round hut.

Variations of the two kinds of huts described (fig. 50 and 51):

Variations of the round hut: the diameter of these huts does not exceed 2.50 meters and in general they are from 1.80 to 2.20 meters high.

Their construction is really very simple.

/68/ Long stems, starting from the ground on a circumference marked out in advance, join at the ridge thus forming the vertical part of the frame, the general appearance of which reminds us of a wicker beehive.

Horizontal lacings attached to the vertical components spaced at intervals from the ground to the top, in the manner previously described. An opening permitting entry is always provided; it is closed by a door made either of branches, boards or a cloth.

/68 cont./

342 Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or
[324] bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

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[354]

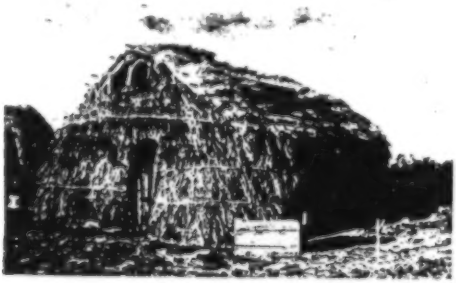

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

/72 cont./

343 417 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others, such as:

a) The frétzato.

b) The oven.

c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / Figs. 57 and 58 appear here/

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343] [354]

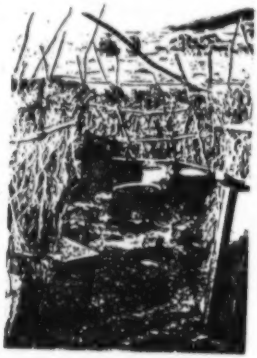

Fig. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

[Sc. p.85--Analysis]

/79 cont./

352 Often, a row of benches almost the same height and some 50 centimeters wide, called "the beds," is added to the low wall. These benches which run the length of the low wall and complete it, are made of small forks set vertically in the ground; interlaced twigs and branches laid on these form the servicable horizontal surface (fig.63).

354 In the round hut the hearth is placed in a definite spot which often, but not necessarily, coincides with the center of the hut.

On the other hand, in the rectangular hut the hearth is situated on that side of the two forks sustaining the rafters which is nearest the entrance.

/80/ In all these cases the hearth is more or less perfectly round in shape. The foundation consists of a series of rough stand flags set side by side and held in place with mud. The part of the hearth turned toward the entrance always has a border of a low wall of an equal mixture of earth and pebbles, from 35 to 40 centimeters

354
352

Fig. 64

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.50 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

352
291

Fig. 66

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] [352] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 233 417 Buildings intended for animals.

In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p.84--Analyst]

/95 cont./

232 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

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121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

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[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A. [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

342
354

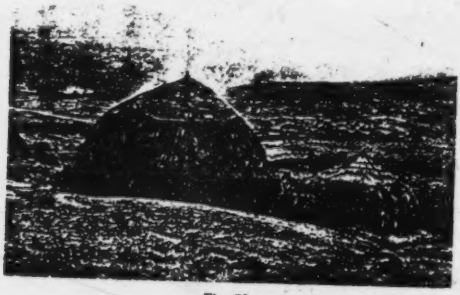

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

354 Light and heat.

Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

****

121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A./Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

● 361
221

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/For additional information on the seasonal migrations of the Sarakatsani with their flocks, see category 233./

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[p. 1]

I

HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

1. VLACHS

In continental Greece north of Corinth the observant traveller is soon aware of communities of Greek-speaking transhumant shepherds known as Sarakatsani (Σαρακατσάνοι, or Σαρακατσανᾶοι). In the plains it is unnecessary even to leave the main roads to see small groups of circular, domed, huts of wood and thatch, or flocks of sheep and goats guarded by shepherds dressed in rough black suits and immense goat-hair capes woven from the fleeces of their own animals. From May until the first days of November these semi-nomad shepherds graze their considerable flocks on the higher slopes of the mountains, generally 3,000–6,000 feet above sea level; during the remainder of the year they live in the coastal plains. Simple facts of climate and relief, snow on the high ground in winter, in the summer burning heat in the plains, encourage this transhumance in a geographical area physically dominated by the ranges of the Pindus massif and the southern extremity of the Rhodope mountains. Epirus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace are the provinces in which they are most numerous but communities are found further south in continental Greece and some groups are established in the north of the Peloponnese and Euboea. In the whole of Greece their number, perhaps, approaches eighty thousand,[1] a population which was possibly absolutely greater a hundred years ago, but was certainly relatively more considerable as a fraction of the total inhabitants of the area.

The Greek villagers generally refer to the Sarakatsani simply as Vlachs (βλάχοι), that is shepherds who, in step with the rhythm of the seasons, lead their animals alternately down to the plains and up to the mountains. The occupational reference of the word Vlach,[2] is an old one, already in use during the Byzantine Period.

[1] Mme Chatzimichalis arrives at a total of 81,473. Ἀγγελική Χατζημιχάλη, Σαρακατσάνοι, Athens, 1957, vol. i, Part A, p. νβ'.

[2] See e.g. Anna Comnena, Ed. Bonn., i, p. 395. One of a number of references quoted by Mme Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. κ'.

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precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

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S G 175 178 563 641 consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized S [361] and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional G [186] antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

S 178 474 427 233 [619] [556] There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
● 361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λαπέζ), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
[234] of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

[232] Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
[234] relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
● 361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neigh-
bouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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4. Stani in Winter

[facing p. 208]

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[P364-A]

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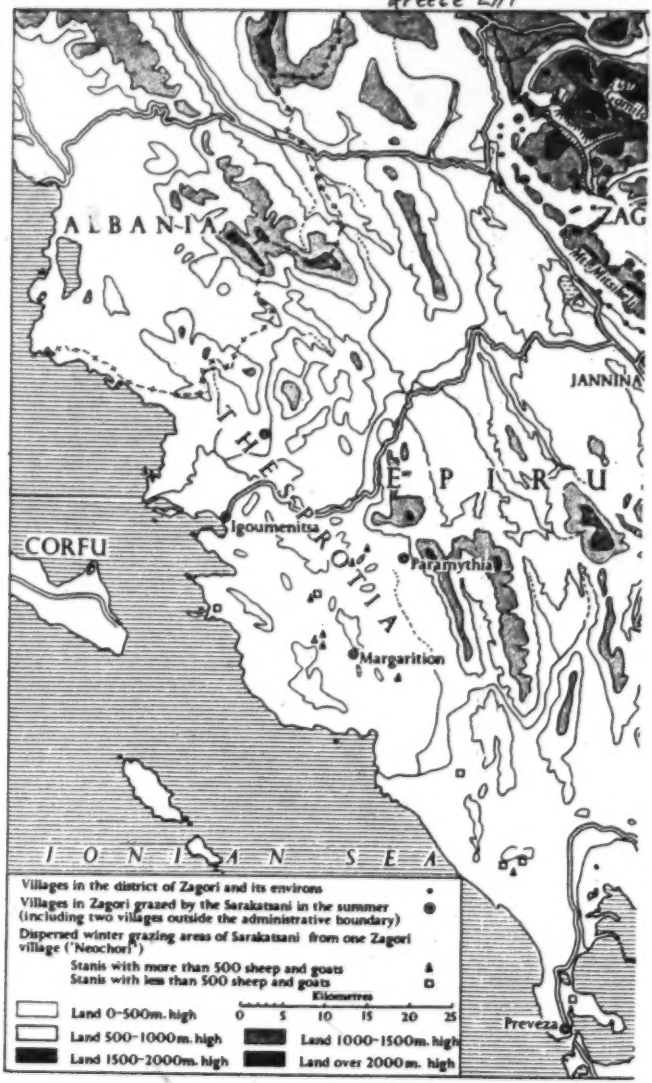

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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[P364-B]

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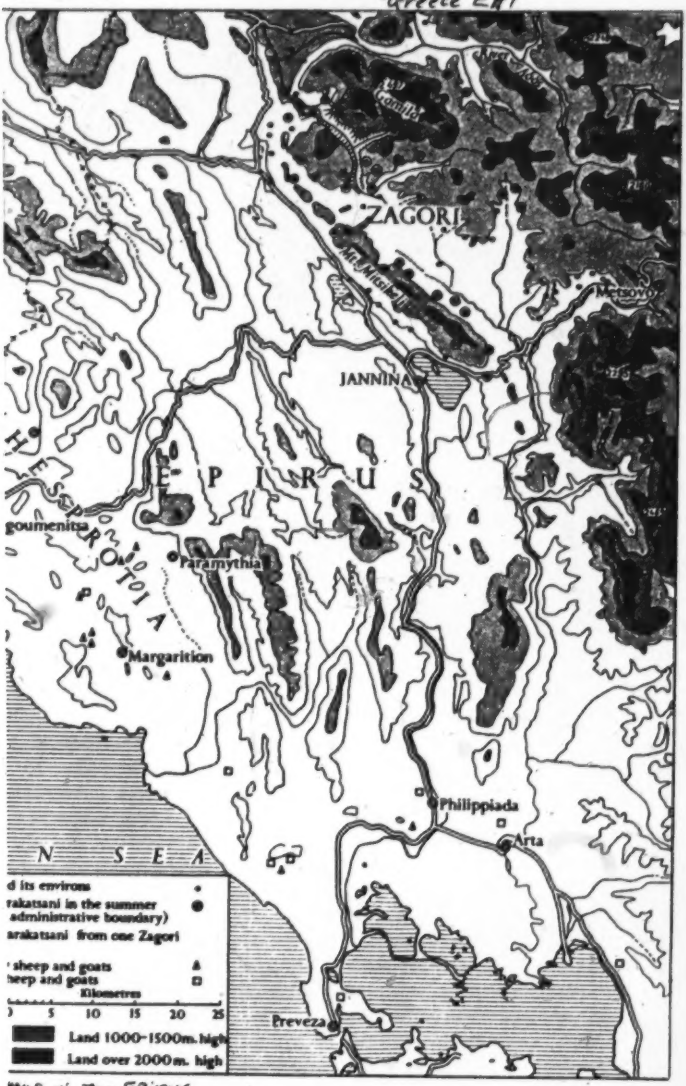

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though
their incumbents could almost step forth and
101 leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
[114] them in March the following year, when I was
[122] riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night
[131] in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
[221] seen them again and again, all over northern
Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across
221 their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
[342] high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be
[492] seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn
[342] green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs ex-
(161) cept, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides
[233] these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 Unlike the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which
[101] they return after their half-yearly journeys in search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
175 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

[p. 74-A]

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphli, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

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181 by sun, wind, rain, snow, and hail. They give more than an impression, during their occasional descents to the lowlands, of their enemies the wolves, and, still more, of eagles. They live beyond the reach of the authorities, and the division between pastoral life and lawlessness is often vague. They spell, in fact, independence and inviolacy. Wherever they are to be found in the Greek peninsula, these mountaineers represent exemption; and the most unhampered and nonconformist of all, except for their private and tribal strait-jackets of untransgressable behavior, are the Sarakatsáns. They belong to an older and shaggier scene than the Arcadian dream and Greek Sicily. They predate and survive both the idyll and the eclogue.

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I first caught a glimpse of them in December, when I was nineteen, on the Black Sea coast of Bulgaria between Varna and Burgas, and I saw them again in early spring four months later near the Struma River in Macedonia, during the Venizelist revolution of 1935, after the battle at the bridge of Orliàko.

For reasons I will not describe here, I found myself trotting eastward through the late March afternoon along the road to Serres and Drama, on a borrowed horse with a friendly squadron of light cavalry in the victorious army of General Kondylis. We were slightly in advance of the main royalist army, which, with its cannon and infantry and trucks and wagons and baggage train, snaked away behind us in a long loop of dust. The march had turned into something of a carnival. After the musketry fire from both banks of the river and shelling from the hills behind and a minimum of casualties on either side, resistance had caved in and our opponents were surrendering or dispersing eastward. The day had culminated, for my new friends and for me, in the moment when they had actually drawn their sabers and galloped thunderously and bloodlessly across the wooden bridge of Orliàko against an already vanished enemy, in the nearest any of us would ever get to a cavalry charge. Buoyed up along the road by exhilaration and relief, my companions were singing music-hall songs from Athens. Unslinging their carbines, they took potshots from the saddle at the birds on the telegraph lines. Suddenly, beyond the heads of all these cheerful horsemen, on a high wooded ridge about three miles away, loomed a string of those dark wigwams that had interested me in December, and I decided to defect from my companions for a night and (one horseman moving faster than an army) catch up with them next day by shortcuts across the mountains. After light-hearted farewells and shouted rendezvous for drinking together in Serres and Drama and Komotini, I watched them jingle away with their

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[p. 85-B]

S 114 steel scabbards clinking against their spurs; and then pounded off over the plain toward the hills and the far-sounding goat bells.

S 123 [361] [233] When, suddenly, at the heart of a deafening whirlpool of half-wild dogs, I drew rein at the camp toward sunset, it turned out to be a *stani* of about fifty huts scattered among the trees around a spring. The whole place was alive with golden evening dust and bleating and barking and bells. The ewes and the she-goats, followed by their shrill young, were being driven with crooks and shouts and ear-sundering whistles and the heckling of dogs into a great semicircular pen of wicker and woven thorns and thatch on a steep slope. S [239] Once inside, they were herded toward a narrow lych-gate at one end of it, where they were seized by their horns, their tails, or their hind legs, clamped back to front between a shepherd's knees, and milked under protest, a few deft seconds for each captive, into bronze caldrons. Despite my brief acquaintance with Greece, I knew that strange arrivals in country places unloose a friendly hubbub of curiosity and inquisition. Not so here. The aloof drovers doubled the diligence of their tasks; their shouts became louder, the milking more urgent. [241] For the first time, I saw these Biblical men at close range; their black cloaks and their hoods gave them the look of Benedictines who had gone native. There were glimpses, too, of the amazing magpie geometry of the women rising from their dim looms and appearing for a moment in the threshold of the smoke-plumed cones. An authoritative old man with a sweeping mustache and an elaborate crook finally silenced the dogs and asked me what I wanted. I could understand little of what he said; I had spent the two previous months, my first in Greece, in snowy Mount Athos, trying to convert my imperfect ancient Greek into the rudiments of the modern, and the Sarakatsán dialect was a further barrier. When they had gathered that, in spite of patched breeches and puttees, I was not a soldier — no sword or gun! — in fact, a foreigner from England, alone, and too young and as yet unpredatory-looking to be capable of much harm, their reserve began to thaw.

S 123 [5 369] What was going on? They pointed down at the army glinting across the plain below through its long cocoon of dust, and the blast of a trumpet came softly to our ears. What had all that noise been about, over by the Struma? *Bam-boum-boum? Rat-tat-tat-tat? N'tang n'tang?* I gleaned with surprise from their half-understood questions that they had only the roughest notion of what was afoot. They knew that there had been a *kinema* —

[p.86-A]

/4 cont./

121 perspective it must first of all be concerned with this originality and
182 try to isolate it and bring it out. To achieve this it is important to specify clearly:

1. The concrete problems which the Sarakatsani must face.

2. The conditions and possibilities which his natural and human environment impose on him and offer him for the solution of these problems.

3. Finally, and above all, the system of actual solutions which the Sarakatsani has developed in relation to the two preceding points, hence the socio-cultural system of Sarakatsani society.

This last point will furnish an answer to the question posed above. Moreover, it will form the basis of our conclusions with regard to our knowledge of the Sarakatsani from their works.

To pass from the general to the particular, the problems the Sarakatsani faces are:

--Control of nature and the biological environment (plants, animals) for utilitarian ends.

--The relations of the Sarakatsani with his fellow man and with surrounding society, for the following purposes:

--a complete enjoyment of natural resources,

--a harmonious and effective coexistence,

--a way of life guaranteeing to all subsistence, security and posterity.

/5/ --His relations with the great beyond.

--Finally, problems relating to the esthetic of the Sarakatsani and his sense of beauty.

It will be seen that these problems, common to all societies, are in no way peculiar to him.

[361] On the other hand, the conditions in which they must be resolved
[221] are altogether specific and derive from the fact that as shepherds the Sarakatsani live outside all urban or rural centers, spending the summer in the mountains, in winter in the valleys, according to the needs of their flocks.

/5 cont./

121 It is clear, therefore, that the fundamental parameters of their
182 existence are the herding of small livestock; the seasonal displacement
361 in the form of nomadism; the fact that they are situated in inhabited regions; their isolation from the surrounding society; the maintainance with that society of a minimum of necessary relations connected largely with their activity as shepherds; the physico-chemical nature of the soil and the terrain, the climate, the flora and fauna, characteristics of the Hellenic Peninsula that is their habitat.

121 This is not all. Sarakatsani society seems to have its origins in
182 Hellenic society. Many aspects of its culture are found to be inspired
174 by very ancient Hellenic culture. Now this fact constitutes another very important parameter, a temporal dimension that is not negligible and that we should constantly keep in mind as much as the others, all during our investigation. This aspect should figure, and will actually figure in our analysis.

However, since the question of the ethnic origins of the Sarakatsani has been disputed, it is advisable to devote a few pages to it, if only to justify what we have just said.

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174 Since the evidence and the objective data concerning the origin of the Sarakatsani are sadly lacking, the way is open for theoretical discussion.

A considerable number of historians, geographers, linguists, literary men, etc., Greeks and outsiders, have advanced widely divergent hypotheses, presenting the Sarakatsani by turns as Turks, Italiotes, Rumanians, Arumani, direct descendants of the Greek nomads of antiquity, etc.

/6/ A succinct account of their theories will give an idea of these hypotheses.

(113) Authors who maintain that the Sarakatsani are not Greek:

a) The Frenchman, A. van Gennep (7),

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and 586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden. 587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 221 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is demographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/19 cont./

361 Sarakatsani depart for the mountains. And in the fall, around the 26
221 October, the festical of Saint Demetrius, they leave the mountains and come down to the plains.

[233] These movements are ascribable to the very method of herding (5)

[113] 5. See M. Sorre: Les fondements de la géographie humaine, vol. II, part 2, p. 646-647.

that the Saracatsan carry on and to the needs of their flocks, on which they are absolutely dependent.

233 In fact, once transplanted to the Greek mountains which are
[133] formed of fissured limestone, the Sarakatsani were able to carry on but a single economic activity: the herding of sheep and goats.
[137] These two species are the only ones that could derive benefit from the meager natural pastures which are found on these steep slopes with
[113] their scrub vegetation. (6)

6. See P. Veyret: Géographie de l'élevage, p. 22 and 26.

132 The surface of the land alone presents numerous inconveniences. It is known that temperature drops with altitude. A rise of 200 meters is the equivalent of a distance of 300 kilometers in the direction of a more northerly latitude. (7)

7. See P. Veyret: Ibid., p. 41.

132 Winter thus comes rapidly in the mountains of the Mediterranean zone,
233 and it is particularly severe there, despite the generally temperate
22 climate prevailing in the Hellenic Peninsula. Vegetation can no
36 longer thrive, humidity reaches a degree harmful to the health of the sheep, the snow endangers their lives. A change of habitat thus becomes necessary. The Sarakatsani then come down into the valleys in search of more verdant and climatically milder regions.

When spring arrives, a spring which in Greece actually lasts only a few days, the valleys and grasslands dry up rapidly, the days are too warm for the livestock to endure the temperature, (8)

[171] 8. It is very characteristic to note that the sedentary stock-raisers of Greece, the "Karagounides"

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463 10. Among these theorists we must mention P.
114 Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.
believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

/20 cont./

233 182 318 However, if these last paragraphs have brought out the influence that the geographical and biological environment has had on the Sarakatsani, it is necessary also to mention the influence which their activity as herders has on the landscape itself.

233 318 For an observer it is easy to identify the area occupied by our herders. In those regions the ground is close-cropped. Seen from a sufficient distance it seems dotted with shrubs between which a sparse vegetation gives the impression of a green or yellowish carpet. In the valleys the shrubs are absent. But the carpet is always there, testifying to the presence of the flocks. Nature carries the [161] imprint of the passage of Sarakatsani and this on a very considerable scale in view of their number (according to approximate reckonings they represent a population of 90,000 to /21/ 110,000) and the number of their livestock which represents the core of sheep herding in Greece.

The effects of this imprint on the climate, the temperature and the water courses are evident.

If the life of the Sarakatsani is closely dependent on nature, the latter, in turn, is transformed by them in a manner which is just as significant.

Geographically speaking, these phenomena are noted around the large mountain ranges of the country, whether one looks at Pindus and its ramifications (Agrapha, Orthrys, Vardoussia, Parnassus), the Olympus chain including the Chassia, Vermion, Kaimaktsalan, or the Rodhopi chain including Phalakron, etc.

361 The Sarakatsani establish themselves on the slopes as well as in the valleys. The country they prefer is continintal Greece.

There are none on the islands or in the Peloponnesus. However, [174] we have reason to believe that there used to be some Sarakatsani groups in the northern Peloponnesus. But from all evidence, they were rapidly assimilated and have become peasants.

Thus their geographical habitat is confined to the areas we have

/21 cont./
361 enumerated. However, that has been the case only since the end of
361 the first world war. Until that time, and particularly during the
175 period when the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, our herders also moved into more distant countries, going as far as Yugoslavia and southern Bulgaria. At times they crossed the Dardanelles to reach the region of Pergamum and Asia Minor.

361 Since then, certain political events, the rupture between East
175 and West in particular, have impeded these movements.
178 The Sarakatsani habitat has thus shrunk remarkably. And the repercussions of this reduction are very grave, if not catastrophic, as we shall see in what follows.

Space, this friend of the nomadic herders, has now become their enemy. And now we discover a space influencing their lives in a new way.

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361 The localities where the Sarakatsani live have undergone still
182 another transformation. We refer to the functional and utilitarian
233 organization of the space they occupy--an organization that has two distinct aspects: the accomodations and tasks intended for /22/ men and the accomodations intended for the livestock and their husbandry. We must mention the various arrangements that are relevant:

First, the dwelling huts. (13)

13. See below p. 69-95.

Second, the sheepfolds and enclosures for milking and shearing. (14)

14. See below p. 95-100.

All the arrangements and measures related to grazingland. (15)

15. See below p. 100 ff.

361 The distance between the sheepfolds and the dwelling huts varies
221 according to the season. In winter they are all close together. In
233 summer, however, they may be separated by several kilometers.

The winter camp, huts and sheepfolds, must be erected in a relatively sheltered place far from hollows which, during rains, might

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
62 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.
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[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[776] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

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361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

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18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations
233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/93 cont./

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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 233 234 484 361 (439) In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new settlement.

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
233 234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the
[343] "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[823] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[36] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

/179 cont./

474 554 [293] [492] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle horse.

[291] [342] [361] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the highest point.

[417] [351] [594] [439] [574] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the negotiations with merchants take place.

It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock. [233] [824]

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

[67] If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/354 cont./

829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
the group and its good functioning.

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and
symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly
felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to
assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a
new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence
on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social
framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social
life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them
there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend
their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this
direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea,
presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate
and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For
it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 [613] statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
182 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
361 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
233 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
182 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-
462 patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
182 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
291 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
261 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality -
181 frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871 Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[146] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [599] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani
EH14
Vlachs EH15

differ linguistically. Part of the lure of this Epirus trip was learning more about these people and their way of life.

I had already seen their rounded branch and reed huts, surrounded by wattled sheepfolds, put up either in some isolated, sheltered spot or at the edge of some village I was visiting. Although in Greece they do not number more than ten to twelve thousand families, they stand out picturesquely wherever they are. The men are dressed in tight-fitting black felt trousers and a black waistcoat and usually carry a black hip-length cape slung over their shoulder. They wear a round brimless lambskin cap (*kalpaki*). Many of the nomad women, in contrast to most of the Greek peasant women who now wear variations of Western dress, still keep to their heavy pleated homespun skirts, thick wool stockings, and wide leather belt.

Even such generalizations on dwelling and clothing are dangerous, for there are different nomadic groups. From many conversations with the nomads themselves as well as with others familiar with them, I was able to draw up tentative distinctions. On the basis of language, one can easily divide them into three groups. There are Koutso-Vlachs (the Lame Vlachs) who speak a Latin tongue in the home, although most of them, particularly the men, know Greek; the Arvanito-Vlachs (also called Karagouni because of the black cape they wear) who speak Albanian among themselves, although they still understand the Latin language of the Koutso-Vlachs from whom they derive; and the Sarakatsani, said not to be Vlach at all, who speak Greek as their only language. Many informants told me that the Sarakatsani were among the "purest Greeks" because they had practiced endogamy.

Another way of dividing the nomads is on the basis of type of settlement. The Karagouni and the Sarakatsani are called Skenites (literally, "tent dwellers"), for they do not usually have permanent homes either at their summer or their winter encampment. They build their reed huts anew each year or patch up those that remain usable from the previous year. The Koutso-Vlachs as well as the Greek peasants who practice transhumance (like those of Valtetsi) usually have a permanent village which they call home. In some interviews I found that the Koutso-Vlachs considered their winter home as the permanent settlement and the summer pastures the encampment; but most evidence seemed to indicate the reverse to be true.

The origin of these Koutso-Vlachs is one of the great ethnic puzzles of the Balkans, for their Latin tongue, although greatly corrupted by words from other Balkan languages, follows the four conjugations of ancient Latin. As in most riddles of this sort, nationalistic interests have led to several extravagant claims. Some of the modern Rumanians, chiefly in the old provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, looked to the south across Bulgaria and what is now Yugoslavia to claim these Romance-language shepherds as long lost brothers to be reunited with the "homeland." They advanced

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might
cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[322] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They
[432] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
CCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a church for forty days and then retrieved, is sovereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blunder on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [529] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64).[A] In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

A./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/115 cont./

372

Fig. 98

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

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415

With regard to cooking, various methods can be distinguished:

Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones, over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the "ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. . --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] [825] [128] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
176

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
844 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 134 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the
(829) Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong,"

Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΩΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Ἀττικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΠΙΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία Ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. [illegible], n. [illegible].

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
[823] the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[191] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, Τ. Β', p. 303 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικαντζάροι,

says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/268 cont:/

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
(824) hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
(412)
(372)

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
(515) head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
261 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
(251) had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[191] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 26 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναλεκτὰ καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱερωμ. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
974 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[191] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 168 et commen-
Λόγος ἐκ Σπ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ἐκ Λαυρεάκης, p. 604. —
Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 200 et suiv. — Ἠ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θράκης,
p. 88-90, etc.

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[976] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/278 cont./

755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

/279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected [788] individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes 789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new [754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

233 789 114

83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
784 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/27 cont./
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Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks, [482] [313] her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water, in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 386 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 386 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

/49 cont./

283 the preparation of the loom.

386 The rest of the procedure "dyeing with aniline colors" is not of particular interest ethnographically, hence it will not be treated here.

386 The Sarakatsani also dye the fabrics intended for the making of garments. The technique that applies to it will be described in a separate paragraph.

The preparation of the loom.

286 When these various procedures are finished, the yarn is ready to be woven. However, before setting to work, the women must prepare the loom.

These preparations include:

--mounting the warp,

--installing it on the loom,

--finally, preparing the shuttles.

/50/ Mounting the warp is a task both complicated and delicate, which requires a series of micro-procedures.

The most important procedure is that which consist of warping the loom.

In order better to understand the detail of this procedure let us suppose that the warp is but a single thread.

Five pegs approximately 30 centimeters high are planted in the ground according to the arrangement indicated in the following diagram:

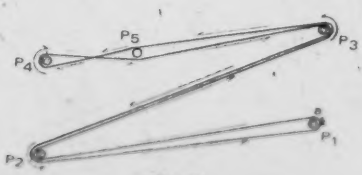

Fig. 37

S /55 cont./
286 and the water /56/ falls on the fabrics (fig. 41 and 42). This procedure takes two or three days.

S The mandani is a wooden machine which consists of a large
286 cylinder and big hammers, also made of wood. When the cylinder turns,
S the hammers beat regularly each in turn. The operation of the unit is
286
402
[372]

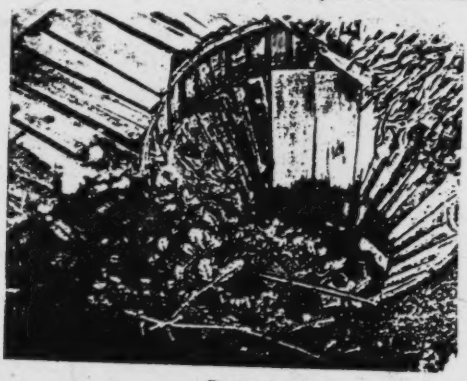

Fig. 41

based on hydraulic power. The fabric slowly unrolls on the cylinder and the hammers beat it ceaselessly. A stream of water continually floods the cylinder containing the fabric, so that the latter is simultaneously exposed to the action of the water and the hammers. It is chiefly twill which is given this treatment.

The construction of this equipment is the work of peasants who also keep it in operation. It is therefore to the peasants that the Sarakatsani turn for the fulling of the fabrics and covers they make.

S /57/ The dyeing of fabrics
286
386 In order to complete the description of the techniques relevant

/57 cont./

286 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 42

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
[824] continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
[804] commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
[827] is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

/120 cont./

105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44),A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
[171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28)

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

in the highest degree.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children 596
who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations.

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within 596
limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identi- 519
fication of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros [275]
himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his 596
problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros [431]
bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest [405]
brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for [205]
several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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884 156 579 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 579 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Κωνσταντίνου Μάστορας: Περὶ Τρίφωνος, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776

46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
989 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
989 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[992] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
772

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

[776] [771] Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. [illegible]

[171] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. [illegible], n. [illegible].

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

324 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

412

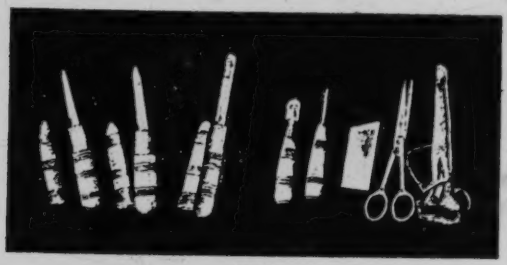

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/32 cont./

415 hollows on its upper side. The bread is put into these after kneading, and left to rise before baking (fig. 7).

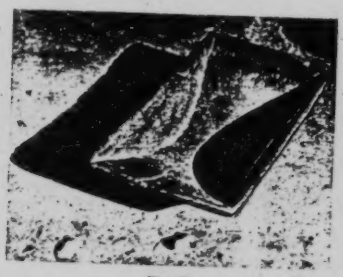

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

The plastiri is a circular tray 60 centimeters in diameter on which the Sarakatsani women knead the dough of unleavened bread. It is likewise on this tray that they flatten out the fylla or pastry leaves for flat-cakes (see below, chapter on food) (fig. 8).

412 /33/ The plastis which is used to stretch out the pastry is a sort of rolling pin 70 centimeters long and three centimeters in diameter (fig. 8).

415 Kitchen utensils and dishes

412
415

Fig. 8

/33 cont./

415 Since nearly all the utensils of this sort are metal--and are therefore not made by the Sarakatsani themselves--the only things left to describe here are:

412 The Kafki, a kind of wooden bowl cut out in quantity. It is used
415 at times as a mortar, at times as a single plate set in the center of

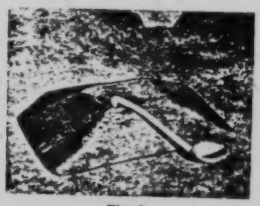

Fig. 9

the table within reach of all the diners; individual plates are unknown.

412 The spoons and spatulas of wood, likewise made in quantity, are used for eating, as well as to stir the contents of cooking pots (fig. 9).

415

Fig. 10

/34/ The glasses, or rather the cups, are also made of wood.

The klidhopinako, finally, is a sort of double bowl, of wood, the two parts of which fit together hermetically. That is why this object often serves as a food container by the shepherds, who can thus carry liquid and warm food during their long watches in the pastures (fig. 10).

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Fig. 14

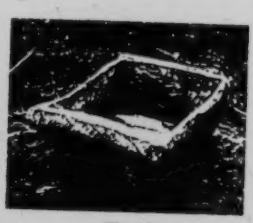

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

Fig. 17

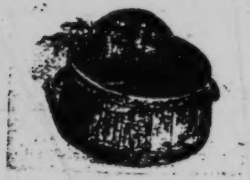

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

/36/

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

236 [527] /46 cont./
all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats. [221] [462] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March [221] [232] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to relieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in [412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) A is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

A, (See p. 59--Analysis)

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
221 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

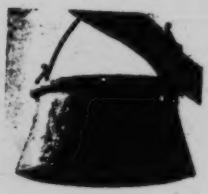

Fig. 91

3: Kabbadias--129 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/113/

252
142
412

Fig. 95

252
262
[191]

/114 cont./24. "Trachanas" is a kind of dough made in all regions of Greece. It is a mixture of flour and milk, dried in the sun. Then one crushes this mixture and ordinarily uses it in making soups.

A little of this mixture is spread on each of the leaves which then is rolled to make a stuffed cylinder, which is placed in a large round dish along the edges. The procedure is repeated for each of the leaves until the dish, filled with rolled-up cylinders one behind the other, resembles a giant snail which is coated with butter before being cooked under the "ghastra."

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
(412) by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15)A in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

A,/Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134)

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[412]
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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5. Sarakatsan Shepherd

[facing p. 288]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
[482] looped over it in the crucifform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few mo-
ments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria, on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
[131] to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafts grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/32 cont./

415 hollows on its upper side. The bread is put into these after kneading, and left to rise before baking (fig. 7).

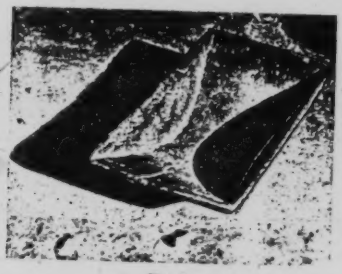

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

The plastiri is a circular tray 60 centimeters in diameter on which the Sarakatsani women knead the dough of unleavened bread. It is likewise on this tray that they flatten out the fylla or pastry leaves for flat-cakes (see below, chapter on food) (fig. 8).

412 /33/ The plastis which is used to stretch out the pastry is a sort of rolling pin 70 centimeters long and three centimeters in diameter (fig. 8).

415 Kitchen utensils and dishes

412
415

Fig.

/33 cont./

415 Since nearly all the utensils of this sort are metal--and are therefore not made by the Sarakatsani themselves--the only things left to describe here are:

412 The Káfki, a kind of wooden bowl cut out in quantity. It is used
415 at times as a mortar, at times as a single plate set in the center of

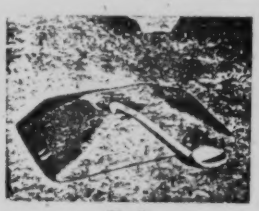

Fig. 9

the table within reach of all the diners; individual plates are unknown.

412 The spoons and spatulas of wood, likewise made in quantity, are used for eating, as well as to stir the contents of cooking pots (fig. 9).

415

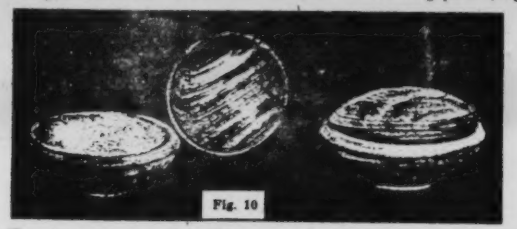

Fig. 10

/34/ The glasses, or rather the cups, are also made of wood.

The klidhopinako, finally, is a sort of double bowl, of wood, the two parts of which fit together hermetically. That is why this object often serves as a food container by the shepherds, who can thus carry liquid and warm food during their long watches in the pastures (fig. 10).

3: Kabbadias--43 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/34 cont./

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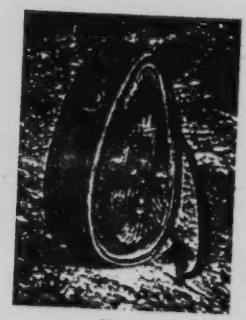

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

Fig. 13

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Fig. 14

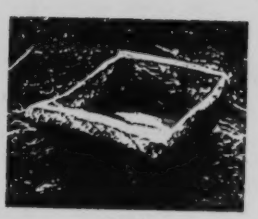

Fig. 16

Fig. 15

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

/36/

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [198] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

415
234
824

3" cont./

of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21)

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

415 /38/
234 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100
251 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

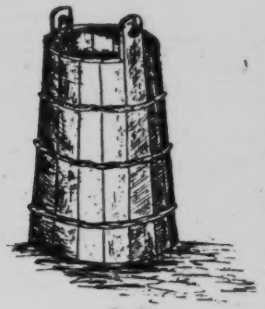

Fig. 22

Fig. 23

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824
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/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281 415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then [251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342 343 824 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/79/

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Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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Fig. 63

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233 --Unloading of the animals.
361 --Pitching of the tents.
484 --Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.
[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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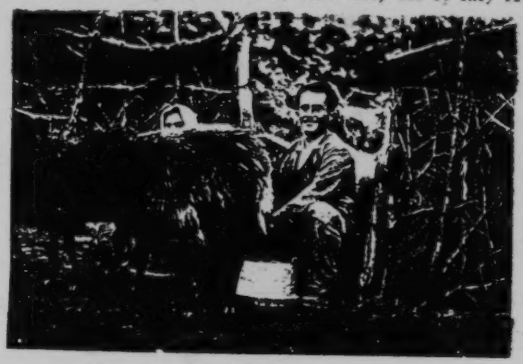

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
252 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other,
262 which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
43 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

Fig. 91

/110 cont./

234 is poured into a kettle (fig. 91) to which a certain amount of rennet
252 is added. A half hour later the milk, stirred with wooden spatulas (fig. 92) is curdled.

234 /111/ By means of a kind of large spoon, a "ladle" rather, called
252 "koutlas" (fig. 93) the curdled milk is decanted into the "tsandiles"
415 or bags made from a square piece of transparent cheesecloth the four

Fig. 93

corners of which are tied together. This bag is then suspended from the branches of a tree (fig. 94) in order to let the whey drip into small tubs below.

234 The next day the drained cheese is placed on a small low table;
252 it is cut in slices and, after being salted, it is placed in a tub
[251] where it remains five or six days. This cheese is then ready to be eaten; it is stored in casks or goatskin bottles.

That is not all. The whey drained into the small tub is decanted into a kettle in which it is heated. When the temperature /Figure 94 appears here/ rises there is formed on the surface a kind of white cheese low in fat, which is gathered up with a spoon and which is called "mytzithra." This cheese is then treated like the preceding.
[231] The remaining liquid is used as food for the dogs and pigs.

257 Now a rapid presentation of the most characteristic Sarakatsani
262 cooked foods:

--"Katsamaki": this is a mixture of hot water and maize flour seasoned with salt and pepper, which is /112/ boiled to a pasty

/111/

234
252
415

Fig. 94

252
262 /112 cont./ consistency. Sometimes oil or butter and cheese are added.

--"Kourkoutti" is a variation of "katsamaki": it is the same mixture but to which is added a small quantity of onions that are browned separately in a frying pan.

--"Tripsana": pieces of dry maize bread are boiled in salted water or in a vegetable broth. Seasoning and oil or butter are added.

--Almost the same thing is done with pieces of wheat bread which are also boiled, but in butter and cheese is added as well. This dish is called "papàra."

--"Kousmari" is another dish in the Sarakatsani diet. Some cheese just prepared and not yet salted is placed in a receptacle and exposed to the sun until it is slightly fermented. The receptacle is then put on the fire and a little flour is added. The mixture is stirred until it thickens.

--Finally, "nerstà" or "birbilonia" are a kind of dough made with wheat flour. One spreads the flour on a table, sprinkles it lightly

/115 cont./

372

Fig. 96

natural draft (brush and dry sticks are arranged in the shape of a cone so that an air current circulates from bottom to top) and to an artifical draft (human breath).

It is necessary to mention in this connection that in the Sarakatsani dwellings the fire is never allowed to go out (whether it be in the huts during the winter months or in the fretzato used for outdoor cooking in the summer).

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With regard to cooking, various methods can be distinguished:

Cooking in pots: a triangular metal tripod which holds on all kinds of pots is set on the hearth flagstones over the fire. In the relatively less well organized installations (sheepfolds) and in the course of the migrations the tripod is replaced by suitably arranged stones.

Cooking in the"ghastra" (large metal lid /116/ one meter in diameter, a sort of spherical cap, flat and equipped with a handle at the top).

The "ghastra" is placed on the tripod above a well-burning fire in such a way that one side of it rests on the low wall of the hearth and the other on the tripod. Thus the hearth as well as the "ghastra" rapidly reach a very high temperature. When this temperature is judged sufficient, the "ghastra" is removed; then, according to what one wishes to cook, the foods are either put directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth or are kept in a receptacle which itself is placed upon the

/116 cont./

252 flagstones, the coals or on the tripod. They are then carefully covered
415 with the "ghastra." Let us note that the hot "ghastra" is manipulated
[412] by inserting the "xethali" (wooden poker, fig. 15)A in its handle.
Finally, the "ghastra" is covered with coals. Figures 97, 98, 99 show stages of cooking under the "ghastra."

It is under the "ghastra" that the Sarakatsani cook the various kinds of bread and pastries that we have described.

252 Cooking in the oven: the oven is used collectively (moreover, the use of the oven is relatively recent among the Sarakatsani), that is to say that the oven is built only in the midst of large aggregates of huts. The oven is chiefly meant for baking bread. In order to bake the bread, one must first heat the oven. Shrubs and logs are ignited and allowed to burn up completely. Then the ashes are heaped up with a shovel and the flagstones cleaned with a rag attached to the end of a pole. After that the bread needs only to be put in the oven and left there the necessary time.

The loaves to be baked are set directly on the flagstones of the oven.

Cooking on a spit: this is the most common method of roasting meat.
252 More specifically, the Sarakatsani, in preparing meat, cook only
262 whole lambs. In their traditional life, the preparation of pieces of meat previously cut up is not customary. Moreover, the only meat they eat is that of lambs and, more rarely, of goats. Of course, pigs and some poultry raised by the women are used for family consumption. However, their role /in the diet/ is so minimal that it in no case be considered substantial, or a basic food. /117/ /Figs. 97, 98, 99 appear here/

252 /118/ Cooking on the spit involves several stages. First, a one-by-two meter pit is dug some 50 centimeters deep in which coals are prepared; then the lamb is pierced from end to end with a spit which is placed on two forks set at the two extremities of the pit. Sometimes the height

A,/Fig. 15 appears on p.44--Analyst/

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 134]

3: Kabbadias--133 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/117/

252
415
291

Fig. 97

Fig. 98

Fig. 99

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).
273 c) Wine.
[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A./Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B./Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

417

417 APPARATUS--supports (e.g., posts, frames, ladders, scaffolds); fences and gates; pens and corrals; birdcages; apparatus not elsewhere described; etc. See also:

Traps, snares, and fishing gear 22
Aids to locomotion and burden carrying 48
Looms 286
Furniture 382
Plumbing fixtures 414
Riding gear 492
Nautical rigging and gear 501

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέχι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λωπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπαντζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [257]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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This sale of lambs brings
233 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
234 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
432 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
434 February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
[452] (στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[412] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[417] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
22 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/72 cont./

342 --as stable for the mules,
343 --as a place to milk the ewes,
--as a shelter for the shepherds.

"The shape of these latter huts justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani are in fact acquainted with but a single hut: the round hut which can be elongated, " Madame Hadjimichali maintains, in substance. (17)

17. Ibid., A. II, p. 175.

342 As a matter of fact, this statement which raises a question of
114 a technological order seems at first acceptable. Does not the elongated
178 shape of the round hut constitute a stage in the direction of the rectangular hut which is to all appearances only a further improvement on that form? And if one replies in the affirmative, would not this reply be corroborated by the fact that the civilization of the Sarakatsani insofar as it is a rural and very traditional civilization, must present a certain uniformity in its technical expression?

Now, it seems to us that appearances are not sufficiently convincing for us to agree with this opinion. For, there is such a
[341] difference between the technical conceptions underlying the hut with a vaulted framework and the rectangular hut with a framework of forks, that the idea maintained above no longer holds.

The improvement of what already exists, from the same components
[177] is one thing; but a transformation, a complete change of the process
[341] of construction, hence a total change of conception (replacing arches with regular walls and a roof) presupposes invention of technological borrowing, if not acculturation.

Between the elongated round hut and the rectangular hut the distance is such that no continuity can be established. In any case, the issue remains open, pending additional information.

343 <u>The outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling</u>
417 In addition to the variations we have described and which serve

/72 cont./

343 as outbuildings of the Sarakatsani dwelling, there are still others,
417 such as:

a) The frétzato.

b) The oven.

c) The chicken coop.

/73/ / figs. 57 and 58 appear here/

417 /74/ a) The frétzato looks like an enclosure; it is built with slanting posts intertwined with long horizontal stalks. Its walls are overlaid with branches and dry shrubs, likewise intertwined.

There are two types of this construction among the Sarakatsani:

[343]
[354]

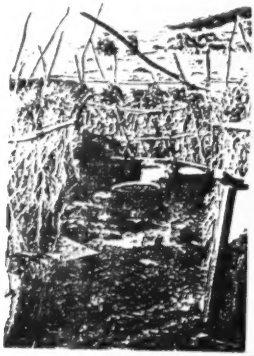

Fig. 59

The first which may be characterized as a frétzato leaning against the hut forms part of the hut (whether round or slanting), for it flanks the front. It consists of a sort of dry hedge in the shape of an ellipse broken on two sides in the middle section.

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/73/

342
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Fig. 57

417
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Fig. 58

/74 cont./

342 417 At one of these openings it leans against the front of the hut, specifically on either side of the door; the other /opening/, left free, serves as entrance (fig. 57).

417 In short, it is an elliptical, fenced-in courtyard, the opening of which, situated opposite the entrance of the hut, it closed by a gate made either of boards of interlaced branches.

/75/ The dimensions of this construction are 2.50 to 5.50 meters for the large axis and two to four meters for the small one.

The "frétzato" may enclose one, two, and sometimes three round (343) or rectangular huts placed side by side (in this case, of course, its dimensions are considerably larger); then it serves sometimes as an outdoor kitchen, sometimes as a receiving area. For the latter purpose it includes the tsardhaki (see below).

343 417 The second type of this construction is the "independent frétzato," that is to say, one that does not lean against the hut. This type occurs on the one hand in a circular form called photoghoni, and, on the other, a rectangular form given the name tsardhaki or "shade" (fig. 58 and 59).

In the first form it is a kind of dry hedge, almost round in shape, approximately three to four meters in diameter, that is provided with a single opening without a gate and serves as outdoor kitchen as well as a place for storing utensils; in the second form it is a shelter against sun and heat, placed near the hut. It must therefore necessarily face the north in order to have the benefit on the cool winds (etesian winds).

This latter construction, is more interesting than the preceding one; its dimensions are approximately two meters by five meters, and the sloping roof reaches a height of 2.50 to three meters.

In order to give an idea of the "tsardhaki," let us say that it is a rectangular half-hut on several forks, for its roof has but a single side. Actually, forks 2.50 meters high are set at the two

/75 cont./

343 northern corners of the base of the rectangle and a fork three meters
417 high is set at each of the two others. From one fork to the other a series of trunks are placed in a row, making up the framework of the roofing which slopes in relation to the horizon. On this framework are placed a certain number of long branches which serve as rafters. The two short sides and the long southern side of the building are formed in the same way as the sides of a rectangular hut. The same holds true for the top which is covered like the roof of the hut. The front, turned towards the north, remains entirely open.

In certain cases the tsardhaki or "shade" becomes incorporated in the enclosure of the frétzato joined to the hut, and /76/ occupies one of its sides; but its use, as we shall see later on, does not differ from that of the independent "tsardhaki."

343 b) The oven: The technique of hut construction is likewise the
252 basis of the construction of the ovens (fig. 60).

Fig. 60

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar [352] to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).[A]

343 Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not [252] unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated 417 that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[A] [See p.84--Analyst]

/82 cont./

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233
291

Fig. 66

417
233

/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig. 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and (824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

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/83/

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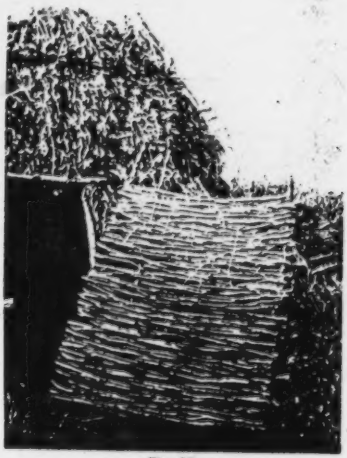

Fig. 67

/84/

Fig. 68

/84 cont./

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233

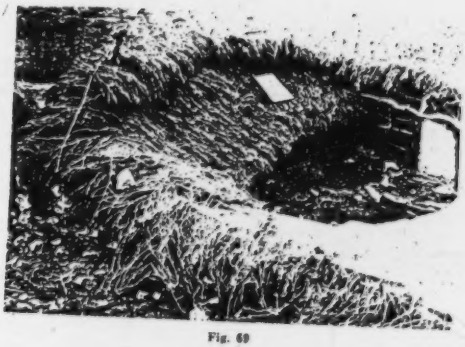

Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very (824) much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

/85/

417
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Fig. 70

233
343 /86 cont./ Furthermore, close to the entrances of this pen a tiny round hut is built. Called tsarkos (fig. 71), /Fig. 71 appears here/ it is the simplest of all those we have described, and here the young goats are shut in during the day in order to regulate their suckling.

The tsardhaki: finally, in order to complete the enumeration of the

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/179 cont./

He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle horse.

His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the highest point.

Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the negotiations with merchants take place.

It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

421

421 PROPERTY SYSTEM--principles of property law; rights, privileges, and powers commonly involved in property relations (e.g., rights that others shall not use or destroy, privileges of enjoyment, powers of alienation and of transmission after death); recognized types of titles or tenure; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, joint, corporate, collective, public); their relation to classes of subject matter (e.g., land, movables, slaves); their degree of integration; their legal and statistical importance; their association with kin and other social groups; etc. See also:

Law	67	Property arrangements upon termination of marriage	586
Ownership of productive capital	471		

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association. 596 [421]

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakatsani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood, 596 826 [577] 596 826 828

[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with 586
the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after [734]
the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. [732]
She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be 684
killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where 848
the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* 848
individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in 596
relation to his family membership; and this implies membership 571
within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although 596
the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, 421
in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests [171]
that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the 596
sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν, 422

[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, [113]
vol. i, p. 265.

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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corporate family, stand as equals in relation to the common 596
flock and the common property. Strictly speaking, the son does 421
not inherit property from his father; rather the father and the son both have claims on the corporate property which they exercise when they leave the group or when the group is dissolved. Through their dowries, the daughters also have parallel claims, and should a daughter remain unmarried she too will receive something, a half share, with which, like her parents, she passes into the family of her youngest brother. The partition of the corporate property and the single household does not come about so much as the result of individuals claiming individual rights, as through the redeployment of the resources of one corporate family group to endow and accommodate the needs of a number of new corporate families which, in part, are sprung from it. That this process of growth cannot be contained within the framework of a single corporation with continuity through time, is a consequence of the bilateral kinship system.

The authority of the head of the family group is limited in a 596
number of ways. In the early years, before the maturity of his children, the authority of the father is unquestioned, but in the administration of family affairs his position, even then, is that of trustee rather than master and owner. A father who squanders the wealth of his family through gambling or inattention to his duties is despised. If the community discovers that he [550]
punishes his wife and children too harshly, or without reason, he will lose prestige. In the later years of the family's development when the father holds his authority over adult sons and daughters, and *a fortiori* during the period when the elder brother presides over an extended family group, the head of the family increasingly exercises an authority which is based on a process of collective decision and unanimity. During these years, for instance, the family head does not buy or sell stock or other property without consulting his sons or brothers. Through discussion, in which everybody participates, a collective viewpoint about conduct and action emerges, and the family is prepared to continue a debate for many hours until unanimity is reached. As opinion begins to harden, the remaining dissenters give way out of loyalty, if not from conviction. So tightly drawn to one another in the mutual

593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

/150 cont./

596 613 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4).A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596 421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended [613] family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

A, /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

/ 151 cont./

596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [191] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely [42] here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership 428 between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the [613] final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the [612] lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/174 cont./

596 613 571 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 422 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 422 571 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/192 cont./

436 437 474 562 [489] [571] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.

462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

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422 PROPERTY IN MOVABLES--culturally defined categories of movables (e.g., food stores, personal clothing and ornaments, artifacts, domestic animals, ceremonial objects); recognized types of title or tenure; rights, privileges, and powers involved in each; relation of types of title to categories of movables; recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, corporate); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of movables, types of title, and classes of persons; records of ownership (e.g., property marks, registration); etc. See also:

Standard of living 811
Accumulation of wealth 556
Social classes 565
Slavery 567
Offenses against property 695

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p. 19]

II

OF SHEEP AND SHEPHERDS

1. THE FLOCKS

SARAKATSANI are deeply concerned about three things; sheep, children (particularly sons), and honour. It is a common feature of many pastoral peoples with simple material cultures that they are highly dependent on their physical environment[1] and that the care of herds, the structure of the community, and its social values, form a coherent pattern of activities and sentiments which presents few inconsistencies. The three concerns of the Sarakatsani are mutually implicated. The sheep support the life and prestige of the family, the sons serve the flocks and protect the honour of their parents and sisters, and the notion of honour presupposes physical and moral capacities that fit the shepherds for the hard and sometimes dangerous work of following and protecting their animals. 181 182

In the winter and spring the Sarakatsani divide their animals into four flocks. The most important of these divisions is the flock of pregnant ewes or, after lambing, the milking ewes (τὰ γαλάρια). In the second flock are the rams, and the sterile ewes which were not successfully mated in the summer (τὰ στέρφα). The third division is a small flock of the last season's ewe lambs (τὰ ζιγούρια).[2] And finally there are the goats. Although sheep and goats are the property of families, and are identified by different ear-signs, the constituent families of a stani do not separate their animals. One flock of pregnant ewes is formed from all the stock of the different families; and similarly for the other categories. These dispositions are influenced partly by the difficulty of shepherding efficiently more than 250 animals in a single flock on grazing land which is often broken ground, always without fencing, and where wolves and wild dogs make frequent raids by night. But an even more important factor is that since grassland is generally natural, not cultivated, the 233 [422]

[1] See E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Nuer*, Oxford, 1940, p. 16. [113]

[2] The Sarakatsani also keep a few wethers (τὰ γκιουσέμια), which grow larger in stature than entire animals and are used as leaders of the various flocks.

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of [178] demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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591 and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought
596 to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother
591 with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking [422] there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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571 609 578 685 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft, which was less often attempted, partly because of the considerable danger and partly because it made even greater demands on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the [439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the [55] prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

/152 cont./

596 428 [791] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly pos-
sessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

423

423 REAL PROPERTY--conception of the subject matter of real property (e.g., as that which produces food, as things that are fixed or immovable); culturally defined categories (e.g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water); types of land subject and not subject to property (e.g., sites with monopoly value, waste land); recognized types of title or estate (e.g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance); rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e.g., usufruct, reversionary claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of expropriation); recognized types of ownership (e.g., individual, collective, public); legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e.g., exclusion of minors, of women, of slaves); general characteristics of the system of real property (e.g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic reallotments, communism); land reform; records of ownership (e.g., boundary marks, deeds); registration of titles; etc. See also:

Territories of kin and local groups	61,62	Serfdom	566
Land use	311	Taxation	651
Ownership of productive capital	471		

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group. 178 474 427 233 [452] [212]

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry. 178 474 233 [423] [802]

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 474 233 [735]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thesprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the 474 233 423 648

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474 233 423 648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

474 233 423 662 648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 233 221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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S G 648 651 S 233 426 large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council S G 648 enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various S 662 favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the G 622 661 effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the S G 423 648 S 233 G 622 661 opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their S G 648 S 233 G 622 661 animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in 685 625 forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

./174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 430 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 422 571 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
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Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
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425

425 ACQUISITION AND RELINQUISHMENT OF PROPERTY--recognized means by which property rights may be acquired (e.g., appropriation, forceful seizure, gift, purchase); creation of new property rights (e.g., by physical appropriation, by priority of claim, by expenditure of labor in manufacture); rituals and symbols of appropriation; recognized means by which property rights may be extinguished (e.g., destruction, abandonment, confiscation, gift, sale); rights, privileges, and powers of the finders and losers of objects of property; etc.

See also:

Gifts 431
Buying and selling 432
Marine salvage 502
Taxation 651
Judicial confiscation 681
Theft 685
War booty 721, 727

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of [178] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούτ. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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156 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and
884 circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that
577 he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer
761 threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family.
577 Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should
885 be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possess. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company',
885 has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures,
577 he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian
425 Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use
885 lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

S /403 cont./
175 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
177 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
121 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
G government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
175 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
648 were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
722 of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made
S to disappear.
[425]

S The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.
175 The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
177 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
233 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
474 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
429 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
178 started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
S Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
474 of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
233 obliged to seek individual solutions.
178
177

S The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.
177 In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
175 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
S registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
[656] consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[446] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [599] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

426

426 BORROWING AND LENDING--bailment; rights, privileges, and powers of bailor and bailee; loans and debts; pawning rights, privileges, and powers of debtor and creditor; formalities in the arrangement and repayment of loans (e.g., witnesses, surety, sponsors); security; interest; notes and mortgages; specialization (e.g., pawn shops); bankruptcy (e.g., law, administration); etc.

See also:

Credit 452
Banking 453
Corporate securities and receivership 473
Debt slavery 547
Public finance 653
Penalties for the nonpayment of debts 686

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will 612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [428] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in 612 hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen
612 but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in
[426] almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal
[611] characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[113] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόι, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παππούλης, grandfather, βάβω, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ἐξάδερφος, ἐξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνεψιός, ἀνεψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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612 476 τὸ σόϊ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's application for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.
[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [626] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[3] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[3] The minimum charge is 4½*d.* a head.

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S G 648 651 S 233 ● 426

large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

S G 648 S 612 G 622 661

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

S G 423 648 S 233 G 622 661

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

S G 648 S 233 685 G 622 661 625

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

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can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 G 441 439 S [426] The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

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G The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first
441 place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which
439 the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital
472 for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and
435 his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost
452 of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses.
S Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on
234 the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value
439 and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working
435 capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the mer-
426 chant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants
G store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make
[465] in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin
S between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the
234 individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substan-
439 tial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him
426 to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the
G extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom en-
441 tirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own
439 and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of in-
452 creasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the
S Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the
[511] absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of bind-
G ing himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it
441 pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By
439
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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[1] [see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analysis]

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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10.

In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again.

On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

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specific contexts, that is to saving a shepherd from eviction from his pastures and from the need to sell his stock because of his indebtedness to others. If a merchant has a firm hold over a man through the nexus of debt he does not want to assume unnecessary obligations which may limit the range and flexibility of his economic operations. Cheese merchants who are sometimes forced unwillingly into becoming godfathers to Sarakatsan children do not always make very satisfactory spiritual kinsmen. On the other hand, in certain cases where an influential Sarakatsan family is clear, or nearly clear, of debt a merchant may be very willing to enter into the diffuse obligations of friendship if this will enable him to hold it to his custom. There is a difference between the relationships which a shepherd establishes with his lawyer and his cheese merchant. The lawyer gives advice and support to a client over the whole range of his affairs; the more complete his patronage, the more obligated the client and the greater the lawyer's power over him. The merchant's interests in the shepherd are more specifically economic; his economic success depends upon a certain flexibility in his commitments so that, for example, he may wish to make smaller advances and grant fewer long-term credits when interest rates are abnormally high. This seems to be an example of a general difference between political and economic power; the former has a particularist and affective quality, the latter is characterized by its relative generality and impersonality.

But the relation of merchant and shepherd can never be merely specific to the act of purchase or without some affective content as in simple market exchanges. The merchant carries a dead weight of debt; this he can only recover by a legal action which would deprive the shepherd of the animals on which depend the family's physical subsistence and its social prestige. Both sides realize that the existence of the debt, whatever may have been the motives which encouraged it, has meant the possibility of the family continuing to live honourably in their traditional way of life. By the mere fact of having done a good thing, even if without that purpose, the merchant is morally obliged not to undo it. It is a remarkable fact that since 1945 the merchant 'X' appears to have called in only one debt by recourse to the law.

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The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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commerce. It provides the merchant with an assured source for his raw material and the shopkeeper with a stable clientele. It gives the shepherd vicarious access to the metropolitan market and to the credit facilities of the national banking system. Without these facilities it is fair to say that he could not continue to lead his traditional way of life.

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Income	*Drachmas*
511 596 434 190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

[42] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

/175 cont./

233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 197 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 404 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 404 426 233 424 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 197 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 197 554 474 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 474 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

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427 RENTING AND LEASING--extent to which real, movable, and incorporeal property may be leased or rented; leases and rents (e.g., negotiations, terms, formalities); modes of payment (e.g., money rent, share cropping); rights, privileges, and powers of lessor and lessee; eviction; prevalence of tenancy and of home and farm ownership; factors determining rental rates; regulation (e.g., rent controls); etc. See also:

Control and ownership of capital . . . . . 471 Peonage and serfdom 568

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοσταστίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[34] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[34] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of
[427] the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting
[558] very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [427]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving
animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the
disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to
Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not
call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple com- 612
panionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately
before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsilingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
Constantine Tangas		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tsilingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from Stany	Children and old people able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zyoos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kermounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Grezgory Kapialis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charisis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

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5.												
‡ Const. Gogolos		Tscl.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tscl.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myrsounis	5	Tscl.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tscl.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Technique or Leader of the unit	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tscl.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourion. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers. Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	6	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Chiarsis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Detsikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

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596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agrotichs, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 422 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 422 571 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

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233 426 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 199 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 404 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 474 426 233 474 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 199 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 199 554 474 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 474 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

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771 186 177 829 [429] who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand, since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 539 177 829 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another kind and very significant for our point of view.

--One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
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Vlachs EH15

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

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What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

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As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

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In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

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For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

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428 INHERITANCE--forms of property and types of title subject and not subject to inheritance; disposition of noninherited property (e.g., destruction, abandonment, distribution by gift, reversion to a prior owner or his heirs); nondistribution (e.g., maintenance of estates intact within an extended family); preferred or natural heirs and relatives excluded from inheritance (e.g., children, siblings, spouses, parents); sex and age preferences (e.g., exclusion of females, primogeniture, ultimogeniture); persons who inherit in default of preferred heirs; types of ownership acquired by heirs; variant rules for different possessions and type of title; characterization of inheritance systems (e.g., as matrilineal, patrilineal, testamentary); dower (e.g., special provision for widow or widower); testamentary disposition (e.g., wills, bequests, legacies); formalities (e.g., probate procedure); probate law; etc. See also:

Family 89
Heirlooms 623
Rule of descent 611
Inheritance taxes 651
Probate courts 698
Adjustments to death 760

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [429] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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121 594 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 593 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and [428] the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision 594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

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596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [171] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

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596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family) with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[596] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

596 474 /176 cont./
ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

596 474 554 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. [428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the [868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

/206 cont./

671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
{602} tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes
593 the form of strict law. (19)

> 19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never
593 has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death
428 otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/207 cont./

671 exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited
593 share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and
[428] thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

474 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in
695 Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the
671 Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

788 /322 cont./
789 554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[351] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[204] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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429

429 ADMINISTRATION--guardianship (e.g., of minors, of widows, of defectives); rights, privileges, and powers of guardian and ward; trusts; rights, privileges, and powers of trustee and beneficiary; law of trusts; formalities; administration of estates; bankruptcy administration; specialization in administration (e.g., trust companies); regulation; etc. See also:

Role of heads of families and of kin and local groups as trustees for the property of their social groups 59, 61, 62
Receivership 473
Levirate 587
Agency 676
Embezzlement 685
Care of defectives 732
Philanthropic foundations 741
Definition of minors 859

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-
[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the
[429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good
[828] standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness
[428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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671 We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation
[128] of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family
429 council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well
768 as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management
602 of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter
[474] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same
[596] Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 768 562 429 [602] However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian" of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protection, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

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671 593 428 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

431

431 GIFT GIVING--alienation of property by gift; rights, privileges, and powers of donor and recipient; frequency, types, occasions, and purposes of gifts; social relationships within which gifts are given; formalities of giving and receiving; potlatches; reciprocal gift exchange (e.g., kula); role of gifts in the distribution of economic goods; etc. See also:

Status and mobility 55
Property transactions in marriage 58
Acquisition and relinquishment of property . . . 425
Bequests 428
Feasts 574
Tribute giving 651
Bribery of officials 662
Almsgiving and charity 735
Philanthropic foundations 741
Sacrifice 782

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations. 596

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

596 517 [275] 596 [431] [405] [205]

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612 476 τὸ σόι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of [431] money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still [675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near [489] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of [662] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, [426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica- [851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of [431] wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neigh- bouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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602 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his
431 relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [626] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
563 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

● 431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to 431
his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter 608
Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between [296]
the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and 608
spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relation- [582]
ship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint [835]
responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are [623]
wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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S 648 691 a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

S [687]

S G 648 S 233 662 But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

S G 648 S 431 662 G 647 S G 648 G 625 S 662 [431] [687] Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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S G 648 S 662 G 693 661 wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S G 648 571 G 693 S & [608] S [431] In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his pro- G [557] fessional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

S G 648 571 G 693 662 It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
584 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
43 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality: R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
596 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
474 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
434 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
233 However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 474 689 434 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.

[431] However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 474 689 431 182 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect, that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman, and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 474 434 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 474 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

432

432 BUYING AND SELLING--alienation of property by sale; rights, privileges, and powers of buyer and seller; law of sales; frequency of sales in comparison with gifts; cultural limitations on the sale of property; etc. See also:

Acquisition and relinquishment of property . . . 425
Types and formalities of exchange transactions . 437
Merchants 441
Salesmanship 446
Slavery 567
Bride-price 583
Fraud 685

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[239] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (χαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λωπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυθιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [257]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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This sale of lambs brings
233 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
234 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
432 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
434 February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
[452] (στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brushwood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold [412] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep- [342] herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to form more than one flock. At the end of November after they [462] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to [417] build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined towards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [426]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

/36 /

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

/42/

286 /42/ The weaving loom: there are two kinds of looms among the
[432] Sarakatsani. The first is made by them, while the second is bought from peasant artisans (fig. 30 and 31).

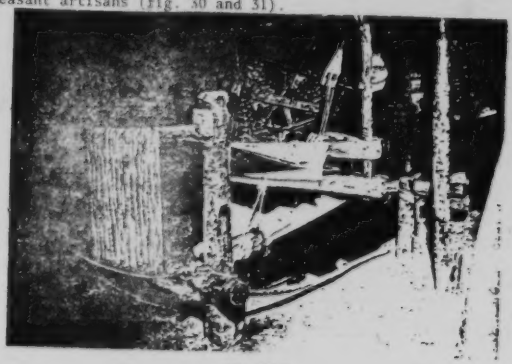

Fig. 30

The requirements of this study are such that it is the first type of loom which will be described here, especially since the second /type/ is not integrated in the traditional life of the Sarakatsani.

This loom is very simple. (7)

7. For a description of this loom we are using the terminology and outline given by A. Leroi-Gourhan in L'homme et matière, p. 239 f., while keeping the originality appropriate to our subject.

It is composed of six posts driven into the ground in two parallel rows and placed opposite each other as though delineating a rectangle. These posts are of unequal height. The tallest are in the center; those placed in front of the weaver, very short, measure approximately 20 centimeters, while the posts placed at the opposite extremity are almost 70 centimeters high; those in the center reach 1.50 meters.

286 /44 cont./

One of the two ends of each beam is pierced transversely. And it is by introducing of a stalk into this hole and attaching it by means of a cord that one obtains the simple mechanism for locking and turning mentioned above.

On the two high center posts another small tree trunk is set and from it are suspended the parts that serve to raise the threads alternately, and by means of which one weaves, that it to say, the two heddles on the one hand and the batten on the other.

The batten which holds the comb that presses together the threads of the weft at each passage through, is itself attached at the top to two sticks of wood called swords /?/.

The heddles (each framed along their entire length by two stalks of reed) are set in motion by ascending and descending movements and suspended by ropes, or rather by a harness, on pulleys. [432] They are made by the Sarakatsani themselves, whereas the batten is bought commercially.

The servicable breadth of the heddles, and consequently that of the batten and of the weave that can be produced, is approximately 60 cnetimeters.

The movement of the heddles is controlled by two pedals, two treadles parallel to the warp, the alternate action of which brings about the spreading apart of the threads of the warp, thus permitting the introduction of the shuttle, on the center quill of which is wound

Fig. 32

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions [527] are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
281 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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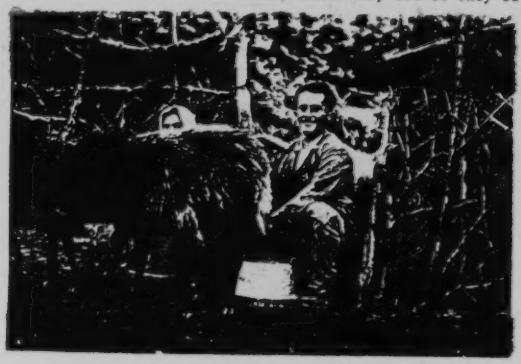

Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/95 cont./

232 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A. [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
439 and very rarely blankets.
432

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(464) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

(454) If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
(436) "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not [432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 596 198 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family. S 234 251 221

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[6] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one. G 441 439 472 S 234 439

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer. G [458] G [452]

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[6] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints. S [433]

/190 cont./

474 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic
182 level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and
433 consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not un-
439 mindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./

438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/192 cont./

436 437 474 58 [489] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

[177] Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 416 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/192 cont./

462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
342 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly
562 related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
177 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

/405 cont./

177 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani
433 have begun to practice a mixed exploitation (agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the
554 roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and
181 encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
SaraKatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks V [194] present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the S 186 Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπαπζαρι) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [257]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[417] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[417] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

1:Campbell E·5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

A man may occasionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [476]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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596 Admittedly every man must have
[577] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωισμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
448 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up
● 434 wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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596 422 [583] μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on this common stock according to the needs of his status and situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother. [434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 425 428 888 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the family property ought to occur before all the daughters have been married with dowries which represent their share of the commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden. [884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be disinherited. [684] [682] A father may drive his son out of the house but not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 421 We can see from these facts that in principle the father and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori Greece EH1

S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is G 441 439 the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which S [426] would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[1] [see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10.

In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again.

On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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Greece EH1

S G 439 59 G 441

The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

S 571 596 609

It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

Income	*Drachmas*
511 596 434 190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

[426] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233
361 --Unloading of the animals.
484 --Pitching of the tents.
--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.
[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

Working with the livestock

233 Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
474
556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
571 easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
404 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
689 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
434
[431]

However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
596 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
404 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
689 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
431 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospi-
182 tality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
404 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles
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311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 474 554 134 [136] [581] /163 cont./
not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 474 179 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a [872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading [875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this. [562]

* * * *

596 594 [561] The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 594 613 554 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] [432] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 596 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
233 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
731 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
474 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
596 Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for
[602] solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

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436 437 474 562 [489] [571] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

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182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
SaraKatsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 V [194] recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the S 186 Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

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What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

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As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

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In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

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For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

69 583 426 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of [178] demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

G The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first
441 place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which
439 the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital
472 for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and
435 his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost
452 of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses.
S Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on
234 the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value
439 and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working
435 capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the mer-
426 chant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants
G store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make
[465] in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metro-
politan market in the later months of the year when milk pro-
ducts are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is
borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is
secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on
all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In
general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about
3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the
pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which
he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous
exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence.
He is caught between two limits, the highest price which con-
sumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk
products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just
make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For
if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin
S between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the
234 individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substan-
439 tial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him
426 to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the
G extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom en-
441 tirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own
439 and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of in-
452 creasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the
S Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the
[511] absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved
this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of bind-
G ing himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it
441 pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

sustaining a burden of debt and advance payments of perhaps £20,000 he makes an annual net profit on the spring milk alone of about £8,000.

The Sarakatsan financial year (see Appendix III)[1] begins and ends in August, when the shepherd takes the advance for his winter milk, which represents between one-third and one-half of the value of the estimated winter yield of milk. A man with 200 ewes would receive about £100. With some of this money he is able to complete his payments for summer grazing. This he is normally bound to do before the police will allow him to move his sheep towards the plains in the autumn. He hopes to leave the Zagori village in October with perhaps one-third of this advance still in his pocket to tide his family over their general living expenses in the early winter months. During the winter months there is a constant struggle between the shepherd and the merchant for further loans. The original advance is generally almost exhausted by Christmas, especially if cotton-cake has been bought to supplement the diet of the pregnant ewes. The merchant tries to stave off further requests for additional advances since he does not want to carry an unnecessary weight of debt beyond the amount that is necessary to hold the shepherd as a client. He keeps the shepherd physically alive by granting him credit in the form of flour. In this way he checks luxury spending by the shepherd at his expense and makes, on paper at least, a small profit for himself by selling on credit flour of questionable quality at a slightly inflated price. The shepherd and his family exist as best they can, running up small debts with the shopkeepers in the winter villages and towns who themselves compete for his trade by offering credit which they hope will make him a permanent customer. Eventually some crisis occurs. He must have money to engage a lawyer in a court case, or money to pay a doctor or to bribe an official. He goes to the cheese merchant and explains the situation. The latter, if he is astute, knows the critical moment when he must slacken the reins; a further *ad hoc* advance is given.

Some weeks before Easter the financial outlook may improve. There may be fifty or more male lambs to sell at about thirty shillings each. Later, after Easter, the sheep are shorn and, if there are no daughters for whose dowry blankets and cloth must be woven, some wool will be sold. A shepherd tries to keep

[1] [see category 116, pp. 363-364 -- Analyst]

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954–5

511
596
[233]
[162]

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

[204]
[436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

[474]
[662]

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
439 432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
664 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
934
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
596 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
594 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
[561] which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
596 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
594 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
613 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.
554

/191 cont./

438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
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[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
439 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/192 cont./

436 437 479 52 [489] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

(071) Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[222] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[462] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
241 and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[437] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
[220] other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[8] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[8] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/191 cont./
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439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

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Admittedly every man must have
596 some 'self-regard' (ἐγωϊσμός) but the family had to pay fifty
[577] shillings for this watch.

During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
438 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
443 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up
434 wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

/190 cont./

474 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic
182 level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and
433 consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not un-
439 mindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./
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571 609 578 685 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft, which was less often attempted, partly because of the considerable danger and partly because it made even greater demands on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the [439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some [550] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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S 178 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of
439 milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the
426 years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the
511 shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have
434 assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple
S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus,
439 not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is
G 441 the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating
439 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which
S [426] would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven
439 months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in
221 January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

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The milk which is taken during the move into the mountains, before the 1st of February, and after the last week in July, is made into a rough cheese and stored for the use of the family.

In each area where a merchant collects milk he establishes a cheese-maker (μπάτζος) with an assistant. These men are paid and fed by the merchant, who also provides the necessary equipment, the cream separator, cauldrons, cheese boards, and rings. The shepherds who bring their milk to the cheese-making hut (μπατζαρειό) are responsible for its construction and for supplying it with water and firewood. It is not economical for a cheese-making station to serve less than 1,000 ewes, and the upper limit beyond which the quantities of milk become too great for a single cheese-maker to handle may be set at about 2,500 sheep. The spring milk is three times greater in quantity than the summer milk[8] and the more important merchants concentrate their main activities and have their headquarters in the winter pastures, but they also buy some summer milk in the various districts of the Pindus mountains of which the Zagori is one.

Before 1945 the cheese merchants in winter or summer were small *entrepreneurs* seldom controlling more than two or three cheese-making stations. Between 1944 and 1949 currency inflation and Communist insurrections ruined many of these men. Only the stronger and abler merchants survived. The financially strong merchant was able to steal the custom of his weaker competitors by offering more substantial credits at a time when the shepherds needed a larger cash income than formerly, but were also slipping farther into debt. Today in the winter pastures there are a number of merchants with five or six stations but few with less. The situation in the winter pastures, especially in Thesprotia, is dominated by the merchant 'X' who controls 45 stations drawing on the milk production of 50,000 ewes. He also has a wholesale agency in Athens through which his butter and cheese have a secure market outlet to the metropolitan consumer.

The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first

[8] Winter milk production varies considerably. One stani produced 38 okes per ewe in 1945 and as little as 13½ okes per ewe in 1954. Generally for the period 1950–5, milk production in winter has varied between 20 and 24 okes per ewe. Summer production is more stable at 7 to 9 per ewe. An oke of milk is equivalent to 2·35 pints.

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G The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first
441 place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which
439 the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital
472 for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and
435 his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost
452 of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses.
S Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on
234 the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value
439 and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working
435 capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the mer-
426 chant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants
G store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make
[465] in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin
S between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the
234 individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substan-
439 tial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him
426 to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the
G extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom en-
441 tirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own
439 and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of in-
452 creasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the
S Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the
[511] absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of bind-
G ing himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it
441 pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By
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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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summer milk money, if he has not already been granted a second advance. It is not usual for summer cheese merchants to carry the debts of the shepherds who sell milk to them beyond some very small amount such as £10.

In August the shepherd's financial cycle ends and begins again with the taking of the first advance on the winter milk. Here we must mention the loans which are available to the shepherd from the Agricultural Bank. Each pastoralist is entitled to a loan renewable every six months. Up to fifteen shillings for each milking ewe may be advanced at a rate of 6 per cent per annum. But it is a regulation that between the period 1st of July to the 1st of October the loan must be repaid in full with interest, for a period of twenty days. The shepherd therefore repays this loan with the money of his August milk advance. For the statutory period the principal remains in the bank, after which the shepherd takes it out again.

On all counts it is evident that the activities of the winter cheese merchant support the structure of credit on which the shepherd lives. The many advances which he gives to the shepherd make possible a continuous state of indebtedness to the bank and to the shops. Clearly an important element in the relationship between the cheese merchant and the shepherd is the overwhelming economic power of the merchant and the corresponding weakness of the shepherd. The ultimate sanction is the threat to claim repayment of the debt by taking the shepherd to law and obtaining a court order for the distraint of his sheep. In theory, it is always open to a shepherd to leave a merchant with whom he has quarrelled by selling his milk to another merchant who will then lend him the money to cancel his debt with his creditor. By the repayment of his debt he severs the relationship and escapes from his bondage. But in practice this is not often possible. In the first place, unless he can carry with him a number of other shepherds so that he is able to offer the milk of at least 1,000 ewes, he will not induce another cheese merchant to open a station in an area where he is not already established. Secondly, if he is attempting to leave a powerful merchant, his debt may be of the order of £100 or more, and a smaller merchant is unlikely to be able to sustain long-term loans on this scale. The whole technique of a merchant such as 'X' is to draw the shepherd into an amount of debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

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000 debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

G 441 439 477 Powerful cheese merchants have political as well as economic power. A shepherd who quarrels with 'X' is likely to meet with trouble in his dealings with Government authorities. Smaller merchants are also afraid of 'X'. It is said that some years ago a cheese station which was established by another merchant in an area lying within 'X''s sphere of influence was mysteriously burned down in the night and that the police showed no interest in making any investigations. In 1951, in a village of Thesprotia, another merchant by offering a slightly higher price succeeded in claiming the custom of three stanis which in the previous year had sold their milk to 'X', who already had a station in the neighbourhood. The latter showed no immediate hostility to his competitor. Indeed, the next winter he suggested that they should co-operate to manage one station since this would make for economies on both sides. The other man agreed and 'X' undertook to find a cheese-maker. It is claimed that this man, on 'X''s instructions, systematically allowed the cheeses to deteriorate by not treating them with sufficient salt. For 'X' the total destruction of these cheeses was an insignificant loss; for the smaller merchant it was a disaster. Whether or not these allegations are true, the important fact is that he is believed to be ready and able to deal with difficult shepherds and competing merchants in this uncompromising fashion.

S 439 571 G 441 439 571 In the hope of introducing some measure of restraint into the merchant's exercise of economic power over himself, and of diverting its use from his exploitation to his own protection, the shepherd tries to draw the merchant into a relationship of patronage. In most instances, however, the latter is only willing to adopt this role in a restricted sense. When clients come to consult a merchant in his office the social atmosphere is one of cordiality and equality. Glasses of 'ouzo' are not long in appearing. When differences arise in the discussion of business there are appeals to 'friendship' from both sides, and statements such as 'You cannot believe that I should wish to deceive you', are frequently made. But these attitudes may be the fiction rather than the reality of patronage. For patronage assumes a measure of protective concern over all the client's affairs. In most cases a merchant prefers to restrict his role of protector to certain

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specific contexts, that is to saving a shepherd from eviction from his pastures and from the need to sell his stock because of his indebtedness to others. If a merchant has a firm hold over a man through the nexus of debt he does not want to assume unnecessary obligations which may limit the range and flexibility of his economic operations. Cheese merchants who are sometimes forced unwillingly into becoming godfathers to Sarakatsan children do not always make very satisfactory spiritual kinsmen. On the other hand, in certain cases where an influential Sarakatsan family is clear, or nearly clear, of debt a merchant may be very willing to enter into the diffuse obligations of friendship if this will enable him to hold it to his custom. There is a difference between the relationships which a shepherd establishes with his lawyer and his cheese merchant. The lawyer gives advice and support to a client over the whole range of his affairs; the more complete his patronage, the more obligated the client and the greater the lawyer's power over him. The merchant's interests in the shepherd are more specifically economic; his economic success depends upon a certain flexibility in his commitments so that, for example, he may wish to make smaller advances and grant fewer long-term credits when interest rates are abnormally high. This seems to be an example of a general difference between political and economic power; the former has a particularist and affective quality, the latter is characterized by its relative generality and impersonality.

But the relation of merchant and shepherd can never be merely specific to the act of purchase or without some affective content as in simple market exchanges. The merchant carries a dead weight of debt; this he can only recover by a legal action which would deprive the shepherd of the animals on which depend the family's physical subsistence and its social prestige. Both sides realize that the existence of the debt, whatever may have been the motives which encouraged it, has meant the possibility of the family continuing to live honourably in their traditional way of life. By the mere fact of having done a good thing, even if without that purpose, the merchant is morally obliged not to undo it. It is a remarkable fact that since 1945 the merchant 'X' appears to have called in only one debt by recourse to the law.

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S G 439 57 G 441 The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

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S G 426 439 571 S G [556] The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

S 571 596 609 It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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commerce. It provides the merchant with an assured source for his raw material and the shopkeeper with a stable clientele. It gives the shepherd vicarious access to the metropolitan market and to the credit facilities of the national banking system. Without these facilities it is fair to say that he could not continue to lead his traditional way of life.

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[439] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

824 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.); serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

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Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

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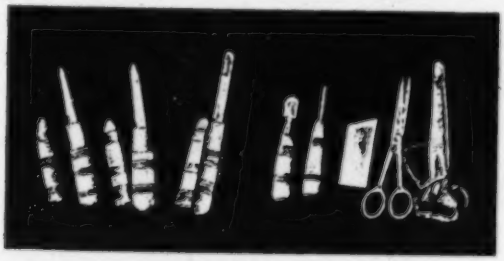

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
24 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
(139) rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The [illegible] that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

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Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in
233 the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real
234 cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as
484 is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation
361 of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new
(439) settlement.

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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Fig. 73

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs
352

The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)[A] are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

A. /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
252 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other,
262 which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
43 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

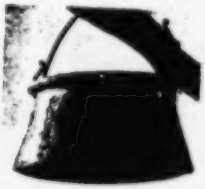

Fig. 91

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

****

121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

A. /Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
B. /Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical
233 criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
(964) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
(286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(656) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

/179 cont./

[474] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
[559] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a <u>fretzato</u> (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/190 cont./

474 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic
182 level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and
433 consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not un-
439 mindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./

438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a <u>specialized</u>
731 <u>economy.</u> It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
233 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
731 474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/192 cont./

436 437 474 54 [439] [171] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani 433 476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani 438 439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities 462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men 434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. 433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; 562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro- 342 433 562 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

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596 Admittedly every man must have
[577] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωϊσμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
443 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
434 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

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[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

[A], /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
● 451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [657]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye', at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs. However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[412] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep, especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes. Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[462] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to
[417] build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tsiligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

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The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less
reasonable. Unless their requirements happen to be similar, 596
what is given to one wife is by definition not given to the other. 578
Inevitably each believes that the other is the better treated. An elder brother often makes a conscious effort to treat his younger brother's wife with particular consideration and tact, supplying from the family purse without debate the money required for all her children's needs; shoes, a new jacket, medicine and so on. This may merely infuriate the elder brother's wife who sees herself and her children sacrificed to her husband's wish to maintain intact the relationship with his brother. On the other hand, the younger brother's wife is seldom grateful. She may not believe that she is being favourably treated and, at best, she will still resent the fact that she must apply to her husband's brother for the requirements of her children.

Yet the break-up of the united group of brothers is not due 596
to the quarrels of the wives alone. As his children pass out of 454
infancy, a father's thoughts are increasingly concerned with the problem of how to provide for their future. For instance, it may be necessary to practise extreme economy for a number of years, or even to borrow money to buy additional sheep, in an attempt to build up a flock large enough to support his sons and provide for his daughters' dowries. Obviously such operations can only be carried through efficiently and equitably when each brother has command of his own share of the family's stock.

The affairs of the family group led by Theodoros Ferendinos 596
(see Chart, page 74) illustrate these problems. After thirteen years together in an extended family the five brothers are considering the need to divide their household and the flocks. It is a family of moderate wealth and prestige owning 365 sheep and goats. The five brothers are known to be resolute, brave, and mutually devoted. Yet although I never observed an open [579]
quarrel between these brothers, friction is evident. Four of the brothers are married, two of them have children nearing school age while three of the eldest brother's children are already at school. They are all concerned as to how they will support these growing families. Theodoros the elder brother has four children, but the second and third brothers have only two each. While the group lives in one household it is clear that to some extent the younger brothers are carrying part of the burden of

[text continues on p. 75]

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596 Admittedly every man must have
[577] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωϊσμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
443 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
434 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
551 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
[436] who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendotta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by *kinship, leads* to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
● 461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[577] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887] the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463] that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554] the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [23] warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789] various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεῤντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[649] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own
[572] health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man, the shepherd's honour is touched.

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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά). Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237] ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461] of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [476] taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses. 585 602

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

585 596 312 415 461 462 482 522

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [554]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he [593]
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάτ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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596 for these arrangements[1] The sanction is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
626 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
● 461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority, the [illegible]
--- Analyst

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593 858 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάριχο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 582 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately 593 578 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 578 461 463 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the specialization of technical roles.[8] Shepherding in the Zagori country demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[8] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[539] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[836] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her
[578] chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[6]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the
sisters have been settled.

[6] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously, [432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions [527] are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

/109 cont./

262 251 vegetables and oil must be stored up, inasmuch as the first cannot be daily products and the others must be bought in bulk, since the Sarakatsani live in isolated regions.

128 This said, let us examine the methods of food consumption from a triple point of view: a) the preparation of foods; b) their cooking; c) their consumption.

252 The preparation of foods

Bread: the different kinds of bread made by the Sarakatsani can be distinguished on the basis of: 1st, the flour used (maize, wheat or barley flour) and 2nd, the method of preparation (leavened or unleavened bread).

The most common bread is unleavened maize bread; there are several kinds, differentiated by the degree of simplicity in their preparation:

--"Stachtocouloura": a mixture of maize flour, water and salt spread out on a tray. The dough is placed directly on the hot flagstones of the hearth and then covered with hot ashes.

--"Chamokouki": the same mixture. However, here the dough is placed under the "ghastra" covered with embers.

252 461 These two kinds of bread, very quickly prepared are the ordinary and easy solution both in the dwellings, since the women are always very busy, and during the migrations.

However, when the women have a moment of leisure, they make another kind of maize bread, this time leavened, which, if it is meant to be used by the family, is most often sent to the shepherds who are far from home.

252 First the dough is kneaded in a kneading-trough with yeast; the loaves are then given their final shape on the "plastiri"; when the loaves are shaped they are put in the "pinakotti" under thick covers to let them rise, then they are put on a tray that is taken to the hearth where they are baked under the "ghastra."

Finally, there is a leavened bread of wheat flour that is

/153 cont./

596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners . However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

596 461 474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

/181 cont./

474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(887) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(695) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 474 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

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533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 635 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the [114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 533 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[234] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[342] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (γαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λιστές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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circular sheep-fold on level well-drained land close to the huts. 233
Each frame leans towards the centre at an angle of 60° to the [412]
ground and is supported by a forked branch. In the lee of this inclined wall the animals press together for warmth and protection. During the last days of December and the first ten days of the New Year most of the lambs are born. As each ewe drops [462]
its lamb, the two animals are brought down from the pen on the rough pasture at dawn and dusk by relays of unmarried girls, and are placed in the new sheep-fold close to the huts. By the middle of January the whole flock of ewes with their lambs is together once more. Once the lambs are born the yield of milk becomes the main concern. The ewes are now [232]
grazed intensively on the best grassland which is divided into plots or strips (ἀπολυσιές) used in daily rotation. Under present conditions, however, few stanis possess enough winter grassland, and for some weeks before lambing and until the move to the mountains in the spring, the milking ewes are also fed each morning with weighed quantities of maize, oats, or cotton-cake.

On the first of February the cheese merchant sets up his sta- 234
tion (μπατζαριό) close to the grassland of the largest stani in the 462
neighbourhood. In return for this convenience the women of [342]
this stani build two thatched huts; in one the cheese-maker and [251]
his assistant sleep, work, and keep their equipment, cauldrons, churns, and the cream separator; the other, which is entered only through a low trap-door from the first hut, and is sunk three feet below the surface of the ground, is used for the storage of the cheeses[3] on beds of fern leaves under the necessary conditions of stillness and humidity. The women must also supply the cheese-maker with water and firewood.

Cash and credit at this time of year are very short for the 233
Sarakatsani and there is now a great urgency to sell milk. 234
Every effort is made to wean the male lambs quickly. The ewes 432
are seldom allowed to suckle these lambs for longer than four 434
weeks before they are sold to an animal dealer for the spring lamb market; a few only are kept back to maintain the right proportion of rams to ewes in the flock. This sale of lambs brings

[3] Cheese merchants separate some of the cream to make butter. From the separated milk they make a hard cheese known as κεφαλοτύρι; and, then, from the remaining liquid a form of cheese known as μυζήθρα.

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233 This sale of lambs brings
234 in an immediate sum of money, and if the quantity of milk then
432 released is an encouraging amount the merchant may be per-
434 suaded to make another advance of credit. Before the first of
[452] February the shepherds will have prepared the milking pen
(στρούγκα) as close as possible to the cheese-maker's station.
[417] The pen is a circular or elliptical enclosure of stones or brush-
wood with a wide opening, or 'mouth', at one end through
which the sheep are driven in, and a narrow opening, or 'eye',
at the other end through which the sheep are taken in turn to
be milked by the shepherds who sit on flat stones on either side
of this narrow passage. At first in the early days of February only
a little milk is taken, for the ewes are still with their lambs. But
the amount steadily increases after the sale of the male lambs.
However, none of the ewe lambs is sold unless the family is in
great difficulty. And anxious as the Sarakatsani are to sell all
their milk they will not endanger their development by weaning
them too quickly; for the future of the flock depends upon the
condition of these animals, which in two years' time produce
their first lambs. The ewes are allowed to suckle them for seven
or eight weeks and it is not until early March that they are
finally weaned or 'cut', and that the flow of milk to the cheese-
maker becomes considerable.

233 The three other flocks of the stani divide the remaining
grazing according to their needs. The best of this is allotted to
the young 'zigouria', the lambs of the previous season. The flock
of rams, with the ewes which remained sterile after the summer
mating, go to the highest and roughest grazing since they are
strong and resistant to cold, and this is generally the most
[412] distant flock of sheep from the huts. In both cases a sheep-fold
[342] of brushwood, and refuges of branches and thatch for the shep-
herds, are built to protect animals and men from the winter
storms and rain.

The goats guarded by one or two young and nimble goat-
herds feed on whatever is unsuitable or inaccessible to the sheep,
especially the leaves of scrub-oak and other trees and bushes.
Since goats seldom represent more than 20 per cent of the total
stock of Sarakatsan families from Zagori no attempt is made to
[462] form more than one flock. At the end of November after they
[417] have repaired or remade the family huts the women begin to
build the elaborate goat-pen with latticed sides at least six feet

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [776]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical [841]

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might
562 cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
462 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
233 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[322] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[437] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
[220] other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into position the pliable but strong branches which form the framework of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth. Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [426]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into three categories according to the fineness and length of the staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets, the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats' hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men, but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses. 585 602

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

585 596 [312] [415] [461] [462] [482] [522]

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

593 885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593 562 462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

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577 honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which
554 on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

156
554 The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at
[577] various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

562 Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant
[561] discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

462 The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an
[558] established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy
[562] water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

834 As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and
562 co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

/46 cont./
236 all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain
[527] themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats.
[221] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes
[462] place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March
[221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re-
[232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in
[412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29)[A] is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

[A] [See p. 59--Analyst]

/88 cont./

231 In addition, our herders keep a certain number of beasts of burden (horses and mules) which they use during their travels. Now, even though this is not herding properly speaking, the existence of these animals nevertheless raises some problems which will be examined in connection with those dealing with the herds and economic activity in general.

231 In order to describe the way in which the Sarakatsani practice
233 herding it is appropriate that we follow closely the different
128 phases of the life of the livestock, as well as the rhythm of their daily needs, starting with reproduction, the very morning of the life cycle.

--The impregnation of the animals

233 Impregnation may be considered as early or late according to
232 whether it takes place toward the beginning of the month of July or the beginning of the month of September. The earliness or lateness of this event depends primarily on feeding conditions. When they are favorable, impregnation is early--a situation which brings about two very considerable advantages for the herders:
1. First, the newborn animals will come into the world before the winter cold which kills them or hinders their normal development.
2. The ewes are able to be impregnated a second time and give birth in the spring. That is why the Sarakatsani pay very great attention to this problem.

At the time of impregnation the ewes are brought into contact with the rams in a ratio of one ram for 30 ewes. It is the same with the Nanny-goats and billy-goats.

233 The birth of the kids and lambs is an event of cardinal importance for the Sarakatsani, since it governs their means of subsistence.

[462] /89/ However, though everyone, without distinction of age or sex, must take part in the extra work brought about by the birth of the

/89 cont./

233 462 lambs, it is not the same for the kids. Only the women assist the goats which actually, give birth first (the births follow one another from mid-November to mid-December), and install them with their young in special pens to protect them from the cold.

The ewes lamb after that. While the men alone assist at parturition, the women have the task of driving ewes and lambs to the folds and the pastures intended for them.

233 232 Nursing

The nursing of kids lasts three months. They are separated from their mothers and penned day and night in the "tsarkos," in order to avoid their nursing continually thus exhausting the goats. They suck only at daybreak and at twilight.

For the same reasons, the lambs spend the night in a pen which is specially assigned to them, but they follow their mothers to the pastures in the daytime and thus are entirely free to nurse.

The nursing of the lambs lasts only a month and a half.

Feeding The livestock

In order to solve this problem the following arrangements have been adopted:

1. A suitable classification of pastures.
2. On occasion, a supplement in the form of grains bought commercially.
3. The setting up of a suitable grazing schedule.

Pasturing: pastures are classified in relation to:

--the quality of the grass.

--species of animals,

--the phases in the life of the latter.

In practice these three criteria overlap. Observation shows that the following distinctions have been made for the sheep:

--Pastures for the gravid ewes.

--Pastures for the ewes that have just lambed.

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[234] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

Seasonal migrations

221 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
233 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
484 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
361 it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part,
[462] "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/94 cont./

221 233 361 484 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:

--Unloading of the animals.

--Pitching of the tents.

--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.

[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.

[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 234 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the
[343] "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 234 221 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June, the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/118 cont./

252 of the forks makes the pit unnecessary. One of the helpers stands at one of these extremities and sets about turning the spit continually until the roasting is finished.

[462] It should be noted that this method of cooking is generally the business of the men, with very rare exceptions. The justification for male involvement in this particular case is to be found in reasons of a ritualistic order which accompany the "sacrifice."

Technically speaking, the Sarakatsani methods of cooking are multiple: direct cooking (lamb at the spit, stachtocouloura), indirect cooking (ghastra, oven), cooking with a standing container (pots). However, examined in detail, one must admit that they turn out to be very adaptable to all kinds of Sarakatsani set-ups, from the most organized to the most casual.

264 415 412 Eating: Ordinarily this requires two kinds of objects, or rather, utensils:

1st A huge recetacle (pot or large dish).

2nd An individual instrument (spoon, fork, cup) conveying foods to the mouth.

Actually, the pots or frying pans in which the cooking is done, as well as the platters containing the pastries are placed directly on the "sofras" (the low table) and contain the food for everyone, each serving himself directly from the common dish. The pastries and the meat are cut up beforehand, making the use of a knife unnecessary. Sometimes (and this is not rare) even a spoon or fork are deemed superfluous, each helping himself with his fingers.

Thus, the consumption of foods is limited to two series of movements.

272 Beverages.

The customary beverages of the Sarakatsani should be classified into:

Fermented beverages including:

a) Sour milk.

[415] b) Whey which the shepherd makes himself in the course of the /119/ preparation of butter and cheese, and carries with him in the "ghalatsaki"

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596 462 /159 cont./

[313] [322] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] [439] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] [233] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer, prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 233 463 However, there is also another division of tasks, based on technical criteria this time. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds. Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/192 cont./

436 437 474 562 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

[489] [177] Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the

436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-

[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.

[421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.

462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/192 cont./

462 342 433 562 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 562 433 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 562 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 177 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism. This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking. The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 20, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII 128.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/321 cont./

789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

> 122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 467 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the <u>richtologos</u> to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

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[233]
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/322 cont./
the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential
[182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

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Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some
[188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

/326 cont./

representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/347 cont./

771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

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Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

/370 cont./

53 178 517 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 517 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 462 561 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 152 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

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182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 [613] statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
182 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
361 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
233 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
182 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-
462 patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the
182 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
291 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
261 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
181 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/408 cont./

121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--

See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:
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TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of co-operation, patriarchal type of command, right-eousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

/409 cont./

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge.....	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs.....	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes.....	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

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/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
[182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
[626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
[829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

V 221 182 [422] [556]

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

S 361 342 [233]

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group?[10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

S [101]

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

S 361 G [162] [166] S [342] S [241] [462] [233] [515]

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

S 35 [231] [233] [252] [312]

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We 35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

● 462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[582] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887] the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463] that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554] the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231] warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789] various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάριχο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the speciali-
578 zation of technical roles.[5] Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the
463 Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[5] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

and that this does occur in various emergencies without any 593
apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the 578
belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his 461
own department; and for the well-being of the family, each [463]
department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of 593
brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel 578
seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

132 /19 cont./
233 of Thessaly, for example, pasture their flocks in
221 summer during the night and shut them in their pens
361 during the day.
[171] and the Sarakatsani find themselves /20/ obliged to set out again for the mountains, there to find the vegetation ensured by moisture and coolness. (9)

9. M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635.

233 Nonetheless, the livestock reproduce and their numbers increase
221 with time. Now, the large herds need vast spaces--which means they
361 must be driven in search of pasture, and the fact that large pasturages are not numerous in Greece must be taken into account. That is why the movements of the Sarakatsani become nomadic. Never, except by pure coincidence, do groups know in advance where they are going to settle in their next move. It is the availability of pasturage that determines their movements.

233 Nothing in this process justifies our saying that the Sarakatsani
463 turned toward nomadism as a "calling." The determinancy which comes into play here is so clear that it is altogether useless to seek another especially not in the domain of group psychology, or to bring in a vague concept such as "ethnic vocation" which can only obscure the
233 problem. It is indeed strange that a certain number of theorists (10)
463
114

10. Among these theorists we must mention P. Veyret: Ibid, p. 71.

believe in this calling of the nomad who becomes herder only because he is first nomad and others (11) justifiably arise against them.

[113] 11. Jean Brunhes: La Géographie Humaine, vol. I, p. 410, M. Sorre: Ibid., p. 635; Birket Smith: Histoire de la Civilisation, p. 195, etc.

to preach the old truth expressed long ago by Aristotle: (12)

12. Aristotle: Politics.

One is a nomad because one is a herder.

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical</u>
233 <u>criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a [illegible] detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
439 and very rarely blankets.
432

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger 156
before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the 577
pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if,
after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provo-
cation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, [571]
and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are
isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year,
contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan
communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding 156
or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink 885
continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. 554
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drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a
proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's
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on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it
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Zagori

own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
121 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
596 their economic activity.
474

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[594] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomad-
[464] ism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

(233) --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept (964) work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

(875) --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

(796) --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

(256) --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are (286) occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

(654) --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish. administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 197 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 494 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 494 495 233 464 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 197 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 197 554 494 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 494 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
[464] extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
[233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
662 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

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474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
579 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.

[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ικανός προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his [558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ανδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com- [471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ικανός as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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[For additional information on the Tséligato, an economic cooperative the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, see Categories 596 and 612.]

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συλίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group. 178 474 427 233 [452] [212]

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry. 178 474 233 [423] [602]

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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233 quality of any tract of grazing land is seldom homogeneous. In
[239] these circumstances the best grass must be reserved for the pregnant ewes to strengthen them before lambing, and afterwards to maintain their milk yield at the highest possible level.
[432] For the prosperity of the stani depends on the crop of lambs and the amount of milk that is sold to the cheese merchant.

474 The physical plan of a stani in winter varies in detail with the
361 character of the grazing but certain features are almost always
233 present. The huts of the stani, the group of co-operating families, are established on or close to the best grassland, on flat ground, sheltered from the prevailing wind, and as near as possible to water, although in practice a spring or well may be a mile away and sometimes farther. The huts are generally close together but in no regular pattern; although if brothers, as is generally the case, form the nucleus of the group, they build their homes next to one another with the huts of cousins and other relatives on the periphery. The size of the winter stani varies. It is restricted, as I have suggested in the previous chapter, by the difficulties of finding enough winter grazing land. But a lower limit is also drawn by the minimum requirement of four active adult shepherds and a young goatherd, a working force that makes it barely possible to work the scheme of shepherding that has been described.

233 In November, when the sheep arrive from the mountains, the pregnant ewes are not allowed to pasture indiscriminately on the better grasslands (γαλαροτόπι) reserved for their use after lambing. Until Christmas, when the lambing period begins, they graze only on the rougher and higher sections of this grassland
[417] perhaps a mile, or more, from the huts. In this area the women help the shepherds to build a circular sheep-fold (γρέκι) constructed from bundles of brushwood tied to one another and sometimes secured to posts. In this the ewes sleep and find some
[462] relief from the cold and the driving rain. Outside the women
[392] erect a small refuge of branches and thatch (γαλατζούκα) for the two shepherds who guard them.

233 In the early days of December the women tie together
417 branches to make wooden frames, 5 ft. 6 in. in height and 4 ft. wide (λωπές), on which they interlace other more pliable branches and bind bundles of reeds, grass, or ferns. With these portable frames the shepherds and their women set up another

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined to- 233
wards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats [419]
are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening [343]
to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. 233
The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village 474
two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village [361]
in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the [571]
year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their 233
milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese 234
merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of [432]
neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
[234] of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

[232] Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
[234] relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

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233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high 233
above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, 221
they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common 494
grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on 361
whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families un- 571
connected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during [508]
these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more
intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels.
It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total com-
munity is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative
difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390
square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shep- [574]
herds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance.
At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and
exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity
to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social
exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent
and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a fur- 233
ther consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which 474
are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of 571
intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens 578
even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the [181]
co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and
frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shep-
herds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circum-
stance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically
isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the
different flocks which have been described, limits the potential
moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The ani-
mals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep them-
selves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive
and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the
absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of
human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his
work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or
less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since
there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the
summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries
with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[577] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd. 612 476 233

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals. 602 474 233

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen 612 [629]

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of
[427] the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting
[558] very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 434 233 [735]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thesprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the 474 233 423 648

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474 233 423 648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

474 233 423 662 648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 233 221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same attention that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as single households which are not extended families), in the summer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In general, only married brothers continue to work together in the summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[424] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins. 474 602

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'. 554 474 593 554 474 [571]

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474 602 571 Membership in a 'company' is in principle based on free association, although in particular cases a man without brothers may be so dependent upon the particular kinsmen who form the dominant nucleus of a 'company', that he has, in fact, little choice. But co-operating 'companies' are relatively stable associations only as long as the problems they help member families to overcome remain problems. They are a loose form of contractual association in which each family jealously guards its domestic autonomy and the right to secede at any time. Power to influence the association's decisions lies with the dominant group of brothers from whom the company takes its name, and it is the desire to escape from the position of dependence on this group which leads the more distantly related families in the association to detach themselves from it in the summer months.

474 602 578 Co-operation between kinsmen and affines has its difficulties. So imperative are the interests of a man's own family that sometimes he begins to suspect even the actions of a close kinsman if he co-operates with him: and he, himself, must sometimes fight against the temptation to defraud a kinsman or an affine. The Sarakatsani say that 'every stani has a pimp' (κάθε στάνη έχει τὸ ρουφιάνο της). Ρουφιάνος means a procurer and by extension a man without conscience or manliness. In this context it implies that in each co-operating group the cheese merchant is able to find at least one man who for the favour of more liberal credits is prepared to play the part of informer about the secrets of the group. As a statement of fact this is an exaggeration, but it testifies accurately to the strains and restraints that co-operation between related families involves, strains which are thought to be peculiarly inappropriate in the relations of kinsmen.

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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

612 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion
474 which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where
605 preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 579
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? The proverb, Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
474 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the
[685] basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action
[684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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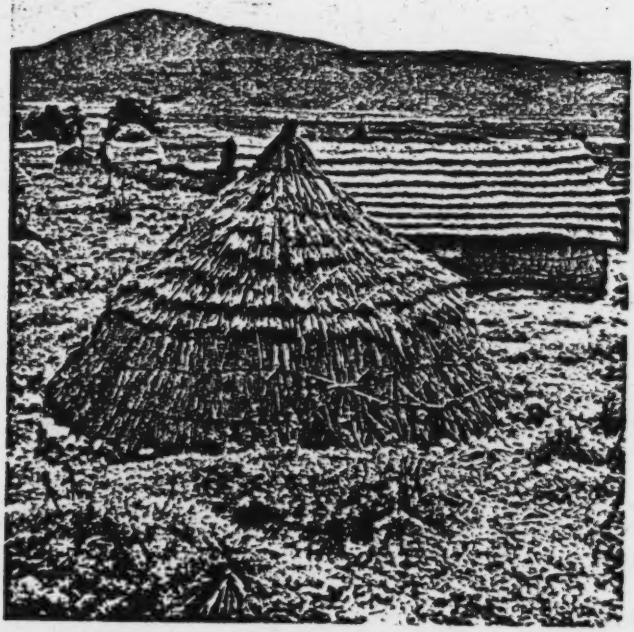

4. Stani in Winter

[facing p. 208]

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsglingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
CONSTANTINE TANGAS		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tsglingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Technique of Ladder of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zygos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Gregory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charisis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.												
‡ Constr. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chaskis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chaskis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myrsounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chaskis' sister)

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Theologos or Leader of the raid	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

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13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Charisis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Detsikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

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APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

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596

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children. [238] [182]

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.). [304] [436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock. [474] [662]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

[P364-A]

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

Zagori

Greece EH1

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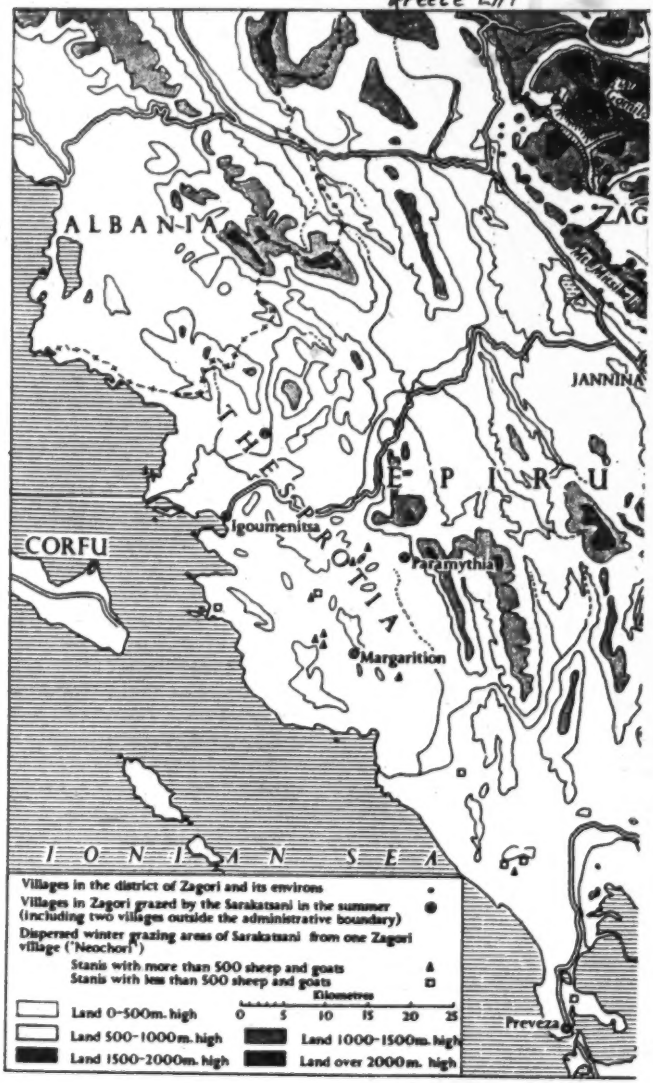

Map of the Epirus Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

[P364-B]

Zagori Greece EH1

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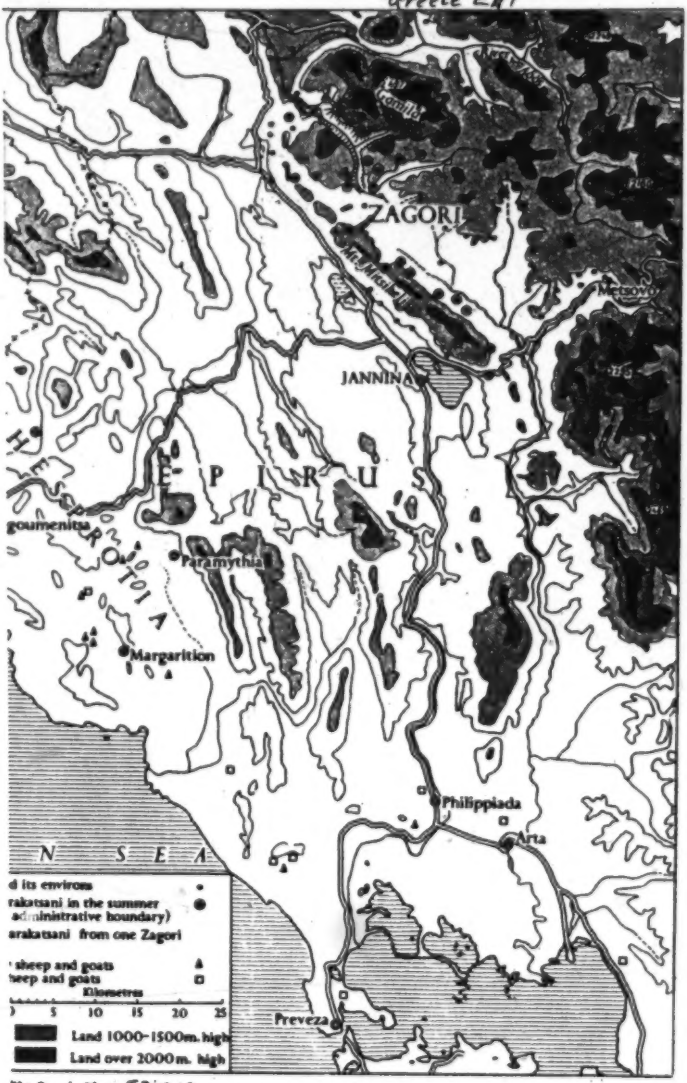

Map of the Epirus
Indicating Summer and Winter Grazing Areas of the Zagori Sarakatsani

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphli, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 [252] [263] The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
621 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.
612

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[176] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

594 /124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.

[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the 612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful 596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.
602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[404] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593 Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

/153 cont./

596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners . However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

596 461 474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
596 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
474 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
434 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
233 However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
596 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
474 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type
434 of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
596 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
474 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
689 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by
434

/156 cont./

596 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
474 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
689 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
434
[431] However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
474 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
689 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
431 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
182 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
474 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles
474

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well
121 as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
596 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
474 their economic activity.

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care
[594] and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[464] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
[594] 34. The model of this type of living-together already
[613] existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
[171] Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
474 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out <u>transactions</u>. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
551 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[456] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
199 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs, both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
596 474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
[594] extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/174 cont./

596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
474 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it. (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agfoticha, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
474 (423) obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
422 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 197 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 499 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 474 476 233 424 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 197 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their (212) flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 197 554 474 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 474 (233) The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

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474 /176 cont./
ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

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The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself [428] during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the [868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

/177 cont./

However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] [432] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 596 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/179 cont./

[474] [554] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also [293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle [492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is [342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the [361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the [351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the [574] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write [574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never [233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of [824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable [675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[627] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/181 cont./

474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is outwalking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[887] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[695] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/182 cont./

474 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the
596 same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families
675 take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

182 As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made
[474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/184 cont./

619 186 [474] Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 474 596 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

177 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between [171] Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

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Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
187 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
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/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.
[177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
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596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally,
[177] constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
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This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[571] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

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474 182 These last statements permit one to say that on the economic level and on that of communal life, the Tséligato becomes the most efficient and at the same time the most important group of the Sarakatsani world. It therefore represents the best solution to these two major problems and the primary instrument of Sarakatsani adaptation to their natural and human environment.

Let us go on now to the examination of their economic system.

* * * *

121 433 The economic process of any society involves the acquisition and consumption of goods, work and its division, economic organization and, finally, the manner of distribution and accumulation of profit.

The first two points, acquisition and consumption, have been studied in connection with the Sarakatsani technology, from the point of view appropriate to the latter. It will suffice to consider them from the perspective of "needs to be met," in order to give them their full economic significance--an easy transposition which, moreover, requires no supplementary analysis. Acquisition by trade has been studied in connection with the extended family. The other aspects of this process have been examined through the analysis of the conjugal family, the extended family and the Tseligato. Thus all that is left for us is to try and bring out the principles according to which Sarakatsani economy is organized and functions and which give it its style.

438 439 /191/ Sarakatsani economy is a closed economy. We are not unmindful of the fact that ethnography as well as history have shown that no known economy is absolutely closed. Exchange takes place everywhere. However, it is certain that the Sarakatsani can, should the occasion arise, provide for their needs without having recourse to surrounding society, at least for a certain time. Milk and milk products, ample and wholesome food, can nourish them. The sector "manufacture-transformation-building" can function continually, or nearly so, without

/191 cont./

438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic), ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
233 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
731 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
474 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
596 Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for
[602] solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/192 cont./

436 437 474 562 [489] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

[471] Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/205 cont./

671 [128] We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 429 768 602 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter [474] [596] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/207 cont./

671 exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited
593 share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and
[428] thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

474 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in
695 Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the
671 Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 692 691 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [179] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 627 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[474] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/208 cont./

691 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other,
692 according to circumstances and the case at hand.
627

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their
627 opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already con-
696 stituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

627 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may
696 make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

494 First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one
615 of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter
627 has not properly fulfilled his obligations. In return, the participant
692 expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the
[686] "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
[596] Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

/211 cont./

121 696 692 627 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to the good will of those concerned.

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing.

696 692 627 626 (686) (494) We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis) --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17]
[114] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

/223 cont./

67 [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources [596] is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended [596] family and according to its authority.

[474] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is [596] peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only [596] apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[471] the members of the Tseligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
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2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ',

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. cf. Π. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χριστός,
pp. 249-258 and the bibliography drawn up by
Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Κ. ΣΥΡΟΚΟΜΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος
καὶ Χριστός, p. [illegible].

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
797 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages.[4] Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.[illegible]

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/321 cont./

771 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and
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5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical
796 and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it
823 is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head
474 accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The
596 victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the
554 direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence
796 comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood
788 of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above
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/331 cont./

796 474 554 [188] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial [596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [176] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion [474] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the [554] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival [574] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the [182] Tséligato.

796 982 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 982 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 951 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY
791 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of [474] [594] [688] these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 168

/354 cont./

829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
562 the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
[596] the group and its good functioning.
[494]
[621]

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
[811] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
[562] guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
[171] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
[361] tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that
212 the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write
[554] and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction
[875] given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend
[562] a few weeks in the konakia.

871 But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in
212 particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the use-
233 fulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning,
596 but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within
494 the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas.
[461] During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

53 The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
428
583

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tseligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
182 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
596 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
554 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures,
197 etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [476] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [971] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
77 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)

182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

S /403 cont./
175 region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish
177 army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of
121 the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic
G government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties
175 and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures
648 were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means
722 of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tséligatos were thus made
S to disappear.
[425]

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

S The Tséligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland
175 found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.
177 But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war
233 and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the
474 death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding
429 started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of
178 Tséligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all
S of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tséligatos have been
474 obliged to seek individual solutions.
233
178
177

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

S In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the
177 country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil
175 registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several
S consequences:
[656]

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

/405 cont./

177 241 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[946] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

● 476

/Information on the "stani" or company" as a group of related families organized together for the most efficient management of the flocks will be found in category 474./

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A man may occarionally give his wife a kid 432
to sell but otherwise chickens and eggs are her only source of 434
cash income.

The huts which protect the Sarakatsani from the weather and 342
the curiosity of other families, are of two principal kinds, circu- 462
lar and domed (τουρλωτά), or rectangular and 'arched' (ἀψιδωτά).
Except that in the case of rectangular huts the men help the
women to erect the posts and crossbeams the building of the
hut is entirely the work of women. They cut, select, and tie into
position the pliable but strong branches which form the frame-
work of the circular hut. They collect, dress, and tie on to the
wooden skeleton the bundles of reeds, grasses, or ferns with
which the hut is thatched. They level the floor inside and plas- [237]
ter both the floor and the walls to a height of three feet with a
mixture of mud and mule-dung. They form the central hearth.
Five or six women working continuously are able to erect a hut [461]
of conventional size[4] in two to three days, although it will have [426]
taken them at least as many days to find and prepare their
materials.

The treatment of the wool from which the Sarakatsani make 236
the greater part of their clothing and all their blankets is also, [462]
naturally, in the hands of the women. The wool is divided into
three categories according to the fineness and length of the
staple. It is washed in hot water and beaten with a wooden
implement to free it from surplus grease. After the wool has 283
been dried in the sun and disentangled with a carding tool [236]
(λανάρι) it is spun by hand from a distaff (ρόκα). This is a
lengthy process and when a woman's hands are not otherwise
employed she is either spinning or knitting. Finally, the spun 286
thread is woven into cloth on the simple wooden loom which the [221]
women operate continuously during the months of August and
September when the flocks and the shepherds make fewer
demands on their energies. On the loom are made the blankets,
the shepherd's capes woven from a mixture of wool and goats'
hair, and the cloth for jackets, skirts, and trousers. Today pro- 294
fessional village or town tailors cut and sew the suits of the men,
but the cloth remains their own. Only shoes, shirts, and cotton 291
material (for the young girls' dresses at the summer festivals) are 432
bought from the shops of Jannina and other towns.

[4] A circular hut for a family of 6 or 7 adults generally has a diameter of 14 or 15 feet. Height and diameter are approximately the same.

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will 612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in 612 hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd. 612 476 233

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals. 602 474 233

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen 612 [629]

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered 612
man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may under- 627
take this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future.

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked 612
in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and 579
do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated ven- [579]
geance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction.

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service 612
which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, 476
again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε

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612 τὸ σόϊ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still
[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[489] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of
[662] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica-
[851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [427]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple com- 612
panionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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572 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friend-
605 ship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sym-
612 pathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability
572 itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust
605 tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or
612 has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same
476 flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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which through common membership can commit him to any 571
duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship 609
or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person 593
would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of 578
betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very 571
clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose 609
they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is 476
established high in the mountains above the village so that the 234
various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular mer- 578
chant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
(54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 177 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 494 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 494 426 233 424 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 177 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 177 554 494 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 494 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/192 cont./

436 437 474 56 [469] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

[471] Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 476 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 439 462 434 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 433 562 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
793 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that dévelop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [971] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The
[481] look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[15 6] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[25] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[37] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[31] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[42] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
235 garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They
[437] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
OCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
[482] looped over it in the cruciform position in which
many mountaineers carry their crooks and their
guns. He was a Sarakatsán. Heads turned as he
passed, and the smack of cards and the clatter of
backgammon counters died down for a few moments. I got up and dogged his steps at a discreet
distance.

[114] Sarakatsáns have always filled me with awe. I
first saw these primeval Greek nomads years ago
when I was walking across Bulgaria; on my way
[342] to Constantinople. A gathering of beehive-shaped
huts were scattered over the wintry hills slanting
[131] to the Black Sea. Brushwood folds ran up the
233 green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheeling crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

/49/

283 /49/ The Sarakatsani women spin constantly, whenever their hands
[482] are free. It is altogether common to see a woman spinning as she walks,
[313] her back loaded with a huge bundle of firewood or a tub full of water,
in addition to a nursing child.

Winding: the spinning finished, the spinner frees the spindle and, by hand, winds the thread into balls.

294 Dyeing: the natural colors of sheep wool are white, black, and in
386 rare instances, brown. The goat wool is gray-black or, exceptionally, a very dark chestnut.

It seems that, traditionally and even recently, the Sarakatsani esthetic was content with the natural color of the wool. Thus, the decorative motifs of the women's clothing were white on a black background. (The men's clothing, or rather the articles they make themselves do not have decorations).

386 However, recently, the Sarakatsani have adopted bright colors (red, yellow or green) for their blankets and their rugs. They have thus learned to dye the wool by using chemical dyes (aniline) bought commercially.

283 In order to facilitate permeation, they arrange the wool to start
386 with in hanks which they call vanda. In order to form a vanda they undo a ball by winding the thread around the forearm, that is to say, between the wrist and the elbow. This traditional process is also used during

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

612 τὸ οὖ) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still
[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[487] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's
[662] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica-
[851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

2:Fermor/T-3,4 (no date) 1962
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Greece EH1

G 114 [103]

PERHAPS because it was my first Greek town after a few years of absence, I had taken a strong liking to Alexandroupolis. Large as it is, there is nothing overpoweringly polished about the citizens of this Thracian town; rather the reverse.

G 517 275

Many of the limitations of a new provincial town pervade it; and the long evening hours of the officers and civil servants sitting in the *kaphenia* are spanned by familiar anecdotes and yawns and yet another coffee. The tedium of unchosen and unchanging company lurks there, and for some fastidious ones, the acute pain of listening to the same jokes and the same stories again and again.

S 484 291

All at once, however, the boredom of the dusty evening street was halted by the passing of a wild, solitary, and alien figure that no streets or houses should ever have confined; it was a presence as inappropriate in these tame surroundings as a wolf in a main street of Byzantium. A rough black pillbox was tilted askew on his matted and whiskered head. He wore a black double-breasted waistcoat of homespun goat's hair, tucked into a black sash, below which a hairy and broad-pleated black kilt jutted stiffly to his knees. Black tights of the same stifling stuff covered his long legs, and he was shod in those Greek mountain shoes which turn up at the tip and curl back in a broad canoelike prow and end in a wide black

[p. 73-B]

484 pompon covering the front of the foot. The thick
291 soles were clouted, and the nails grated underfoot.
Gazing straight ahead, he loped along the middle
101 of the road, as though to keep as far as possible
[233] from the contaminating houses. A long shepherd's
[413] staff, whose crook was a tortuously carved wooden
[402] snake, was laid across his shoulders. His arms were
looped over it in the cruciform position in which
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green slopes, and thousands of shaggy black goats
233 and sheep grazed over the rainy landscape, their
heavy bronze bells filling the air with a many-
toned and harmonious jangle. Here and there
among them, like dark monoliths under the wheel-
ing crows, their herdsmen leaned on their lance-
[291] long crooks; their faces were almost lost in the deep
hoods of high-shouldered goat's-hair capes that

[p. 73-C]

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

/93 cont./

221
233
484
361

Fig. 74

Then the second part of the column, made up of all the rest, starts moving. Of course, the entire column moves with the rhythm of the flocks; the latter cannot be deprived of grazing, nor rest during the hot hours during the migrations; they must also be milked.

221 In this connection it must be noted, parenthetically, that in
233 the course of the migration the Sarakatsani do not /94/ make real
234 cheese; they simply let the milk curdle and subsequently sell it as
484 is in the villages through which they pass. The complete preparation
361 of cheese begins again as soon as they arrive at the site of their new
[439] settlement.

/94 cont./

221 The nocturnal stops are marked by the following activities:
233
361 --Unloading of the animals.
484 --Pitching of the tents.
--Preparation of the spot where the fire will be kindled to cook the dinner.
[417] --Setting up of the circular enclosures to protect the livestock, made sometimes with the bags containing the equipment, sometimes with thorny shrubs which form a very precarious hedge.
[462] All this work is done by the women.

The next day, at dawn, they recommence the march after having performed the same activities, but in reverse. And the journey continues in the rhythm of the flock until the arrival at the place chosen for the new settlement. It may take several days, sometimes more than a week.

233 Working with the livestock

Strictly speaking, it is a question of the profit that is de-
[434] rived from the flocks, a profit realized from the milk, the shearing and the meat.

233 While ewes and she-goats are nursing their young, thay are not
234 milked, or very exceptionally. Weaning, which goes on during the month of January marks the time when the milking commences.

[343] At the hour of milking, ewes and she-goats are led into the "stroungha." Pushed by a shepherd who is inside, the animals leave
[415] one by one; they are then stopped by people sitting to the right and left of the exit, who milk them into special receptacles, "kardhari" (fig. 75).

233 The milking schedules vary according to the date: between the
234 beginning of the month of January and the end of the month of June,
221 the milking takes place twice a day, morning and evening. From the beginning of the month of July until the end of the month of August

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

/326 cont./

771 789 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
182 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
178 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
[178] the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
[171] for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
[484] to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
798 to fertility and abundance.

798 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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203 626 [485] older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [183] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 533 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

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S G 648 426 G 622 661 can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

S G 648 426 G 652 622 The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given G [647] away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

S G 648 651 486 G 622 Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally S [686] moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many G [661] cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

S G 648 G 622 661 A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saΐtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saΐtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

233 reached to the ground, capes of so coarse a weave
291 and so stiff with rain that they looked as though their incumbents could almost step forth and leave them standing like sentry boxes. I next saw
101 114 122 them in March the following year, when I was riding across Greek Macedonia and stayed a night in one of their smoky wigwams. Since then I had
131 221 seen them again and again, all over northern Greece, in the plains in winter and in the mountains in summer, but always on the skyline or in the middle distance. True nomads, these self-appointed Ishmaels hover on the outskirts of ordinary Greek life as fleetingly as a mirage, only manifesting themselves to ordinary mortals in far-
133 away glimpses. Suddenly, at a ravine's twist far
361 from the scorched lowlands, one comes across their impermanent hamlets of conical huts on
221 high ledges of the Pindus and the Rhodope mountains and in the sierras of Roumeli; and in winter, gazing down from the snows that have banished them, one can discern their clustering huts in the plains, the ascending smoke, and the slowly grazing flocks.

221 Every spring their beasts and their long cara-
361 vans of horses, laden with all they possess, can be seen winding up into the thawed mountains, or 342 halted around a sudden village of somber tents, to stream downhill again later to the withered autumnal plains which the rains will soon turn 342 green. One discovers them binding lopped branches and osier twigs into the hemispherical skeletons of the huts which will house them for the season; shelters whose blackened and molting thatch will later mark where they have settled for a few months and vanished from again. Sometimes a far-off barking and the murmur of bells hint at their presence deep in the ilex woods or along a dazzling canyon where nothing stirs except, perhaps, a pair of floating eagles. Besides 161 these rare apparitions, this fugitive community of 233 about eighty thousand souls and of flocks amounting to several million head seems to have the gift of invisibility.

361 UNLIKE the seminomads of Greece — the Kout-
221 zovlachs and the Karagounis, who all have moun-
233 tain villages from which to migrate and to which they return after their half-yearly journeys in 101 search of winter pasture — the Sarakatsáns have nothing more solid than their abodes of wicker and rush. All of them, however, look to some range of mountains, some fold or cordillera where they have grazed their flocks for centuries of summers, as their home. Their lowland pastures are
175 more variable, an uncertain sojourn with few
131 claims on their allegiance. At the turn of the cen-
221 tury the Sarakatsáns of northern Greece were the

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros*: "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).[A]

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

231 235

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

(492)

[A] Fig. 5 [illegible] on p 109--Analyst]

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of
602 extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[529] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

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[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

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Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/179 cont./

[474] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
[594] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.

[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

[675] If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori Greece EH1

S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple S [651] numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is G 441 the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 439 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which S [426] would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

G The establishment of a cheese station requires, in the first
441 place, a capital outlay of some £85 for the equipment, of which
439 the most expensive item is the cream separator. Working capital
472 for a spring station includes the wages of the cheese-maker and
435 his assistant at 12*s.* 6*d.* and 6*s.* 3*d.* a day respectively, the cost
452 of their food, and large quantities of salt for treating the cheeses.
S Altogether it amounts to about £125. The normal advances on
234 the milk represent between one-third and one-half of its value
439 and involve the issuing of credits for some £500. Working
435 capital and the money for these credits is borrowed by the mer-
426 chant from banks and private individuals. The bigger merchants
G store a substantial part of the cheese and butter which they make
[465] in the spring and summer and bring it forward on the metropolitan market in the later months of the year when milk products are scarcer and their prices higher. The money which is borrowed to give the August milk advances to the shepherds is secured against the cheeses in store. But the rate of interest on all these loans is unlikely to be much less than 10 per cent. In general, a merchant expects to make a gross profit of about 3*d.*–4½*d.* on every 'oke' of milk which he handles. Since the pastoralist receives about 1*s.* 1½*d.* for every 'oke' of milk which he sells, it cannot be said that he suffers from an outrageous exploitation. This is not the result of the merchant's benevolence. He is caught between two limits, the highest price which consumers in distant places can be persuaded to pay for milk products and the marginal price to shepherds which will just make it possible for them to live and maintain their flocks. For if the flocks vanish, so will the cheese merchants. The margin
S between these two limits is not wide. The prosperity of the
234 individual merchant depends on his cornering a very substan-
439 tial supply of milk and aiding the shepherds who sell it to him
426 to maintain that level of production or even increase it. By the
G extension of interest-free credits, which in fact are seldom en-
441 tirely repaid, he binds the interests of the shepherd to his own
439 and assists him to maintain his way of life in the face of in-
452 creasing difficulties. But the extension of credit also enables the
S Sarakatsanos to assume a style of life which goes beyond the
[511] absolute needs of subsistence. The Sarakatsanos has achieved this at the expense of the merchant but also at the cost of bind-
G ing himself even more firmly to the merchant's will. That it
441 pays a merchant of the stature of 'X' cannot be doubted. By
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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S G 439 57 G 441 The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511] Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556] The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

S 571 596 609 It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[p.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954–5

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This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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Income	*Drachmas*
190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

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[424] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

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105 This is the case, for example, with the cradle, the "sofras" or the
182 stool. It is also the case with clay-coated huts covered with lime
177 (fig. 44), A which insures better temperature control inside; for one finds this improvement above all in the rectangular huts of the Sarakatsani /121/ who are already oriented toward sedentary life and tend thus to imitate the village cottages. We really see by this example that changes in the way of living, even if they create new needs, have not revealed the inventive spirit of the Sarakatsani, provided one exists.

105 Also astonishing among them is the lack of use of a continuous
401 circular movement. The Sarakatsani are acquainted with the wheel
182 from peasant civilization. But they do not apply it in the form, for example, of the spinning wheel or the drill, although the use of these tools, the transport of which would not pose any special problem, would greatly facilitate their work with wood and wool.

105 Moreover, the needs to which these crafts correspond are elementary
182 needs of man: food, protection from the cold, a minimum of necessary
511 comfort. Nothing is made which could be considered an element of luxury or meant for sale or barter.

All this does not constitute a reality imposed by the nomadic condition alone. There are nomadic peoples who are acquainted with luxury, at least in the ostentation of the tent or in the life of their
[171] chief. Even the Koutsovalaques of Greece, those other than the Sarakatsani. The latter submit to the norms of austerity and material simplicity to such an extent that they may be considered rustics (28)

28. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: L'homme et la matière, p. 41.

in the highest degree.

105 However, it would be unjust not to add that, along with their
182 simplicity, the technology analyzed shows a very great efficiency which permits the Sarakatsani to succeed in a short time in meeting effectively all their needs on the basis of simple means and almost crude materials.

A, /Fig.44 appears on p.70--Analyst/

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

S V 291 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni V [194] spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the S 186 Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sara Katsani EH14
Vlachs EH15

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On the credit side, one must reckon 5 to 7 okas of milk each year from the producing animals for family consumption, with some of this being worked into cheese. The family also has a supply of meat from the flock. But the greatest gain is a 15 percent annual increase in the flock that the owner can expect even if he sells the lambs listed in the table of income; this means that a year later the flock of 700 should number 805, barring serious diseases or natural disasters.

Some of the discussions revealed further interesting facts: winter pasture costs 50 drachmas per animal in winter and 20 in summer; a sheep needs more than one oka of salt each year; the chief shepherd, when he goes on business trips to arrange for the sale of his milk or lambs or to hire shepherds, travels by bus, sleeps in a hotel, eats in restaurants, and thinks of himself as a businessman; there is a small tax per oka of milk which is paid to the winter community by the "grocer," who buys the milk.

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What was to have been a short conference beginning at five in the late afternoon extended to nine o'clock without a moment's let-up. There was much loud talking, which would lead a stranger to expect a fight the next minute; but then someone would make a humorous remark at which everyone would laugh. Use of pantomine, modulated voice control, appeal to the neutral listener to agree to the case one was presenting, humor, and willingness to follow an argument to its logical conclusion — all made one think of the agora of classic Athens transferred to a dimly lit, modestly furnished upstairs office of a gentle, well-informed government bureaucrat. And just at the crescendo of what seemed to be the verbal prelude to physical violence, the words "symphonia, symphonia" would ring out, thus showing that agreement had been reached. Voices and feelings would calm down for a while, before some new dramatic moment would build up again. Berates, the Karagoun, sat more quietly than the rest but seemed to enjoy the session just as much.

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As we parted in the dark streets of Ioannina, where Turkish architecture with its balconies and minarets in the moonlight makes one suddenly feel very much a part of the East, Christos Berates agreed to visit us late on the next day in Konitsa and take us out to his night encampment.

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In the time intervening, through the courtesy of the director of agriculture, I had an opportunity to read the classic Greek work on the nomads, published in 1925 as a bulletin of the Greek Agricultural Society under the title of *Nomadic, Permanent and Agricultural Livestock Production in Greece*.[11] It was most encouraging to find that the observations I had made corresponded as far as they went to those of the author, Demosthenes Sirakes. Needless to say, he provided many more details than I could have collected in the time at my disposal.

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For one thing, he estimated the nomad livestock owners in 1925 at 13,700 families, divided as follows:

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

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In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [513]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [855]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [931]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

S 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet,
583 but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
S the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
[513] many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular
patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
S 585 looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black
and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall,
with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with
her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the
bride stood motionless. On either side of her on
the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-look-
S [576] ing girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kaloriziki!*"
("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined
her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable.
Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move
a fraction when other latecomers arrived and
hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indiffer-
ently as if the figures at the
other end of the room were
effigies in an ethnological mu-
S [292] seum. Their extraordinary out-
fits, nearly identical except for
the flowers and the gold coins
that adorned the bride, were
unlike anything I had seen
before.

G 292 In those Greek villages where
the women wear their regional
costumes on feast days and for
ceremonies — and there are still
a large, though diminishing,
number — and in some out-of-
the-way spots where a simpler
working version of this gala rig
is worn on weekdays as well,
one is astonished by the rich-
ness and variety and grace:
by voluminous skirts, expand-
ing from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or
Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-
colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-
embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately ar-
ranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Mace-
donia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular
plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There
are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps,
and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the
velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves
which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow
like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid
uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque,
and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
G [184] as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder moun-
tains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but
the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and
material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
ooo deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[p. 79-A]
[Text continues on p. 79-C]

/95 cont./

233 sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

[432] With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also
353 serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62).A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and
[513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepare their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A, [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

342
354

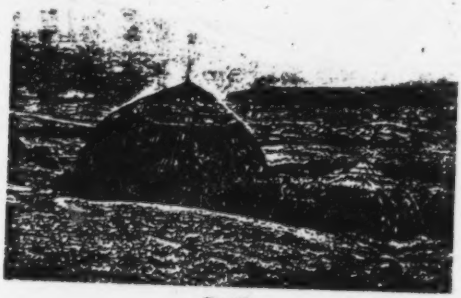

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:

[191] The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

/99/

291
302
171

Fig. 77

291 /107 cont./
294 of blouses, and undershirts are one-piece /droits/?/ garments.

291 The blouse or outer shirt is closed. The vests are open, like the
178 "kapa." However, when we go from the traditional apparel of the men to the present-day apparel we see that the garment becomes more and more closed, if not overlapped (vest, jacket, "maliotto").

[171] The "progress," so to speak, of the garment as it approaches this final contemporary costume of the Mediterranean peasants, takes this course from open to closed and to overlapping.

The women's dress, the one we have called the work outfit becomes a dress with shoulder straps, where the bib is set directly on the pleated skirt.

294 It is suitable here to describe the method of pleating the skirt. The latter is made out of a wide, straight band closed with a seam into which the flap of the opening is incorporated. At the height of the waist, the number of pleats desired are formed and secured with a seam. The operation is repeated at the bottom of the skirt, at the hem level, where the pleats are held in place with simple basting. Then the skirt is pressed between the hands and stretched out, so that the pleats are extended along the entire length; it is then tied together at several places with a cord. The whole thus looks like pleated bellows, so to speak. After that the bundle is dipped in a cauldron filled with water and brought to a boil. Now and then one removes the skirt and beats it with a paddle, being careful not to open the pleats. Finally, one removes it from the cauldron, lets it dry and undoes the basting at the
[513] bottom in order to free the pleats. The latter then stay indefinitely although the Sarakatsani women go to bed fully dressed.

[286] The fabric used for the skirt is, as we know, the "kaltsoskouti," the twill used for making certain male garments (vests, jackets, trousers or bourazana). For other clothing the "ordinary weave" is used.

291 /108/ Nevertheless, a large part of the items that make up the
439 clothing come from the outside market. The mocassins, for example, the ordinary belt as also the "siliachi," the display fez, the cap, the

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)A are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

A, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)
233
[171]

85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a [352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on 373 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- [352] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- 122 aneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow [655] gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for 654 his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 [6] mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[412]
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[307] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[776]

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[785] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

1:Sanders Z-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra,* the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Conversation

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

585 fustanélla and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed
292 black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of con-
[531] fused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaras* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and
[123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday,
[576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.
[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor;
[539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with
● [516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *kombolói* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafts grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/40 cont./

286 This instrument is used for the most important of the operations preliminary to weaving, namely the warping, and its function is to prevent the thread from tangling when one prepares the warp of the loom.

In this connection it is perhaps necessary to mention that to mount the warp they use five pegs. However, the latter do not have any special interest from the point of view of "construction."

236 There is the carding tool, which serve to comb out the strands of wool after washing. It consists of two rectangular boards each of which has, /41/ on one of its sides, a certain number of metal needles (points), while on the free surface one sees, respectively, on one of the boards a handle and, on the other, a rope 60 centimeters

[291] [51]

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

long which ends in a wooden cylinder to which it is attached. Drawing No. 29 shows both this instrument and how it is used. (see also fig. 28).

/94 cont./

233 (the time when milking stops), milking takes place around noon, that
234 is to say, once a day. However, the intervals become progressively
221 more spread out, inasmuch as the production of milk decreases as the season advances; thus, toward the 15th of August milking is done only every two or three days.

236 /95/ As for shearing, everything relating to it has already been pointed out in connection with the wool crafts. Hence we shall not go back over it here.

262 Finally, we must emphasize that the meat is almost exclusively
439 a means of trade for the Sarakatsani, since they eat it only five

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Fig. 75

262 or six times a year. On very rare occasions they "sacrifice" a lamb.
[439] This is their own expression, and it is a sufficient indication of their attitude with regard to this act.

233 Likewise, they never kill female animals (except when these are
[262] sterile) because it is precisely on the female that their economy rests.
[432] The male lambs are the ones which, after 40 days, are gradually

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [793] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] The sound of the tzamara is soft and deep. The musician must play [516] seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyéra, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/

3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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Fig. 168

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations. 596

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

596 517 [275] 596 [431] [405] [405]

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral 596
blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut 596
that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection 577
and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside 152
his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion 596
to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole 517
family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth 152
in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The (264)
centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this 596
protection and support. The most general of these obligations 577
is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[517] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[559] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
599 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
599 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

/370 cont./

53 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other
178 source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In
517 the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic
517 which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function
462 or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of
561 division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do
152 not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

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Conversation

[Frontispiece, facing p. iii]

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605 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs
612 that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes
605 or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin
521 after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both
576 sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which
836 are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations can-
[684] not be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her
000 life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάι)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing 571
point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not 609
generally found among those families using the grazing lands 578
of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within 685
the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the pre- [554]
caution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring
and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the [521]
number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live 609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes 578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [572] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange [521] careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
577 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[779] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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599 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
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[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

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156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
599 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p. 81-B]

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(887) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(675) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
P33 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
[522] Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect* to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

* Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery.

As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[525] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[582] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
599 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
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[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 612 571 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kinsmen together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 527 612 [579] ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 574 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

2: Fermor

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/General information on feasting, dancing, music and drinking, accompanying the Sarakatsani wedding held at Sikarayia will be found in category 585./

/46 cont./

236 In order that this account may come closer to reality, it follows the successive stages of this industry as they unfold.

Shearing

Fig. 35

Shearing is very hard work because the wool of the sheep as well as that of the goats is impregnated with grease, (wool grease), which makes penetration of the scissors extremely difficult. Obviously,
[432] the scissors used (pivoted scissors) are bought commercially (fig. 35).

Shearing requires much skill and physical strength. It is done preferably on sunny but calm days, for humidity and wind harden the fatty matter that impregnates the fleece. It is, moreover, for the same reason that the animal to be sheared is always placed in the sun.

[221] The season of shearing coincides with arrival at the summer location, that is to say, after the spring move (at the beginning of the month of May).

[461] On the day chosen they set to work at dawn and continue all day. The women gather up the wool and put it in bags after sorting it by color.

If the flocks are numerous or if the meteorological conditions
[527] are not favorable, the shearing may last several weeks. However, when

236 /46 cont./
[527] all is finished they organize a festival in order to rest and entertain themselves.

The arrangements observed are the same whether for sheep of goats.
[221] However, shearing of the latter precedes that of the former (it takes
[462] place during the month of March) and it is done by the women for reasons relating to special beliefs and superstitions. (9)

9. See below, pp. 101, 177-179, 370-371.

It is also necessary to mention another type of shearing which is partial and pertains only to the sheep. Twice a year (in March
[221] and in /47/ October) they shear the belly, the feet and chest to re-
[232] lieve the animals somewhat of their thick fleece (it is very warm at these times) and to rid them to some extent of their parasites.

Wool making

This type of work involves the following operations: boiling which consists of bringing the wool to boil in large cauldrons in order to get rid of the grease. The water from this boiling is saved in a receptacle and kept for later use.

Washing: once boiled, the wool is piled up at the edge of a brook or rushing stream. There, the women wash it very carefully in
[412] running water and beat it with paddles of wood.

Drying: the washing finished, they dry the wool by exposing it to the sun.

Carding: it is then carded. They start by ridding the wool of all foreign bodies clinging to its strands, for example burrs, thorns, etc. After that they first disentangle the wool by hand in order to facilitate the cardage proper, which consists of combing the wool with the cards.

The position of the cards (fig. 28 and 29) is as follows: the lower thin board rests on the knees of the seated carder; this board has a rope around the center which passes between the knees of the carder; its end is attached to a wooden cylinder placed under

A, [See p.80--Analym]

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[529]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
439 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

Fig. 91

/114 cont./

252 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to
262 speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter,
[52] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time
[54] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which pre-
[252] suppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64).* In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

*/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] [474] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a dialogue between the future spouses:

[533] [539]

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/167/

596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

529 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[959] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil
[189] eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must
593

/255 cont./

843 789 [801] and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view. And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth [352] [831] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 825 789 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and [527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the [514] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 233 825 789 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly and <u>feliki</u>--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[594] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while.
Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably
repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family
lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A
where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali
(ibid., p. 2v') but that we ourselves have
not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha, A, /See p.100--Analysis/

[527] /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789
[262] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[176]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[982] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [171] [842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [171]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the

233 825 789 777 527

fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

[171]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 /258 cont./
825
789 in Byzantium: ~~Ἰωάνν~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--
[777] This is the unlucky person.
[527] Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, in-
[197] advertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

233 The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the
731 seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy
821 everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself
789 again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the
[221] Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the
[776] abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be ~~resurrected~~ later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan
171 Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
776 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

791 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/271 cont./

844 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
574 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
789 to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes
[783] /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
846 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
783 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
789 nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite,
[788] blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
[842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
751 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
789 then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers
[529] with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child
[237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] 875 [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

53 The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual 585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [531] [535] [538] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

789 company sings in her name and addresses the companions
533 of the fiance:
586 --My new friends, do not hurry
(539) Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
53 peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
789 magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
53 amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the
198 general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental
songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and
[648] the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

531 /368 cont./
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178

with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

538 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

S. C. Hæg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/370 cont./

53 178 517 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 517 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 462 561 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 152 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

/370 cont./

531

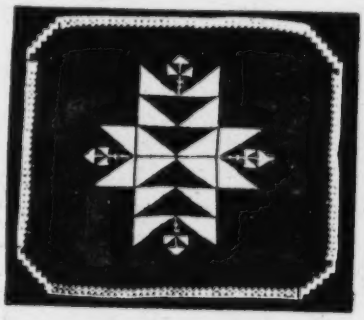

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/383 cont./

182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
755 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρς'.

585 292 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his [531] outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

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Sikarayid village

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[p.79-B]

000 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 All was different here. Not only was there no
292 silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West
[28B] and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came
[531] from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and
● their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex
though the costume was, there was not a single
foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying
[301] or branching or interweaving or flowering. The
only rounded things were the chains of necklaces,
the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold
talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor.
[30C] Their forearms and legs were encased in geo-
[531] metrically patterned armlets and greaves, and
the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these
[531] clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it
finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

[p. 79-C]

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 There was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[834] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting
and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered
with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was dis-
covered at last, and during a final mime of tri-
umphant bawdiness, the entire company danced
around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the
dancers alternately banging their noses and their
rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I
would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
tized. But they are always named at once, and
[775] should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism
on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop
up, death to all concerned is the only remedy.
This is not only for reasons of morality, for these
ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should
one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

/38 cont./

283 Equipment related to weaving and wool

This equipment includes:

The distaff: there are two kinds of distaffs found among the Sarakatsani.

[824] The first is merely a tree branch 60 centimeters long which ends in a three-pronged fork onto which the tuft of wool is fastened (fig. 23).

/39/ The second is made up of two parts: first, a branch of the same length as that we have described makes up the vertical part of the distaff; a small, board fastened perpendicularly to the preceding part forms a cross read to receive the tuft (fig. 24 and 25).

[531]

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

/54 cont./

286 Finally, there are /55/ the karanelotti blankets, which have
53 colored geometric designs. (13) They are woven with six heddles, and consequently with the same number of treadles: moreover, several shuttles loaded with multicolored wefts are used (14) (fig. 40).

[191]

13. The French blankets called "Pyrenees" looked similar.

14. A. Leroi-Gourhan, in L'homme et la matière, p. 306, gives an excellent description of the technique of weaving geometric forms from a loom provided with several heddles. We have nothing to add to it.

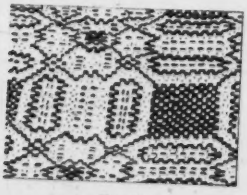

Fig. 40

286 Fulling.

All the wool fabrics, as well as the blankets and rugs, must, before being used, undergo another procedure which consists of exposing them to the action of water in order to give them a certain finish.

Thanks to fulling, they tighten and become firm; and "flokotti," owe their furry appearance to this procedure.

Fulling is carried out either in a fulling mill or by means of a mandani.

The fulling mill consists chiefly of an artificial waterfall placed above a large wooden trough sunk in the ground. All the blankets (except the karamelotti), all the rugs and all the garments made from the wool of goats are put into this tub; then the sluice is opened

/Men's Apparel/

291 around the waist, and did not offer anything unusual. The other, very wide, which had several pockets on it was called "siliachi." These pockets served as pocketbook, fob, case for weapons, tools, even implements, etc.

8th. There were several variations of the vest worn over the the shirt. First, a simple vest, very short and without sleeves, of [531] which the two edges of the opening were ornamented respectively with a row of buttons and buttonholes that had no practical use since only the first button was buttoned; in addition, it /the vest/ was decorated with a certain number of embroidered motifs.

291 In the second instance there was the twill vest which, of course, 531 was buttoned; it was also ornamented with embroidered motifs. Finally, the "fermeli" consisted of the formal vest. Embroidered all over, this vest of silk was even made with a lining, likewise of silk; hung open false sleeves which began at the shoulders hung at the back, thus forming a supplementary decorative element.

Depending on the type, these vests were all black or dark blue.

291 9th. The head gear which completed this costume could be either a fez or a black cap.

/101/ Formerly, this clothing, which was the usual apparel was worn both on holidays and for daily work. Moreover, the degree of richness and beauty of this outfit was a means of distinguishing the social rank of the one who were it. It is therefore obvious that the outfit of the chief had to be the most beautiful, the most opulent and the most ornate.

291 As a matter of fact, the traditional apparel has nearly been 178 given up. Only some old men living in remote regions continue to wear it in a simplified form. Their vests, for example, are no longer ornamented, and their fez has been permanently replaced by a cap [294] (fig. 79). Moreover, the artisan-tailors who, in former times, made these outfits, have also almost completely disappeared.

[191] For about the last fifty years the Sarakatsani have adopted the

A. [Fig. 79 appears on p. 117--Analyst]

/Women's Apparel/

/103 cont./

29 [531] 1st The previously mentioned "tsarouchia", likewise ornamented with pompons though considerably smaller ones than those of the men.

2nd "Stockings" (fig. 87) that cover the legs only to the knee. [531] These stockings are knitted in geometric motifs, but only in black on white.

3rd By way of underclothing the women wear in winter a pair of pants stopping at the knees and woven of goat hair, to protect them from the cold, especially when they are obliged to cross streams on foot.

4th A wool undershirt protects the bust. On top of this undershirt they wear a very short shirt (it reaches to the hips) made of a cotton fabric. It has relatively short sleeves, that are very full and pleated. The scantiness of this shirt constitutes a health measure. If it were longer, the lower part would be in danger of becoming wet during the crossing of streams; now, drying next to the skin could cause serious health problems.

5th The dress proper includes: a very wide skirt falling to the [531] feet, pleated and decorated with white embroidery in geometric designs. This skirt is fastened at the waist by a leather belt (fig. 88).

[531] 6th A bib, likewise embroidered with geometric motifs, as a rule black on white, protects the chest and reaches down to the waist (fig. 86).

7th From the wrist to the elbows the forearms are covered with "stockings" identical with the stockings that protect the legs.

8th The vest, three varieties of which we have described, is also a part of the women's apparel, but only in two forms. On the one hand, there is a simple black vest, which does not button in front /104/ /Women's Apparel Figs. 84-88 appear here/ /105/ thus leaving the bib showing and, on the other hand, a longer vest the back of which is ornamented with two false sleeves embroidered and open, starting at the shoulders. It is rather a kind of short coat, as its name also suggests: "kontokapa" (fig. 85).

9th An ornamental collar, pleated and likewise embroidered, completes the dress. /Fig. 89 appears here/

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Women's Apparel

Fig. 84

Fig. 86

Fig. 87

Fig. 85

Fig. 88

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

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Fig. 14

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

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301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/Women's Apparel/

/106 cont./

30 colored precious stones (fig. 84).

[292] This outfit is worn for festivals and weddings.

291 Of course, the everyday dress, the dress for work, is much simpler, although the principal features are scarcely different from those we have described. The difference is limited chiefly to the relative absence of emboidery, jewelry or the silver buckle (see fig. 89).

[531] [30] Moreover, the work outfit includes a scarf, a shawl made of a rectangular "flokotti," some 1.50 meters long,

[142]

Fig. 90

/107/ preferably black which is worn over the shoulders and serves as a cloak enveloping the body (fig. 90, vélentzoula).

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291 294 In addition to these descriptions, and in order to consider Sarakatsani apparel from a technological point of view, it is necessary to emphasize that in general the men's as well as the women's clothing is cut and stitched. However, sometimes the sleeves

/248 cont./

121 842 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with [233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 265 [825] /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 754 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 825 789 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,

233 825 789 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears [531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).[A] The Sarakatsani call them indis-
[262] criminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[585] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

[A], /See p.119--Analyst/

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
[372]
[825]
/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
[531] of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
[262] on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
[585] Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
[844] come from contact with the earth. (9)
[796]

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

[844] The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
[764] where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)

825 25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the
789 data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are
262 numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a
531 result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-
[114] Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

529 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 [262] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[796]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

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29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

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(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

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31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. Ἐκλογαὶ κτλ. 112.

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[273] [182] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[823] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
531 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
775 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
775 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
(hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
[769] is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[327] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[188] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 585 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [561] [535] [538] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] [635] [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[233] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
[152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

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Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

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4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
[178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
198 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

/370 cont./

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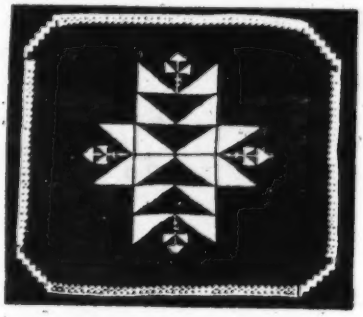

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

folklorists and historians struggled with patriotic inventiveness to provide historical and ethnological evidence for the advance or validation of their various national frontiers in areas which under the unity imposed by the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires had become an inextricable patchwork of different ethnic and religious groups. The Sarakatsani were one element in this complex pattern. For under Turkish rule their seasonal migrations had led many of them across limits that were later to become the frontiers of Greece, with Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.

In these debates the Greeks and their supporters present the more convincing argument. They suggest that if the Sarakatsani were recently hellenized Koutsovlachs they would preserve at least some traces of a foreign origin in their language and customs. But Höeg has shown[11] that neither phonetically, nor in terms of grammatical structure, are there traces of Koutsovlach elements in the dialect spoken by the Sarakatsani. He also claims that the dialects of the Sarakatsani in Epirus, Macedonia, and Thessaly present a linguistic unity.[12] If the various groups of Sarakatsani had, indeed, been recently hellenized one would have expected them to speak the local dialect of the province in which they now find their grazing lands; and this is not the case. And he properly adds to these linguistic arguments information about the different marriage customs of the two groups.[13]

Where Höeg has used linguistic and ethnographic criteria, Mme Chatzimichalis also emphasizes the unity of Sarakatsan art forms,[14] which are simple, static, and geometric, do not vary from one province to another, and in the absence of naturalistic expression differ radically from those of the Koutsovlachs.

But the rebuttals by both these authors of the opinion that Sarakatsani are hellenized Koutsovlachs are only the preliminaries to their own more general theory that the Sarakatsani are the direct descendants of shepherd communities of preclassical Greece—a claim which it is equally difficult to prove

[11] Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 78.
[12] Ibid., vol. i, preface, p. VIII.
[13] Ibid., vol. i, p. 81.
[14] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρε'.

585 knees, others leaned back against the wall or the
[51] divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo,
[413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks.
[233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall;
[532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black
291 kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their
585 soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for
[576] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years.
[191] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

11 THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly
192 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made
233 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They
[787] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okes* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tséligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like (522) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (523) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. K. A. PEDIASOS : Λαϊκοί Λαζαρίδες..., p. 168, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΤΑΣ Ἑλληνικά Ἔθιμα, p. 168.

(171) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[471] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
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2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΛΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΥΡΟΚΟΜΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 120-sqq.

[776] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/368 cont./

533 recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive
[233] music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it
[152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

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Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

531 4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp.
532 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden
114 sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part
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/368 cont./

531 532 114 178 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

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However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the 538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are 596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol 887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their 867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways [626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

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533
535

/For information on music and dancing accompanying Sarakatsani weddings, see category 585./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

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[533]

sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[3]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[3] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο κίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[192] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [851] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειά μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is [562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 152 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts 593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading 764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the 152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the [533] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their 593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in 765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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S G 621 648 S 186 591

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[2] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S G [776]

[2] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

S G [838]

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203 626 [485] older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [603] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and 533 circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

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The songs are not, in fact, particularly daring or insulting 626
in themselves: therein, perhaps, lies their effect. Of Nasios 533
Karapheris the woman chaser it is sung, 'Up at Kouphos where they used to grow corn, Nasios is making a place to lie down. Hidden away in the long grasses, he makes secret eyes. Mitsos draws out his knife to kill Nasios Karapheris.'

A song may be composed about a man who, although he has not erred morally, has been made to look ridiculous. For this, too, is failure. Theodoros Kallis is a physically strong man with a bullying character. He is wealthy and many people fear his violent nature. They were not sorry, therefore, when he suffered the following misfortune.

'On the twenty-first of January went Theodoros, the poor devil, to see his little mother-in-law. But when he arose in the morning, "Oh dear oh dear, they have cut the tail of my horse, dear mother-in-law!" Then cursed the mother-in-law, "May two unmarried boys never live to set up their wedding standards!"'

A man's failure in any respect may also be prolonged in the 626
community's memory by giving him a nickname (παρατσούκλι). 551
Flattering nicknames are sometimes given to members of the leading families. Costas Katsanos in his younger days was known as 'the flyer' (φεύγας) because of his great speed of movement up or down hill. But more often nicknames ridicule a man. Thus a man who was caught in the act of stealing maize from a villager's garden, was named καλαμπόκιος, an adjective fabricated from the Greek word for this grain. The name was not a comment on the morality of theft but the indignity of discovery and failure.

I have said enough to indicate how public opinion function- 626
ing through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. Gossip and its outcome, ridicule, are in a certain manner the external sanctions which support the internal sanctions of individual action, self-regard and the sense of shame. The subtlety of gossip and ridicule as sanctions is that, since they do not generally operate in his presence, they offer a man no excuse for violent response. He may respond to the insult of an individual, but not to the laughter of the community which he senses, but seldom hears.

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred mag-
[252] nificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
[609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Ori!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

585 533 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sudden ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 539 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makarondáts* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makarondáts*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chicago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that [167] no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

585 During the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Gerámata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 583 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber. The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

[p.78-B]

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 There was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
● [533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was [533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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531
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[p. 84 A]

123 enjoy on equal terms as accomplices, fellow hedonists and fellow victims. It is exciting for a stranger when he begins to understand that the armor which has been irking him and the arsenal he has been lugging about for half a lifetime are no longer needed. A feeling of miraculous lightness takes their place. On that particular evening this exhilaration was reinforced by other things; my mind was full of the events of the day, the smell of gunpowder, the cannon fire at dawn which had achieved the innocence of fireworks as the bangs had echoed upstream — the first glimpse, in fact, of warfare. By then, I felt I had almost taken part in the battle. The hooves hammering over the loose planks of the bridge still rang in my ears, and the songs on the long ride. On top of this came the beautiful ascent through the foothills, the sunset arrival at the encampment, and now, the voices and laughter and the gold fire-lit masks of the nomads in this hut in the dark mountains, the tiredness of limb, the feeling of being blessedly lost in time and geography with months and years hazily sparkling ahead in a vista of unconjecturable magic. The fusion of all this made it seem that life, at that moment, had nothing more to offer.

533 [123] But it did have something more, and at once. Yorgo, the old man's grandson, who had taken my horse and me under his wing (planning to guide us next morning on a shortcut over the hills to a point where we could swoop down on the army again), fished out a long bone flute. The music that began to hover through the hut was moving and breathless. It started with long and deep notes separated by pauses and then shot aloft in pro-

[Text continues on p.88-A]

tracted patterns of great complexity. Repeated and accelerating trills led on to sustained high notes which left the tune quivering in midair before plummeting an octave to those low and long-drawn initial semibreves. Notes of an icy clarity alternated with notes of a stirring, reedy, and at moments almost rasping hoarseness. Then, after a long breath, they sailed again into limpid and piercing airs of a most touching softness, the same minor phrase recurring with diminishing volume, again and again, until the final high flourishes presaged the protracted bass notes once more, each of them preceded and followed by a lengthening hiatus of silence. One can think of no more apt or more accurate reflection in sound of the mountains and woods and flocks and the nomads' life.

Less lulling music cannot be imagined. But, overcome at last by the day's doings, I must have fallen asleep in the middle of it and been covered with a cloak where I lay. I woke up an hour after midnight to find the hut in the dark except for the embers of the fire and empty of all but the lightly snoring patriarch on the other side. Yorgo's hooded departing back was outlined for a moment in the doorway against the stars. There was a murmur of voices in the cold outside as the shepherds, like monks before the night office, assembled for the first milking; this was the equivalent of matins in their pastoral book of hours. Then silence fell, and after a minute or two, a faint stirring of bells and of waking flocks was hushed by the returning currents of sleep.

Now, a little reluctantly, I must call a halt to these postscripts and flashbacks and return to the point where we began to deviate from the main thread of this narrative among the tassels and the buttoned upholstery of the carriage rocking back with us through the Thracian darkness between Sikarayia and Alexandroupolis.

Not many minutes had passed before the guard worked his perilous way along the duckboard outside and climbed in, not to punch our tickets, but for a chat. We were his only passengers. He was a dark, jovial, round-faced refugee from Smyrna.

"Well," he said cheerfully, offering cigarettes, "did you find out where they hide their pots of gold? Any for me? I could do with it, at this job."

We told him about the wedding. As I had already absorbed one or two hazy notions about the possibility of the extremely ancient descent of the Sarakatsáns, I asked him what he thought.

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.
602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.

562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 [516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[198] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

(264) /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
594

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:

533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539]

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
593
594
829

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(889) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(675) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/259 cont./

796 191 the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ: Εἰρεσιώνη, I, 314, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: Περιήγησις, II, 17, 8, IX, 3, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλατωνίων, 4.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ: Κρῆτες, Fragm. 475. but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

796 [198] These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the 796 536 women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first [533] night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special [535] dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks amo.g the company for another companion whom

/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 8.-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of his house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
533 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
796 forces, (35)
789

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake..
[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tseligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next
796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers.
795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like
(532) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts,
(533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. Κ. Α. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Λαϊκαὶ Λατρεῖαι..., p. 160, note 1. -- Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικὰ Ἔθιμα, p. 142.

(171) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
(hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
[769] is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[887] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[471] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
796
178

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
pp. 249-255 and the bibliography drawn up by
Γ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΠΥΚΟΛΑΠΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. [illegible]

[776] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
776 [602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823 16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: ~~Griech. Antike Religion~~ pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[776]

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 523 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual 585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [521] [535] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in [538]

/366 cont./

789 533 585 which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must [531] experience, (2)

[535] [538] 2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539] --The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539] --For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/366 cont./

789
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(539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
53 peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
789 magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
53 amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the
198 general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental
(648) songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not
635 Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete
[177] and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations
461 the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani
461 involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours
233 of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According
[534] to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the
[114] sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic
533 ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/
233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

/368 cont./

533 [233] recognized that the tunes of the flute do not constitute descriptive music. They have a content of their own, very distinct and autonomous, emanating from the musical disposition of these herders. Proof lies in the fact that the Sarakatsani are very sensitive to the music of the flutes. Madame Hadjimichali reports that while listening to it [152] they sometimes weep. They themselves say that the flute forces the player "to enter into it." Purely descriptive music would not be able to exert such an influence on feeling.

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Fig. 104

Fig. 105

Fig. 106

Sculpture in wood, except for the symbols on crooks and distaffs, is also "free." The motifs engraved on different objects are geometric designs, figures of men and animals and plants subjects. (4)

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4. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., t: I, vol. II, pp. 359-452, presents a detailed study of the wooden sculpture of the Sarakatsani. In a superb series of photographs and drawings she introduces us to the art of our herders and gives excellent comments on the morphology of the decorated objects. This part [178] of her work is all the more valuable in that it deals

/370 cont./

531

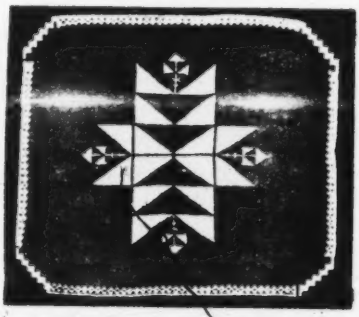

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:

539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539

--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
124
539

"Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [773] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play [516] seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyéra, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/

585 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for
292 every design was made up of straight lines and
531 triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 The bride's face, with the blue cross on her fore-
[302] head under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 There was no time for more of these cogitations.
[534] The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"
[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.
[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

233 The safety of the livestock

The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:
484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)

233 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well
[171] known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to ~~Ia. Nerantzi~~ M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/367 cont./

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/372 cont./

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3: Kabbadias--435 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/373/

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Fig. 108

/374 cont./

534

Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

[237] [183]

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

[178]

/375/ PART FOUR

/376/ REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121 After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

1: Campbell EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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/For information on music and dancing accompanying Sarakatsani weddings, see category 585./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main 612
purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some 574
business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy 612
one another's company and other considerations are secondary. 527
On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of [575]
July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number 796
of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast- 612
day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous [535]
dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or [556]
distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is [273]
drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these 585
612

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs 585
which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides 602
and its limitation within conventional bounds.

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [654]
bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271]
prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535]
contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 Her husband conducted her through an ex-
535 tremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of
585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps
831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her
535 chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

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596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

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596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Ἱκέται, 1, 314, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις, II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Πλουτάρχου, 8.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆτες, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

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33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρν'η'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible] the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
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789 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 8-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [833] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[976] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

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53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual 585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [531] [535] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in [538]

/366 cont./

789 which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed,
533 dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must
585 experience, (2)
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2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

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--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

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--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it, and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/367 cont./

533 see in this explanation an "ideological" sublimation of suppressed love--a feeling common to human nature and thus not unknown to the Sarakatsani.

[177] All the songs sung on this occasion are not necessarily of Sarakatsani origin; a certain number of them come from general Greek folklore.

533 535 [177] Songs of the non-ritual dance: these songs too are typically not Sarakatsani, like the dances, which are common in the country (Crete and the islands excepted). However, there is a dance known as the "dance of three" which is the Sarakatsani's own and is performed to a Sarakatsani song.

533 461 Songs accompanying some kinds of work: during the seasonal migrations the monotony of the march is often broken by song. The same is true of shearing.

533 461 233 [534] A second "free" artistic manifestation among the Sarakatsani involves tunes played by the shepherds on their flutes during the hours of pasturing--rather sad, tunes drawn-out and full of longing. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3)

3. Ibid., t. I, vol. II, pp. 144-145.

the shepherds themselves say that they reproduce on their flutes the sound of the small bells. We believe that this testimony is musically [114] incorrect. The flocks recognize the sounds of the flute and gather around the shepherd as they gather around the large bell of the ram. It is a matter of conditioning the animals by sounds, a conditioning which, though common to both cases, in no way assumes an artistic ressemblance between one and the other. And if the tunes played /368/ 533 233 on the flute with their cadences and trills often evoke the sounds of the bells of the flocks which, heard from a distance, seem to form musical phrases including cadences and trills, it must nevertheless be

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[795] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
57 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of
602 extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ: Ὁμοιοῦσθαι I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: Περιήγησις II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Ὁ Δελφικὸς τῶν Πλουτάρχου, 6.

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796 up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
789 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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121 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner,
789 moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

[536] On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not [432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 576 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 596 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

/334 cont./

782 77 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have [177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 171 178 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same; [844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame [538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/357 cont./

811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [773] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about [773] the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

773 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact 358 that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

/357 cont./

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538

See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim, dealing with myth.

cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth, look at it from the inside.

* * * *

121

Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M. Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt: L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 281.

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event. Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and experienced before being comprehended intellectually and formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from concepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual 585 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the [531] [535] verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in [538]

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] [535] [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with

their cousins.

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
~~474~~ management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the
[685] basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action
[684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.
● [539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
627 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[3] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Γίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[3] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, 585
as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to 602
them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing,

[539]

'We have not come for food or drink,
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[2]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted 585
by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. 602
Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's 578
departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress.

[2] Δὲν ἤρθαμεν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πί
ροΐδούλα, ροΐδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμαν,
ροΐδούλα, ροΐδούλα,
ροΐδούλα, χαμαΐδούλα,
κι'ἤρθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
βρίσκω τραπέζια νόμορφα
ροΐδούλα, ροΐδούλα,
ροΐδούλα, χαμαΐδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγιομάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς κερνᾶν,
ροΐδούλα, ροΐδούλα,
ροΐδούλα, χαμαΐδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαφρύδες.

585 292 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his [531] outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred mag-
[252] nificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
[109] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Ori!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

585 533 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sudden ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 539 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makarondádes* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makarondádes*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chicago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that [167] no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

585 DURING the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Geramata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 583 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber. The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
57 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 /136/ <u>The Principles of Married Life.</u>
602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[472] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[534] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
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--O wife! May you have sons
So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

[539] 24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
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/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. ~~E~~-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tsóligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described 182 shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the 831 sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus, 789 [842] [233] [171]

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed 789 at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys 535 disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and 533 wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they 539 dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/260 cont./

and the multicolored viper
as a collar around your neck...
/261/ May the stones of this house
never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil subterranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun, driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same forces, (35)

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
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80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : [illegible] D. [illegible] ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : [illegible] VII [illegible]

[825] It seems that even animals followed it. [illegible]

IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circum-
756 stances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
[462] that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

[539] "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[39] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that
755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases.
755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox
824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

771 /343 cont./
177 19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.
114 the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with
585 burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal
764 union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and
without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside
771 cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his
177 ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure,
so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building
of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the
holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

771 But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani
764 religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last
775 sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge with-
788 out having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society
prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is
kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and
partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism
of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection
with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

771 To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the
773 pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the
186 time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us
whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity,
the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

771 Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts
177 seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no
[793] Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us
by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice!
[538] Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing
[539] the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:
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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

> Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./

771 186 177 829 [429] who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand, since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 539 177 829 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another kind and very significant for our point of view.

--One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] [535] [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/366 cont./

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(539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

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The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

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Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

(648)

/370 cont./

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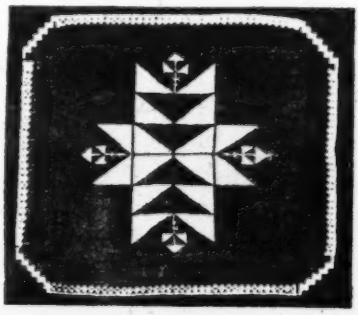

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:
539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539

--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
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539 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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851 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work
596 very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she
[551] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is
[606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
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581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
577 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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59 always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had
554 guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the
556 possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other
574 families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family
[626] which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

554 (c) LINEAGE[8]

611 Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relation-
612 ships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been dis-
[551] cussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral.
[581] In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal
[551] reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride
[626] of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the
[558] new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[8] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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The songs are not, in fact, particularly daring or insulting in themselves: therein, perhaps, lies their effect. Of Nasios Karapheris the woman chaser it is sung, 'Up at Kouphos where they used to grow corn, Nasios is making a place to lie down. Hidden away in the long grasses, he makes secret eyes. Mitsos draws out his knife to kill Nasios Karapheris.' 626 533

A song may be composed about a man who, although he has not erred morally, has been made to look ridiculous. For this, too, is failure. Theodoros Kallis is a physically strong man with a bullying character. He is wealthy and many people fear his violent nature. They were not sorry, therefore, when he suffered the following misfortune.

'On the twenty-first of January went Theodoros, the poor devil, to see his little mother-in-law. But when he arose in the morning, "Oh dear oh dear, they have cut the tail of my horse, dear mother-in-law!" Then cursed the mother-in-law, "May two unmarried boys never live to set up their wedding standards!"'

A man's failure in any respect may also be prolonged in the community's memory by giving him a nickname (παρατσούκλι). Flattering nicknames are sometimes given to members of the leading families. Costas Katsanos in his younger days was known as 'the flyer' (φεύγας) because of his great speed of movement up or down hill. But more often nicknames ridicule a man. Thus a man who was caught in the act of stealing maize from a villager's garden, was named καλαμπόκιος, an adjective fabricated from the Greek word for this grain. The name was not a comment on the morality of theft but the indignity of discovery and failure. 626 551

I have said enough to indicate how public opinion functioning through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. Gossip and its outcome, ridicule, are in a certain manner the external sanctions which support the internal sanctions of individual action, self-regard and the sense of shame. The subtlety of gossip and ridicule as sanctions is that, since they do not generally operate in his presence, they offer a man no excuse for violent response. He may respond to the insult of an individual, but not to the laughter of the community which he senses, but seldom hears. 626

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

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612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.
602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the [554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' [553] (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion. I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication, adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
[684] known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

(551) The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
(553) that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
(586) perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
(182) what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
(533) the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
(533) Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
(539) says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

(593) Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
(594) expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887] the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463] that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554] the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231] warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789] various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [796]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834] [841]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, ντεμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[1] And if either the

[1] The more general meaning of ντεμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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584 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than
554 the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the
577 other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results
612 from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

69 In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute
583 wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The
425 corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals,
[422] money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιά) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more.
[435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of
[198] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.
602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the [554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended [553] in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the 596 extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a 593 number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes [851] clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are [612] consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing 596 are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the 577 community. We have seen how the belief that a married man 554 with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their Kindred.

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins. 474 602

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'. 554 474 554 474 593 [571]

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609 578 not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This, in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation with-
[558] out losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not [554] lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a
627 collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go
[682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [427]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving
animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the
disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to
Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple com- 612
panionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately
before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίχι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσίλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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582 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage
602 of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely
602 turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage
612 in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred
602 which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from
612 collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard un-
●554 related families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been con-
[558] stantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the 582
community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, 602
they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable 612
marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, 554
tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has 582
analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of 602
kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages 612
between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. 619
For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an [578]
example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and ● 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [621] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent. 593 554 578

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles. 593

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister. [222]

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the 593 858

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[559] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[836] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[578] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts
[582] which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.*

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

* Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[624] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[554] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[555] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing 571
point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not 609
generally found among those families using the grazing lands 578
of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within 685
the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the pre- [554]
caution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring
and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the [521]
number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[6] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] [6] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

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master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakatsani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακοριζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

G 646 662 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 649 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

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In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

S 571

The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

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If a patron cannot effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571

We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

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Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
577 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

594 In either case, there is more general agreement about the
551 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
554 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the 594
living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of 558
some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first [582]
lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent 594
the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its 554
number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of 571
ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [ie. the head of a "stani" or "company" --Analyst]

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prevent any of their number from moving in an upward direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the category of those who are last, but the absence of any great differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

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Even in the most favourable circumstances loss of honour is 577 unlikely to be entirely remedied within the living memory of 558 those who know of the affair. A man whose family has lost its honour cannot in any real sense be said to possess prestige at all. People say of a man who has allowed his father's slayer to remain undisturbed in the same neighbourhood, 'We don't even say "good morning" to him'. In fact this is not true. People do greet him, but formally and without enthusiasm. He is occasionally seen in the coffee-shop, but he sits in a corner and little attention is paid to him. He is tolerated but his prestige is negative. Loss of honour does not mean direct social ostracism. The sanction is more subtle; it implies the withdrawal of full recognition or response.

Although honour is an essential prerequisite of prestige it 577 is not itself entirely independent of it. Families which on quite 554 different grounds, such as poverty, have no prestige and are 735 classed generally as 'lost' families (χαμένες οἰκογένειες), are denied the imputation of honour even though no positive accusation of dishonour can be pointed against them. Quite small incidents, which are not in themselves exactly questions of honour, are seized upon by the community to show prospectively that such a family, if it were faced by the duty of defending its honour, would be found wanting. The family of Costas Pistiolis is very poor. In the Sarakatsan view there must always be something morally wrong with a very poor man, and given their system of values this is not difficult to understand. A poor man is dependent on others for employment, or favours, if his family is to survive. He is not in a position to insist upon an equality in honour which, in any case, the community will not allow him. One day I saw a youth pelting the little son of Costas with pieces of dung in his father's presence. Costas, however, could do nothing since the youth's father was an influential member of the co-operating group which only tolerated with difficulty the presence of the Pistiolis family among its number. Another witness of the little scene swore and told me that you could copulate with this man's daughter and he would stand by and hold your coat.

Any attack made on the family's honour demands an im- 577 mediate response. Failure to respond fatally damages the 554 prestige of the outraged group and all its members. Without [558]

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577 honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which
●554 on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

156 ### 3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

554 The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at
[577] various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

562 Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant
[561] discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

462 The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an
[558] established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy
[562] water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

834 As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and
562 co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 [831] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of [554] adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης καὶ παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature.

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison.

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιᾶτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way.

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884 156 577 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demétrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [559] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 577 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωισμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορόιδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as 885
that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger 156
before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the 577
pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if,
after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provo-
cation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, [571]
and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are
isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year,
contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan
communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding 156
or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink 885
continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. 554
To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and 577
drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a
proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's
social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these
occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his
unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability
to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings
he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσικος), is
the verdict passed on this wretched man.

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, 885
others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of 554
family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling 464
group of a co-operative association of families, carries the 465
greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers
on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it
is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who
is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos,
or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social
reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live
from his flock without the money supplement of the wage,
or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he
might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Custom-
arily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance
being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six
months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage
shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and
the sense of being a kept man.

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her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other 577
factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that 554
have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal 577
equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The 554
Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength 596
of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride [142]
of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the 554
father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be 577
killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a 596
girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

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Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[233] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis' extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[5]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[5] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride 581
whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to 583
some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of 554
Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she 178
was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep.

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. 581
Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally 583
contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens 554
that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred.

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a 581
girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will 583
never marry. The few cases of such women in the community 684
do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was 558
the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that [183]
when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters.

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women 581
whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There 587
is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of 554
respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of

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581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few,
[593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of
[589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to
157 feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

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554 again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented For pride, article by
[585] article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 The elements of prestige have been divided into two cate-
577 gories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the
554 community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements
558 that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[7] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[7] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

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754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people.
232 They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention.

152 554 579 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [404] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
494 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
439 and very rarely blankets.
432

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
494 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
494 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
554 give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
[584] of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[178] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very
[584] significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [596] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 191 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Staréchina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Staréchina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Staréchina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/175 cont./
233 427 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 199 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 494 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 494 496 233 464 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 199 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 199 554 494 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 494 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/176 cont./

596 474 ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

596 474 554 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. [428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the [868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

/177 cont./

596 474 554 However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

474 [596] Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

474 675 The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not [432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 576 178 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 576 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
559 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

[675] If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[627] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 971 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabidas: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
[596]

Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
789 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
582 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[833] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to
[755] find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoulès: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

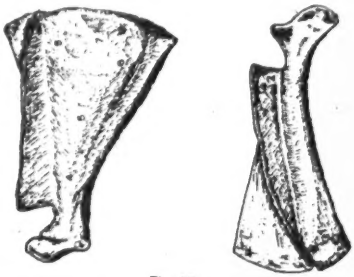

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: [illegible]

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : [illegible], Τ Α', [illegible]

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ

/320 cont./

789 182 152 154 121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual and procedural, owe their existence to magic. [562] The status of men and women includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. [554] Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

789 /322 cont./
562
462 the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for
[233] maintaining relations with the dark forces.
[791]

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential
[182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion,
554 develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks
182 once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some
[188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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/322 cont./

fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./
182 SEH 596 788 families and the Tséligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers, thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 182 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 576 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

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/331 cont./

796 474 554 188 252 596 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 176 474 554 574 182 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakis and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 982 474 596 776 554 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 982 252 262 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

771 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [559] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 79 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] 875 [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

182 596 [562] /380 cont./
even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organization. [474] The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first [233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

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> 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place, 182 596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that 554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in- 197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 [613] statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
182 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
361 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
233 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
182 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-
462 patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
182 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
291 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
261 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality -
181 frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
799 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/405 cont./

177 The system of production itself is changing. The Sarakatsani
433 have begun to practice a mixed exploitation [agriculture--small-scale herding, /406/ sedentary or transhumant), and through the role of cooperatives they are turning to a market economy.

177 Combined with supplementary jobs, the new system changes the
554 roles and status of men and women, hence the family heirarchy and
181 encourages the appearance of new values, chiefly in the matter of social prestige. The ideal symbolic image of the good family father, conservative and prudent, is little by little being replaced by that of the good businesman-entrepeneur.

177 Modern technology thrusts aside traditional knowledge. And the entire cultural system is no longer valid in the presence of the new situation.

Obviously, the mechanism of equilibrium, the guarantor of continuation, resists change. But these means are no longer effective. For the very assumptions of Sarakatsani life, from which this equilibrium drew its strength, have changed. Development of the personality, direct control of behavior, social control in general, obligation-compensation, effectiveness of cultural solutions, etc., have all assumed a different form and a different content.

In the final analysis, it seems that if Sarakatsani society changes, it is because isolation, nomadic herding and the idea of kinship have been affected.

Nevertheless, the transition from the ancient life-style to the new style is not yet entirely accomplished. But it will scarcely be delayed. Meanwhile, psychological processes, social forces and cultural dynamics, creators of the traditional Sarakatsani reality and its equilibrium, face one another in the area of modernization and with modernization. (5)

/411 cont./

121 181 which ultimately insures the life of all. In Sarakatsani society no one is disinherited. From the time of each person's birth he has a socio-
[554] economic status, determined in advance, a means of subsistence, a guarantee on his property, assistance in case of misfortune, solidarity and support of the group in case of danger. Socio-economic differences exists, to be sure. But no one is left destitue. In case of overwhelming circumstances, the mechanism of solidarity swings into action so that the victim will be aided.

121 Of course, individuals are not taken into consideration as such.
181 The Sarakatsani do not preach the cult of individualism. Individuals are
156 perceived in the foresight and functionalism of their society, solely as cells of the latter and above all as members of the family group. This formula does not mean that the value "man" has no meaning among the Sarakatsani, nor that the predominance of the collectivity acts to obliterate individuals. The Sarakatsani as Greeks and Christians are sufficiently prepared to have the individual figure in the totality of their ideas. However, in all cases, and they are numerous, where their society must make a choice between the individual interest and that of the group, it will prefer the group.

This choice should not surprise us. It is the consequence of the way in which the Sarakatsani conceives of himself as a social being, and conceives of his relations with another, that others, and in short, his society. And this conception is based on kinship, cooperation, the community, raised to the rank of supreme values.

* * * *

181 /412/If one has occasion to see Sarakatsani walking in a provincial city one is struck by their bearing, their pride, their nobility. At that moment a comparison with peasants of the plains and with townpeople is

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[794]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[559] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group.

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry.

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds.

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main 612
purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some 574
business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy 612
one another's company and other considerations are secondary. 527
On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of [575]
July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number 796
of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast- 612
day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous [535]
dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or [556]
distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is [273]
drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these 585
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571 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft,
609 which was less often attempted, partly because of the consider-
578 able danger and partly because it made even greater demands
685 on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the [439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some [55] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

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554 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its
556 flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[1]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[1] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
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556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
591 easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

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612 605 parents, he may yet establish with him a relationship which is closer and more significant than the relationships he has with other kinsmen genealogically less distant but living in places where his affairs do not lead him. Similarly, if a man is forced by circumstances to co-operate in sheep management with a distant uncle or second cousin this transforms a genealogically distant connexion into a close and very significant kinship bond. Naturally, a man normally prefers to co-operate and have intimate friendships with close relatives, but in their absence, or where there is an exceptionally strong personal preference for an individual kinsman who is not closely connected, a distant kinsman is, as it were, 'drawn in' so that what becomes significant is the fact of relationship and not the genealogical distance separating kinsmen. This potential efficiency of any kinship relation is perhaps reflected in the way a man refers to a cousin when he is in his presence. In explaining that a man is a first cousin he will say, 'He is my first cousin', but of his second cousin he will only say 'He is my cousin'. By omitting any reference to the distance of cousinship, the effect is to draw the distant kinsman nearer to the man who is speaking. It might be said that an individual has two kindreds; the first is the 'ideal' kindred in which conflicts of obligation and responsibility to kinsmen are measured by formal kinship distance; the second is the 'effective kindred' in which the frequency and character of kinship intercourse which actually takes place, and the practical needs of a man and his family, are also important considerations.

Genealogical connexion beyond the limits of the kindred is not normally of any significance. Men who are third or fourth cousins may possibly be aware of this fact but in general it does not make them behave towards one another differently than they would if they were unrelated. But if a man possesses wealth 612 605 or influence in the community so that some advantage is to be 557 gained by claiming relationship with him, then he often finds that his 'effective kindred' extends beyond the conventional range of second cousinship and comes to include third and even fourth cousins. When Sotiri Achnoulas, who unlike most of the Sarakatsani in Zagori has more goats than sheep in his flock, was dismayed at the promulgation of a government order forbidding the pasturage of these animals in certain areas of the

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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608 generally not connected by kinship or marriage. It is therefore, despite the ritual sanction it contains, an inherently fragile bond which can only be sustained through the meticulous disciplining of attitudes and feelings on both sides. Two people formerly unrelated are drawn into a relationship of exacting ethical standards in which their mutual esteem and respect are profoundly committed.

[783] Just as the gift of God's grace which is implied in the rite of Baptism is a free gift, a gift without motive, and one which expects no reciprocity, so it is held that a godfather ought not to refuse any reasonable request of his godchild. In practice a godchild has little to do with his godfather, to whom, however, he must show a formal respect more punctilious than the respect he observes to his natural parents. While the ritual relation between the godfather and his godchild is more important than that between bridegroom and sponsor, the social relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent, persons of the same generation with common or complementary interests, is more important than that between the spiritual father and his godchild. Nevertheless, when a man seeks a favour from the godfather of his child, he asks for this help implicitly, or explicitly, in the name of the child; for it is understood that he has the right to make this request because of the ritual relation which exists between his child and its spiritual father. It follows that, in an important sense, the social relationship between the natural and the spiritual parent is dependent on the ritual link between godfather and godchild.

608 The wedding sponsor, in theory, has the right to baptize all
851 the children of the marriage. The Sarakatsanos, however, sel-
557 dom wastes these opportunities by allowing a single godfather to baptize all his sons. When the second son is born he tactfully asks the godfather of his first son if he would mind surrendering his right on this occasion because X has asked him if he might have that honour. He may add that as X is an important man he fears to give him offence. This, of course, is not true but the lie serves its purpose. In this way a man may establish almost as
608 many links of spiritual kinship as he has children. If the first
851 child is a girl, the sponsor baptizes her but normally he must also become the godfather of the first son when he is born. However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακορίζικο χέρι). S 608 851 [277]

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God. S [554] [571] K 608 851 571

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them. S 608 557 K 608

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and S K 608 626

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S G 608 ●557 Naturally, merchants and others are well aware of the motives behind the naïve manœuvres of the Sarakatsani. But, as we have already said, they also gain various advantages. They do not, except in the unusual case of a very rich or powerful individual, become lavish patrons. Few of them give away anything for nothing. But they become helpful rather than hostile, they will exert their influence for their spiritual kinsmen and in doing so they themselves win prestige. A shared system of values regulates their mutual behaviour in which friendship and trust replace hostility and suspicion.

3. VILLAGE FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

G 623 666 [622] In the villages authority rests in the hands of a council of five members. From its own number it elects a President and Vice-President while the choice of the council itself is the result of local elections which are held every four years. In these, S [641] [666] all adult villagers of both sexes, and those shepherd families who possess citizenship rights in the village, are entitled to vote.

G 665 666 623 For electoral purposes any person may form a party providing he can present to the electorate a card with the names of seven candidates. In practice village elections seldom produce more than two parties, those who support the President in power because they are his friends, and those who want a change because they are not his friends. These parties are essentially personal followings, not corporate associations, and there is not necessarily any direct alignment with the parties of national politics. The citizens vote by handing in the party card of their choice with four crosses against those of the seven candidates who are preferred. The party which polls the greater number of cards wins the election. The four candidates of the successful party who record the largest aggregates of personal votes become members of the council. The person amongst the candidates of the defeated party or parties who claims the largest number of personal votes is also elected to the council as the representative of G the defeated minority's interests. The five members of the new [622] council then proceed to elect two of their number as President [624] and Vice-President. These men hold office for two years, at the end of which period their authority may either be confirmed for the remaining two years of the council's term of office, or they may be replaced by the election of new officers.

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

S G 648 S 662 571

After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

S G 648 572 571 557 G 622

But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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him a drink, he stands him a drink in return. Meeting him in the village square, the shepherd stops to talk for a few minutes about this and that. Were they not patron and client, a curt 'Good day' from each side would be the extent of their social intercourse. However, it is not a relationship of equals. The shepherd belongs not only to a different community, but to a qualitatively inferior one. While the President will say of a villager who is similarly his client that this man is his friend, he will not say this of a shepherd. If an explanation in his presence is necessary, he may say, 'George is a good lad, I help him', but behind his back he will simply say, 'He is my man'. Yet, although they are his social inferiors, the President gains prestige by being seen publicly with his shepherd clients. If he drinks with other villagers who are his supporters, this is no cause for comment. He merely keeps company with those who are his social equals and natural companions. When he drinks with four or five shepherds it draws attention to his possession of power, to his ability to hold men who do not waste their time drinking with ordinary villagers whom as a class of persons they detest and despise. The Sarakatsanos accepts his position of inferiority in the relationship because he must. He does not, as most villagers would, address the President by his Christian name; but he is not subservient in his manner. He speaks to him courteously as 'President'. When another person of importance comes to speak to the President, and it is clear that he is dismissed, he moves to another table, or with a 'Good health, President', to which the latter replies, he leaves the shop. These are the conventional terms on which these unequal friendships are founded. What is important to the Sarakatsanos in these situations is that other shepherds who do not possess this valued link should see and envy him.

S G 648 572 571 557 G 622

In asymmetrical friendship relations, since it is assumed that the patron has more favours to offer than the client can return, or that reciprocal favours are so dissimilar in quality that accountancy is difficult, there is often greater stability than in friendships between equals, which are very frequently bedevilled by accusations of ingratitude. Yet, even here, there are many complaints, the patron asserting that the client should be more vocal in his gratitude, the client complaining that the patron does very little in relation to the client's worth and needs, and

S G 648 572 571

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S G 571 554 [558] [559]

If a patron cannot effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571

We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621

Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [776]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical [841]

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will 612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in hand. 612 Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their Kindred.

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not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This, in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation without losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
474 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his [685] sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action [684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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612 management, are the cousins least likely to form those impor-
605 tant links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who
[572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may
612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any
571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are
[558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of
[558] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-
[559] operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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582 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage
602 of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely
602 turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage
612 in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred
602 which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from
612 collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard un-
554 related families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been con-
[558] stantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co-593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience 839 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery. 558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [572] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
882 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
593 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the
576 instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[577] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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596 for these arrangements[1] The sanction is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
621 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority.
--- Analyst

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 765
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 558
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 577
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
579 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.
[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ικανός προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his
[558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com-
[471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ικανός as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [513]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [531]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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corporate family, stand as equals in relation to the common flock and the common property. Strictly speaking, the son does not inherit property from his father; rather the father and the son both have claims on the corporate property which they exercise when they leave the group or when the group is dissolved. Through their dowries, the daughters also have parallel claims, and should a daughter remain unmarried she too will receive something, a half share, with which, like her parents, she passes into the family of her youngest brother. The partition of the corporate property and the single household does not come about so much as the result of individuals claiming individual rights, as through the redeployment of the resources of one corporate family group to endow and accommodate the needs of a number of new corporate families which, in part, are sprung from it. That this process of growth cannot be contained within the framework of a single corporation with continuity through time, is a consequence of the bilateral kinship system.

The authority of the head of the family group is limited in a number of ways. In the early years, before the maturity of his children, the authority of the father is unquestioned, but in the administration of family affairs his position, even then, is that of trustee rather than master and owner. A father who squanders the wealth of his family through gambling or inattention to his duties is despised. If the community discovers that he punishes his wife and children too harshly, or without reason, he will lose prestige. In the later years of the family's development when the father holds his authority over adult sons and daughters, and *a fortiori* during the period when the elder brother presides over an extended family group, the head of the family increasingly exercises an authority which is based on a process of collective decision and unanimity. During these years, for instance, the family head does not buy or sell stock or other property without consulting his sons or brothers. Through discussion, in which everybody participates, a collective viewpoint about conduct and action emerges, and the family is prepared to continue a debate for many hours until unanimity is reached. As opinion begins to harden, the remaining dissenters give way out of loyalty, if not from conviction. So tightly drawn to one another in the mutual

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[559] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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S G 571 554 [558] [557]

If a patron cannot effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571

We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621

Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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prevent any of their number from moving in an upward direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the category of those who are last, but the absence of any great differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

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Even in the most favourable circumstances loss of honour is 577 unlikely to be entirely remedied within the living memory of 558 those who know of the affair. A man whose family has lost its honour cannot in any real sense be said to possess prestige at all. People say of a man who has allowed his father's slayer to remain undisturbed in the same neighbourhood, 'We don't even say "good morning" to him'. In fact this is not true. People do greet him, but formally and without enthusiasm. He is occasionally seen in the coffee-shop, but he sits in a corner and little attention is paid to him. He is tolerated but his prestige is negative. Loss of honour does not mean direct social ostracism. The sanction is more subtle; it implies the withdrawal of full recognition or response.

Although honour is an essential prerequisite of prestige it 577 is not itself entirely independent of it. Families which on quite 554 different grounds, such as poverty, have no prestige and are 735 classed generally as 'lost' families (χαμένες οἰκογένειες), are denied the imputation of honour even though no positive accusation of dishonour can be pointed against them. Quite small incidents, which are not in themselves exactly questions of honour, are seized upon by the community to show prospectively that such a family, if it were faced by the duty of defending its honour, would be found wanting. The family of Costas Pistiolis is very poor. In the Sarakatsan view there must always be something morally wrong with a very poor man, and given their system of values this is not difficult to understand. A poor man is dependent on others for employment, or favours, if his family is to survive. He is not in a position to insist upon an equality in honour which, in any case, the community will not allow him. One day I saw a youth pelting the little son of Costas with pieces of dung in his father's presence. Costas, however, could do nothing since the youth's father was an influential member of the co-operating group which only tolerated with difficulty the presence of the Pistiolis family among its number. Another witness of the little scene swore and told me that you could copulate with this man's daughter and he would stand by and hold your coat.

Any attack made on the family's honour demands an im- 577 mediate response. Failure to respond fatally damages the 554 prestige of the outraged group and all its members. Without [558]

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
571 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[5]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[5] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

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For pride,
554 again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented article by
[585] article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 The elements of prestige have been divided into two cate-
577 gories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the
554 community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements
558 that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[7] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[7] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the [295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively [817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to 884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave. [561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried [577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion. [558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[626] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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577 honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which
554 on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

156 ### 3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

554 The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at
[577] various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

562 Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant
[561] discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

462 The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an
[558] established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy
[562] water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

834 As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and
562 co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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562 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelli-
828 gence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always
828 open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The
577 inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this
[831] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons
[559] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562
156 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted
561 ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά),
826 the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and
[232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd,
577 especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to
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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The [294] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect [286] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested [584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sarakatsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
596 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
594 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
[561] which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/370 cont./

53 178 517 Sarakatsani art is a collective art. The artist has no other source of inspiration than that which tradition provides for him. In the case of incorporated art he must be content to reproduce faithfully the models fixed once and for all. His value and his talent are expressed in the perfection of his reproduction and his attachment to tradition. In the case that is not incorporated he will combine perfection of execution and respect for style with a few new ideas. He will then be admired for these elements.

53 517 This point shows precisely the measure of the Sarakatsani aesthetic which differs radically from ours, oriented at present toward /370/ the future and the creation of new forms and concepts. For the Sarakatsani, beauty, perfection, technique and conformity meet. The artist is admired only according to evaluations based on these criteria.

53 The collective character of Sarakatsani art is also revealed in the manner of its execution which, in the majority of cases, is carried out jointly.

53 462 561 The activity of the artist does not represent a separate function or occupation. Everybody practices art, but according to some rules of division of artistic work by sex and age groups, as we have remarked elsewhere. Thus, the wood sculpture is done by the men, as are certain songs and ritual dances or narratives embellishing the feasts (reserved chiefly to the old men). /Figure 107 appears here /

Embroidery is a female occupation. Playing music is a privilege of the men (young shepherds). Certain nuptial songs are sung by girls, and lamentations by old women; the song of Saint Lazarus by boys, and so on.

* * * *

53 152 /371/ The emotional aspect and the expression of feelings in art do not fail to appear among the Sarakatsani. Strict regulation of incorporated artistic manifestations does not prevent emotions from welling up. The existence of this regulation makes it possible to understand

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

182 Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
476 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
233 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [176]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical [841]

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562 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also
233 because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there
562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the
462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new
233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (σοῦπρες).

562 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary
462 opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the
[156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut
[252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They
[372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut
[312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the
[442] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family.
[222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs
[241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable
[235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children
[437] but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and
CCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

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612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.
602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the
[554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

● 562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended
[553] in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
605 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. 593 577

The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήκω, μωρή, νὰ σὲ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατ'ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γκρινιάρα). 593 562 [581]

The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan 593 581

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593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is
●[562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the
152 solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts
593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading
764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the
152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the
[593] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their
593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in
765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the 593
family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

593 885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593 562 462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβᾶτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 562

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577 793 562 [996] archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 562 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters 577 578 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is 834
evident. For in this context women are always a potential 562
threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani [535]
of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the 562
management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition 578
is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening con- [521]
versation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffer- 562
ing. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate 571
help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is 831
often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the [533]
male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
577 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[779] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερό

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the 562
sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. 783
Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition 833
of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important [834]
religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be 562
in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), 577
but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for 831
shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of 828
sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, [276]
cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these [834]
reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as 562
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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 [831] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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156 women do not go
157 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

• • •

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
157 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [P31]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. Whatever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the 59
honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος), morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a com- 783
munity where masculine values are paramount, it has led 577
the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women 562
must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt.

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from 783
within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. 152
Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve 156
identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic [754] hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral [577] sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form.

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not 783
unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of 828
guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[562] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p.81-8]

/17 cont./
published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

--The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

--Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[538] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here . Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

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585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [494] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

(264) /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

561 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
[594] into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[213] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596 474 554 534 [436] [581] /163 cont./
not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 474 177 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general, who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading [872] [875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this. [562]

* * * *

596 594 [561] The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 594 613 554 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113] 36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior. The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [596] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs, both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
596 474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither (594) the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/192 cont./

436 437 474 562 [189] [571] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani 433 476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani 438 439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities 462 434 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. 462 433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; 562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 342 433 562 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a productive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

/192 cont./

462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
342 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433
562 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, lbom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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/195/

CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
199 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

/206 cont./

671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
[602] tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes
593 the form of strict law. (19)

19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never
593 has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death
428 otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/218 cont./

627 682 [602] [581] [182] 627 628 682 182

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the [562] young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

837 187 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
[171] it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[262]
[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[796]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[191]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[394] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[129] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/320 cont./

789 182 152 154 121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual [562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

[291] 122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the <u>riehtologos</u> to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
233
791

789 562 462 [233] [791] /322 cont./

the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for maintaining relations with the dark forces.

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential [182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 554 182 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion, develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some [788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
152 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
764 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/347 cont./

771 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral
182 prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of
462 social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice
562 brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged
182 with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It
596 becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and
182 also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

006 /349/

Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are
829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role
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/354 cont./

829 562 [596] [494] [621] in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of the group and its good functioning.

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents 829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational, [811] [562] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 811 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even [177] [361] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migrations and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 811 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

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CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

53 The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[591] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[491] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
562 families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
474 zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
233 of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

224 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
[464] scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the
extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes
herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to
provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter
demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a
simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been
said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity
of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance
fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable,
ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot
be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of
the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is
not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with
the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation,
extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt
in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
[233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we
shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
562 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should
predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to
defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily
work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure
the worst weather.

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
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Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συλλίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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S G 439 57 G 441

The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ χωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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[For information on the "stavradelphia" or "brothers of the cross", a form of voluntary artificial kinship in which young men over the age of eighteeen choose a young girl or woman to fraternize with them and who is thereon considered as a sister to all, see Category 608.]

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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period. Both in the chiftliks and the extensive monastery lands there were considerable tracts of uncultivated grassland.

Therefore, the very different fortunes of the villagers in the Zagori mountains and those living in the plains, both, alike, encouraged the transhumant sheep economy of the Sarakatsani throughout the nineteenth century and until 1922. The inhabitants of Zagori were primarily interested in the life abroad, not in fully exploiting the pasturage resources of their villages. And the influx of wealth had aroused various pretensions to education and social status which could scarcely be accommodated with a life of transhumant nomadism. In the higher villages, apart from the few animals which it was possible to keep under cover through the winter, the pastures were generally empty, and the villages were willing to rent large tracts of grazing land to wealthy Sarakatsan shepherds who might lead groups of families controlling two or three thousand sheep. This arrangement brought revenue to the village. And it sometimes established relations of patronage through which the villagers were informed about the movements of brigands who periodically descended on their rich houses; or when hostages had been taken shepherds were often the channel of mediation and negotiation. Similarly, in the plains, monasteries and chiftlik owners were equally ready to lease their uncultivated grassland in the winter, often for a nominal payment when the Sarakatsani undertook to graze the sheep of the monastery or chiftlik as well as their own. These conditions of adequate grassland in summer and winter, and in certain respects a complementarity of interests between Zagori villages and the Sarakatsani in the mountains, and in the plains between the Sarakatsani and the owners or administrators of large estates, persisted generally until the period of the first world war.

But in 1922 the military defeat in Asia Minor led in the years which followed to the exchange of population between Greece and Turkey. One of the measures taken by the Government for the re-settlement of refugees was the division of chiftlik and monastery lands into peasant holdings and the building of new villages. By 1927 the old winter pastures of the Zagori Sarakatsani had largely vanished. Some of the richer shepherds had the foresight to buy small properties in the Arta and Preveza

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high, and a narrow three-foot wide roof of thatch inclined to- 233
wards the centre of the pen, which has an elliptical form. Goats [419]
are less resistant to cold weather than sheep, and the kids which are born towards the end of December very easily contract pneumonia during the first six weeks of life. After the kids are born the goats graze during the day on rough ground not too far distant from the pen which is itself positioned close to the huts but away from the sheep-fold. They return in the evening [343]
to feed their kids during the night, but the latter remain in the pen during the day enclosed for warmth in a small conical thatched shelter (τσάρκος) built into the wall at the far end of the pen. But the Sarakatsani add that a further reason for keeping them in the pen during the day is that they are greedy and ferocious feeders. After four weeks the women begin to feed the kids with the leaves of bushes which they cut and carry into the pen. Each day they are grazed for an hour or two on any convenient piece of rough ground. Finally, in the early days of March the goatherds 'cut' the kids from their mothers, and the flock returns to its distant pastures. The kids sleep alone in the pen each night and are grazed by a young boy during the day.

The summer dispositions of the stani are different and simpler. 233
The leader of a stani is allotted by the president of the village 474
two areas of grazing: one for milking ewes, and another for the remainder of his flock—the rams and sterile ewes, and the winter's ewe lambs (the 'sterpha', and the 'zigouria') which are now merged into one flock. The two areas are not necessarily adjacent and both are generally far from the village, two or three hours' steep climbing away. The families remain in the village [361]
in houses or huts and are able to turn away from their exclusive concern for the animals which held every moment of their attention during the winter months. The difficult period of the [571]
year is over and they now turn outwards, as it were, to the affairs of the total community, to betrothals, marriages, quarrels, and mutual criticism; and to their relations of clientage and hostility to the villagers of Zagori.

Meanwhile, however, the Sarakatsani continue to sell their 233
milk throughout June and until the last days of July. A cheese 234
merchant sets up a station positioned to serve a number of [432]
neighbouring grazing areas. And where the boundaries of these

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233 grazing areas permit the arrangement, four or five milking pens
234 of different stanis may be conveniently within sight of the cheese-maker's hut.

232 Summer is not entirely without its anxieties. In June the rams are allowed to run with the milking ewes, each ram, on average, covering twenty-five ewes. An early and successful mating season (μαρκάλος) is important because it promises few sterile ewes, lambing before the hard winter weather sets in, and earlier supplies of milk. Before the end of July the cheese-maker departs, and the shepherds begin to enjoy a period of
234 relative ease. What milk the ewes continue to give during the early days of August before lactation finally ceases, is used, like the milk that is taken before the first of February and during the ten days of the journey to the mountains, to make a rough 'feta' cheese for the family's own use.

* * *

233 The needs of the sheep in a particular physical and political
221 environment, and the arrangements made by the Sarakatsani
474 to meet them, have certain consequences for Sarakatsan social
361 life. One of these concerns seasonal differences. In the winter
591 the community is geographically more dispersed, stanis travel far in different directions to find their winter grass and very often they do not have other Sarakatsani as their immediate neighbours. On the other hand the stani itself is physically more concentrated. A sheep requires only a quarter of an acre of good grass in the plain as against half an acre or more in the mountains. The stani is turned in on its own affairs. The huts of the stani are on the grazing land and the group of families is concerned almost exclusively with the problems of lambing, milk, and the protection of the animals against cold and wolves. In the summer, for reasons which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, stanis are generally smaller, and sometimes may be no larger than a single family. The stani is also dispersed. The families live in houses or huts in the village, the shepherds with the two flocks of sheep and the goats are far above the village, and are separated from one another. Yet the community itself is more concentrated than in winter. In the local group of families that graze the land of the same village, the huts or houses of the different families are in sight and often

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
591 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[597] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 602 619 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δυκοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, [162] in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [587]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [529]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 571
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 577
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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612 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common
58 with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man
582 may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families
591 who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[15] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[15] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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596 Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary 571 legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third 596 reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan tech- 571 nique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the 233 co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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[p.59]

IV

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

1. THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

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I HAVE said that the Sarakatsan family is an isolated and autonomous social group and I have stressed the moral solidarity which characterizes the relations of its members. But the Sarakatsan family, like all domestic groupings, passes through a cycle of development which in this instance begins with the marriage of a man with a woman and normally ends with the final division of the family's flocks between their sons one or two years after the youngest has married. An examination of some aspects of this process makes it possible to give an account of the institutions governing the redistribution of rights over property and persons which accompanies the development of new families and the dispersion of the older groups which have brought them into being. But the autonomy, solidarity, and isolation of the family make this transition difficult and critical. It is not only that it causes individuals real psychological distress when a girl at her marriage must abandon the family of her birth or when another family must receive a strange woman into the circle of their close and exclusive relationships. The marriages of any group of siblings have to be arranged in such a way that the family derives the maximum of prestige from them; and also that individuals relinquish their obligations to the family of origin only when these have been fulfilled, or have been safely delegated to another unmarried member of the group.

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A description of the cycle of family development serves a second purpose. It documents the changing relations in the sibling group which are precipitated by the marriages of its members. The solution of the conflict between parents' newly assumed obligations to infant children and their long established duties and affections to siblings and parents in the family of origin, illustrates the distinction between the relatives of the family and the collateral relatives of the kindred. Indeed, this conflict is, as it were, the growing point of the distinction.

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family. 596 577 [558]

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase. 596 571

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman. 851 596 [597]

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [24]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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591 and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought
596 to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother
591 with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking
[422] there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use
in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut.
The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his
bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular
brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or
sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the
drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to
each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign.
The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of
stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original
ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother
who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals
in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has
been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative,
generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside
over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from
this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart
from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the
maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural
increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers'
wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal
distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this
process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is
finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone
with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended
family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same attention that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as single households which are not extended families), in the summer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In general, only married brothers continue to work together in the summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins. 474 602

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'. 554 474 554 474 593 [571]

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474 602 571 Membership in a 'company' is in principle based on free association, although in particular cases a man without brothers may be so dependent upon the particular kinsmen who form the dominant nucleus of a 'company', that he has, in fact, little choice. But co-operating 'companies' are relatively stable associations only as long as the problems they help member families to overcome remain problems. They are a loose form of contractual association in which each family jealously guards its domestic autonomy and the right to secede at any time. Power to influence the association's decisions lies with the dominant group of brothers from whom the company takes its name, and it is the desire to escape from the position of dependence on this group which leads the more distantly related families in the association to detach themselves from it in the summer months.

474 602 578 Co-operation between kinsmen and affines has its difficulties. So imperative are the interests of a man's own family that sometimes he begins to suspect even the actions of a close kinsman if he co-operates with him: and he, himself, must sometimes fight against the temptation to defraud a kinsman or an affine. The Sarakatsani say that 'every stani has a pimp' (κάθε στάνη ἔχει τὸ ρουφιάνο της). Ρουφιάνος means a procurer and by extension a man without conscience or manliness. In this context it implies that in each co-operating group the cheese merchant is able to find at least one man who for the favour of more liberal credits is prepared to play the part of informer about the secrets of the group. As a statement of fact this is an exaggeration, but it testifies accurately to the strains and restraints that co-operation between related families involves, strains which are thought to be peculiarly inappropriate in the relations of kinsmen.

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion 609 829 characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In 612 contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which 577 make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children.

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and 612 diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy.

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must 571 show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει 577 ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, 626 which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons 609 have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations 578 that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple companionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- ●571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said [183] that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [570] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his 574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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612 management, are the cousins least likely to form those impor-
605 tant links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who
[572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may
612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any
571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are
[558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of
[559] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-
[559] operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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altruistic quality of these relationships. This is an end in itself. It balances the qualities of calculation and restraint which enter into all the other situations of social life, excepting only certain contexts of religious experience. This partly explains the immense pleasure which individuals experience when they take part with their kinsmen in festivals and weddings. There is a sense of release from the restrictions of daily life and local animosities which more articulate shepherds describe by the same phrase that is sometimes used after receiving the Eucharist at Easter, 'A weight has left me', μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος.

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

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602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 602 597 community where social relations are marked by such radical discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community.

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after

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593 compromises her sexual honour. Secondly, there is the danger
578 of competitive differences between a father who has not yet retired and his adult but unmarried sons. Thirdly, the rivalry inherent in the relations of brothers is a continuing threat to the solidarity of the family. It grows in inverse proportion to the degree of authority which the father is able to exert, and to the extent that brothers are dependent on one another for co-operative assistance. In each of these instances, we have already reviewed particular sanctions and institutionalized arrangements which generally help to prevent altogether, or to keep within tolerable limits, these types of disruptive behaviour.
593 But in each of these instances, there is also the positive sanction
571 of the mutual identification of interests and the responsibility
578 of all members of the family for the actions of other members, attitudes which follow from a common opposition to all those persons who are not members of the family. And it is to the consideration of the solidarity of corporate family groups, which is a consequence of their mutual hostility, that we turn in the following pages.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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609 flock is sold to persons outside the community. Moreover, the produce of the
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[973] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στὴ λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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which through common membership can commit him to any 571
duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship 609
or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person 593
would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of 578
betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very 571
clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose 609
they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is 476
established high in the mountains above the village so that the 234
various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular mer- 578
chant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not generally found among those families using the grazing lands of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the precaution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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571 609 578 685 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft, which was less often attempted, partly because of the considerable danger and partly because it made even greater demands on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the [439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some [356] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [122]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [425]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [625]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [188]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live 609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes 578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [578] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange [521] careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction. 571 609 221 233 578

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a 571 578 571 578 685

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'* The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] * Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S [786]

S G [838]

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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On the other hand, any attempt to organize systematic co-operation between the families of the community faces almost insuperable obstacles. An 'Association of Nomad Pastoralists' was formed in 1950 to represent the interests of the community to the government and other agencies. But enthusiasm waned rapidly as soon as it was realized that it could not miraculously improve the situation without the moral and financial support of its members over a number of years. The members are almost exclusively Sarakatsani but significantly the salaried executive secretary is a villager; first, because no shepherd possesses the legal expertise to negotiate with officials; secondly, because, although few shepherds trust the secretary, it would be even more distasteful to discuss one's problems with another Sarakatsanos. Here we touch on the difficulty which faces any attempt at community organization beyond the competence of the co-operating 'company'. It necessarily involves the acceptance of some executive authority. But for reasons of pride and distrust a Sarakatsanos cannot surrender any fraction of the sovereignty of his family.

As we have seen, this does not mean that the community has no sense of its solidarity and opposition to villagers. On the contrary, when the honour of the community is publicly attacked, unrelated men will stand together in its defence. To do nothing would be to betray their manhood in one another's eyes. This is a relationship of identification. But the conflict of practical interests between Sarakatsani and the villagers, the merchants, or the government, is a different form of threat. And although these problems are similar in kind for all, the problems of one family are generally separated in time and space from those of another. When a man's own interests are not immediately endangered, he is secretly pleased about the misfortunes of other men who are not kinsmen or affines. To face these difficulties as a united community would require co-operative relationships between non-kinsmen. Since these are not possible, we must now consider how, in fact, each family attempts to protect itself from the external threats to its security and prosperity.

2. SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

S 648

In his struggle to protect his family and live his own way of life the Sarakatsanos must come to terms with various persons

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S G 648 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they S G 648 stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a G 829 man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these S 571 648 608 ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακορίζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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G 571 [574] of consideration that represents a recognition of his social personality. Persons who are equal in these respects must show some concern for each other's social sensibilities by avoiding public rudeness and by a careful and courteous exchange of greetings when they meet.

G 572 Friendship begins where one man accepts a favour (χάρη) from another. The person who gives the favour will assert that he expects no return; it would be insulting to suggest that his act of friendship had a motivation. It is, however, the very altruism of the act, whether this is simulated or not, which demands a counter favour. Default destroys the friendship and provokes accusations of ingratitude. Although liking and sympathy are alleged to be the premises on which friendship between village equals is based, it would be more true to say that villagers who are able to do each other reciprocal favours sometimes discover from this experience confidence in one another. From these beginnings there may grow a relationship of intimacy and warmth. But in essence friendship of this kind remains a contractual relation, a form of co-operation in which services of various kinds are exchanged and accounted.

G 572 571 The network of friendships of the President or of other influential villagers becomes in reality a system of patronage. Accountancy is then more difficult because the patron is able to do more material favours for his client than the latter is able to return. But although the character of the relationship is now, in effect, asymmetrical, patron and client, because they are interacting in the context of village community relations where all true villagers are in principle equals, they continue to treat one another as if they were equals in the situation of their friendship as well. Both patron and client claim publicly that the other 'is my friend'. The patron says that he helps his client simply because it pleases him to help those of his friends who are in difficulties. The client explains that he is the friend of the patron, not simply because he receives benefits from him, but because he is a good man. In short, their friendship exists within the field of village values where behaviour is evaluated against the ideals of independence and love of honour.

S 571 In the Şarakatsan community the situation is different. There is no co-operation between unrelated families and no established political authority in the shepherd community which

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

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After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

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But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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him a drink, he stands him a drink in return. Meeting him in the village square, the shepherd stops to talk for a few minutes about this and that. Were they not patron and client, a curt 'Good day' from each side would be the extent of their social intercourse. However, it is not a relationship of equals. The shepherd belongs not only to a different community, but to a qualitatively inferior one. While the President will say of a villager who is similarly his client that this man is his friend, he will not say this of a shepherd. If an explanation in his presence is necessary, he may say, 'George is a good lad, I help him', but behind his back he will simply say, 'He is my man'. Yet, although they are his social inferiors, the President gains prestige by being seen publicly with his shepherd clients. If he drinks with other villagers who are his supporters, this is no cause for comment. He merely keeps company with those who are his social equals and natural companions. When he drinks with four or five shepherds it draws attention to his possession of power, to his ability to hold men who do not waste their time drinking with ordinary villagers whom as a class of persons they detest and despise. The Sarakatsanos accepts his position of inferiority in the relationship because he must. He does not, as most villagers would, address the President by his Christian name; but he is not subservient in his manner. He speaks to him courteously as 'President'. When another person of importance comes to speak to the President, and it is clear that he is dismissed, he moves to another table, or with a 'Good health, President', to which the latter replies, he leaves the shop. These are the conventional terms on which these unequal friendships are founded. What is important to the Sarakatsanos in these situations is that other shepherds who do not possess this valued link should see and envy him.

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In asymmetrical friendship relations, since it is assumed that the patron has more favours to offer than the client can return, or that reciprocal favours are so dissimilar in quality that accountancy is difficult, there is often greater stability than in friendships between equals, which are very frequently bedevilled by accusations of ingratitude. Yet, even here, there are many complaints, the patron asserting that the client should be more vocal in his gratitude, the client complaining that the patron does very little in relation to the client's worth and needs, and

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

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Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

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We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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patron-client relationship of some stability over time, and the range of favours which may be demanded is almost as extensive as that between spiritual kinsmen, but the atmosphere of calculation is more pronounced. Confidence which is ritually sanctioned in spiritual kinship is more easily destroyed in the relations of patron and client. Gifts given by a shepherd to the President generally have a specific object in view and each gift is effective for only a short period of time if, indeed, it is effective at all.

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The President is not the only man with power or influence in a village; the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, other villagers of wealth or reputation may have these qualities in varying degree. When the President is particularly severe towards them, the shepherds attempt, by the same methods we have just considered, to attach themselves to other persons in the village who are known to have influence on the council, or personally over the President himself.

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When the sheep of Theodoros were despatched by the President to the poorest area of grazing for the second year because of his active opposition during the elections, Theodoros did not appeal to the Nomarch against this injustice. He went instead to Vlachopoulos. Vlachopoulos is the Vice-President of the village, and the President's closest friend. He also owns the older of the two village coffee-shops which is the one more generally patronized by the Sarakatsani both for social gatherings and for the many small purchases which they make. After the bitter feelings aroused by the autumn elections there was a spontaneous boycott of the Vlachopoulos shop by the Sarakatsani and at the time when Theodoros approached him two or three weeks after the shepherds had returned to the summer pasture, only a few Sarakatsan men were to be seen drinking in the old shop. For a week Theodoros assiduously made small purchases in the shop. Finding Vlachopoulos alone one day, he took the next step by remarking that he was not a man to dwell on old scores and that he thought his return to the shop proved this point. It seemed, however, that the President was still governed by his rage and spite. This was surely unjust, and he asked Vlachopoulos if he would not intercede with the President on his behalf. Vlachopoulos agreed to do this. It is a fair assumption that he was especially pleased to see Theodoros who leads

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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S G 571 596 621 more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (εὐεργεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services S G [183] are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public G [622] servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

S 648 662 The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

G 642 [156] Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

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Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

S G 648 656 S 641

Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

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However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

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he attaches junior officials to his own will since they cannot move without his approval, and he enhances his prestige because he is seen to be indispensable. At the same time, he secures his power and nourishes his self-regard. But the convergence of so many cases awaiting decision upon a limited number of senior officials in Jannina and Athens who cannot personally know the detailed circumstances of a case except through the exiguous details set out on printed forms, creates interminable delays and inhibits the equitable administration of government laws and regulations. In the Epirus, where many villagers and shepherds live on the margin of bare subsistence, these limitations of administration might prove disastrous for many families, were they not able to put their affairs into the hands of a lawyer or some other patron. For if, in the example we have chosen, a man cannot graze his goats in the one area where he has the right to do this, he must sell the animals which provide him with his living. The lawyer is able to bring a case to the direct notice of a senior official, to frame it to the best advantage; and sometimes, if he has considerable influence, to gain concessions for his client which are not strictly within the relevant law's terms of reference.

The significance of the lawyer's position is his ability to face in two directions. Because of the prestige and status of a successful lawyer in Greek society he may be able in a provincial town to number amongst his friends, judges, army officers, doctors, the Nomarch, and other senior officials of the Government bureaucracy. With these men he sits and drinks at the tables of the town's more fashionable coffee-shops and in the lounge of the best hotel. As a member of this professional *élite* he is able to recommend the affairs of his clients to the attention of various friends who may be able to help. They give this help because of their friendship for the lawyer; they are relatively indifferent to the worth of the client and the justice of his case. In return, a lawyer is able during local and national elections to promise the political support of his clients. He also assists his friends by legal advice in their own affairs and in the affairs of their kinsmen many of whom, often, are themselves villagers.

The Sarakatsani because of their many political difficulties and disabilities are critical assessors of the personal abilities of different lawyers. The profession is over-crowded and there is a

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S G 648 S 662 G 693 661 wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S G 648 571 G 693 S & [608] S [431] In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his pro- G [557] fessional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

S G 648 571 G 693 662 It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

G 646 662 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 647 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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debt from which it will be virtually impossible for him to escape.

Powerful cheese merchants have political as well as economic power. A shepherd who quarrels with 'X' is likely to meet with trouble in his dealings with Government authorities. Smaller merchants are also afraid of 'X'. It is said that some years ago a cheese station which was established by another merchant in an area lying within 'X''s sphere of influence was mysteriously burned down in the night and that the police showed no interest in making any investigations. In 1951, in a village of Thesprotia, another merchant by offering a slightly higher price succeeded in claiming the custom of three stanis which in the previous year had sold their milk to 'X', who already had a station in the neighbourhood. The latter showed no immediate hostility to his competitor. Indeed, the next winter he suggested that they should co-operate to manage one station since this would make for economies on both sides. The other man agreed and 'X' undertook to find a cheese-maker. It is claimed that this man, on 'X''s instructions, systematically allowed the cheeses to deteriorate by not treating them with sufficient salt. For 'X' the total destruction of these cheeses was an insignificant loss; for the smaller merchant it was a disaster. Whether or not these allegations are true, the important fact is that he is believed to be ready and able to deal with difficult shepherds and competing merchants in this uncompromising fashion.

In the hope of introducing some measure of restraint into the merchant's exercise of economic power over himself, and of diverting its use from his exploitation to his own protection, the shepherd tries to draw the merchant into a relationship of patronage. In most instances, however, the latter is only willing to adopt this role in a restricted sense. When clients come to consult a merchant in his office the social atmosphere is one of cordiality and equality. Glasses of 'ouzo' are not long in appearing. When differences arise in the discussion of business there are appeals to 'friendship' from both sides, and statements such as 'You cannot believe that I should wish to deceive you', are frequently made. But these attitudes may be the fiction rather than the reality of patronage. For patronage assumes a measure of protective concern over all the client's affairs. In most cases a merchant prefers to restrict his role of protector to certain

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specific contexts, that is to saving a shepherd from eviction from his pastures and from the need to sell his stock because of his indebtedness to others. If a merchant has a firm hold over a man through the nexus of debt he does not want to assume unnecessary obligations which may limit the range and flexibility of his economic operations. Cheese merchants who are sometimes forced unwillingly into becoming godfathers to Sarakatsan children do not always make very satisfactory spiritual kinsmen. On the other hand, in certain cases where an influential Sarakatsan family is clear, or nearly clear, of debt a merchant may be very willing to enter into the diffuse obligations of friendship if this will enable him to hold it to his custom. There is a difference between the relationships which a shepherd establishes with his lawyer and his cheese merchant. The lawyer gives advice and support to a client over the whole range of his affairs; the more complete his patronage, the more obligated the client and the greater the lawyer's power over him. The merchant's interests in the shepherd are more specifically economic; his economic success depends upon a certain flexibility in his commitments so that, for example, he may wish to make smaller advances and grant fewer long-term credits when interest rates are abnormally high. This seems to be an example of a general difference between political and economic power; the former has a particularist and affective quality, the latter is characterized by its relative generality and impersonality.

But the relation of merchant and shepherd can never be merely specific to the act of purchase or without some affective content as in simple market exchanges. The merchant carries a dead weight of debt; this he can only recover by a legal action which would deprive the shepherd of the animals on which depend the family's physical subsistence and its social prestige. Both sides realize that the existence of the debt, whatever may have been the motives which encouraged it, has meant the possibility of the family continuing to live honourably in their traditional way of life. By the mere fact of having done a good thing, even if without that purpose, the merchant is morally obliged not to undo it. It is a remarkable fact that since 1945 the merchant 'X' appears to have called in only one debt by recourse to the law.

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The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κωλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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G 648 647 571 As I have already said, from his side a Government official sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd or villager and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. Like the villager or shepherd he has the same primary and categorical obligation towards his own family and its status. He also owes a loyalty to his service and his colleagues; but this is shown by marking the distance between those who rule and those who are ruled, by the display of arrogance, not service.

G 647 642 [369] There are other, less personal, reasons for the distrust between the bureaucrat and the villager or shepherd. One half of Greece is a society of small village communities dependent on agriculture or pastoralism. To administer and physically control these many discrete communities, and the small towns which serve them, the central Government in Athens has erected a complex and costly bureaucratic organization which links, in the formal sense, the simple village community to the central body which governs and legislates for the nation. This is not a structure which has developed even in part from the villages themselves; it is an organization which has been imposed from above by the Government. Moreover, Greece is not, by European standards, G [651] a rich country. For the greater part of her national history taxation has been almost wholly absorbed in paying for the luxury of maintaining the panoply of a modern state with its full quota of Ministries and portfolios and in supporting substantial armed forces. Under these conditions, the State (τὸ S [829] κράτος) and its agencies must always appear to the villager or shepherd as a body from which he is excluded, something threatening and hostile, which takes away from the family and returns nothing. It stands, therefore, in opposition to the nation (τὸ ἔθνος), the community of Hellenism for which every Greek feels a deep and natural devotion.

S G 571 662 Each family in a village, or in a shepherd community, therefore attempts to establish an exclusive and particular relationship with persons in power. As we have seen, decision or initiative is seldom possible at the lower levels of the Government service because of the reluctance of an official to delegate power. To reach that level at which his affairs can be effectively dealt with, he tries to discover a patron, generally a lawyer, who in return for a man's political allegiance, places his case before

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a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

S G 571 662 G [642]

In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

S G 571

The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

S G 571 554 S [577]

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S G 571 554 [558] [557]

If a patron cannot effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571

We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621

Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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commerce. It provides the merchant with an assured source for his raw material and the shopkeeper with a stable clientele. It gives the shepherd vicarious access to the metropolitan market and to the credit facilities of the national banking system. Without these facilities it is fair to say that he could not continue to lead his traditional way of life.

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[p.263]

X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage 594
prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is [619]
fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. 594
It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or 619
affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular 571
though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. More- 594
over, unrelated families see their different interests as being 619
in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already 578
examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counter- [154]
part of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and 577
I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design* 171
in the Iliad, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated 113
by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.
578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but
[682] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions
579 between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find
578 a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[1] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [1] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the 594
living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of 558
some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first [582]
lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent 594
the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its 554
number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of 571
ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [i.e. the head of a "stani" or "company" — Analyst]

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prevent any of their number from moving in an upward direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the category of those who are last, but the absence of any great differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

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already been examined: homicide, the drawing of blood, verbal insult, seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. 577 571

Honour, then, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its equality (at least) of status is recognized when others take care not to give offence in these particular ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, they make it clear that they consider its social existence of no account. In that case, whether the violation is accidental or not, the outraged family must answer at once, and with violence, if its reputation is to survive. [627]

But honour is not only to be considered in terms of the various external situations where it may be lost. The intrinsic principles of honour refer to two sex-linked qualities that distinguish the ideal moral characters of men and women: these are the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of women. With the exception only of persons of the lowest lineage, all Sarakatsani are assumed to possess these qualities 'by nature', although in the fallen condition of this world a reputation for manliness or shame is easily lost. In this sense it is not difficult for a man to move in a direction opposite to the true inclinations of his nature. One aspect of honour, then, is a struggle of self-discipline over cowardice and sensuality, flaws of animal nature that continually threaten to limit the natural nobility of man. 577

In general, the qualities of manliness are obvious and familiar. 'To be a man' the individual must show himself to be courageous and fearless. He must be strong in body and spirit. But there is also a nuance of meaning peculiar to a community where values are agonistic and social reputation is frequently at risk. In these circumstances a man must have boundless self-confidence in his own powers. Where few men owe him more than conditional support, and the great majority none at all, he must rely on himself. Manliness implies not only the condition of being courageous but the ability of a man to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him. For in this complex of values results count for almost everything and intentions for very little.

The physical characteristics of manliness are important. A man must be βαρβᾶτος, that is, well endowed with testicles [P31] and the strength that is drawn from them.

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related. 834 562 535

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles. 562 578 521

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it. 562 571 831 533

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
577 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another
they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
577 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

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the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as 885
that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger 156
before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the 577
pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if,
after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provo-
cation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, [571]
and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are
isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year,
contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan
communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding 156
or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink 885
continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. 554
To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and 577
drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a
proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's
social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these
occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his
unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability
to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings
he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσιχος), is
the verdict passed on this wretched man.

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, 885
others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of 554
family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling 464
group of a co-operative association of families, carries the 465
greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers
on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it
is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who
is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos,
or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social
reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live
from his flock without the money supplement of the wage,
or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he
might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Custom-
arily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance
being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six
months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage
shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and
the sense of being a kept man.

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his own motives spills over into an incidental concern for others. Such a man, it is said, will resist the approaches of a woman even where she clearly wishes to be seduced, and where there is no danger of discovery. He never uses lies or deceit to trick another man, or takes advantage of a situation to make another look foolish. A Sarakatsanos when defending his conduct will often say, 'I am a man who loves honour'. But others will not accept this estimate of self. Φιλότιμος is an epithet never attributed by one Sarakatsanos to another unrelated shepherd, because they believe that the responsibilities which each individual owes to the family group absolutely preclude his acting in this manner. On the other hand, it is not infrequently used to characterize a patron whose protection is effective; for here interests are complementary, not opposed, and in the particular context of the patron-client relationship it is possible for a man of power to appear to be acting in this way towards his client. And, in a condescending sense, it is possible for a patron to admit the same quality in his client. 156 577 829 [571]

* * *

Three concepts, 'honour' (τιμή), 'honourable' (τίμιος), and 'loving honour' (φιλότιμος), have now been considered in their relation to the community's evaluation of a man's conduct and its implicit recognition of his prestige. Although τίμιος and φιλότιμος indicate, in different degrees, some concern about other men, all three are essentially self-regarding terms. In each case it is a question of a man attempting to realize a particular ideal pattern of conduct. What interests him is the success of this quest, not the effect of his actions on others. 156 577

The quality of being honourable has this in common with honour, that most men are assumed to have it. It is not something which must be competed for, but something which must not be lost. Although there is certainly the need constantly to re-achieve standards of conduct, the emphasis is on the fact that most Sarakatsani have honour, and are honourable, but that individuals, to a greater or less degree, may stray from the path of normative virtue and lose their prestige. 156 577 828

Both the concepts of honour and of the honourable man [571]

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
591 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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7. A SYSTEM OF VALUES

571 577 Sarakatsan society offers men only three important corporate memberships: in the family, the local community, and the nation. Little conflict arises between the obligations created by these different commitments. The interests of the family are normally contained within the purposes of the community when it faces other communities, those of the community are contained within the aims of the nation opposed to the rest of the world. In war, the actions of a soldier reflect simultaneously on the honour of his family, his community, and his nation. And in each instance the honour and interests of the individual and of the group are mutually implicated.

Honour refers to an exclusive identification. The honour of a group is opposed to the honour of another if only for the reason that there is an implicit comparison between different honours in reference to a pattern of ideal attributes. But honour also reflects on the correct status relations between individuals or groups. When two groups are in communication the behaviour of the persons representing them implies, on either side, a certain evaluation of the other group. If a man suffers treatment that is less than his due, his honour, and the honour of the group he represents, are diminished. But in the experience of the Sarakatsani the interests and prestige of families, communities, and nations are inevitably in collision, and this must lead men to exploit others where they can. Thus relations between different groups always carry the threat of the depreciation of the honour of one for the benefit of the other. Although relations between families, communities, and nations refer, ideally, to an equality in honour, yet at each level those who represent these groups must struggle with all their resources of courage and self-discipline to maintain these ideal status relations. These struggles are intense. And in every significant context of action the world is necessarily divided with dramatic definition into own people and strangers, friends and enemies. Consequently relationship radically affects the forms of approved behaviour. It is a virtue generally [609] to cheat, deceive, and lie to non-kinsmen, but the same conduct towards kinsmen would be shameful and, often, sinful as well. The values of honour and prestige are exclusive and

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particularist. They have a moral content of their own but they cannot be referred to any universal moral principle.

For the Sarakatsani, family honour is the chief concern. Indeed, the honour of community or nation is, in their view, a projection of the concept of family honour. This honour is shared in two senses; intensively, by those whose reputation is identified by their membership in the same family; extensively, by the community of families sharing in common a system of values by which they judge one another's position and performance. Honour depends not upon the consciences of the individuals in a family whose reputation is under scrutiny, but on the concessions and reluctant approval of other families. Most of these are unrelated and hostile. Since the threat of denigration is continuous, it must be balanced by the repeated exhibition of those qualities that support honour and prestige: self-assertive courage in men, modest virtue in women. In the one case by social convention, in the other by its negative character, the presence of these qualities is more often revealed by attitudes and appearances than substantive proof. There is an emphasis on opinions and appearances, not facts. The consequences of action rather than the intentions behind it are important. This does not mean that private shame for undiscovered failure does not exist. But, inevitably, ideas about individual moral responsibility are blurred, and undiscovered shame is not as morally serious as public disgrace.

Reputation is impossible without strength. Poverty is a mark of failure, not a virtue. Strength in sheep and in men encourages others to respect a family's honour, it attracts dependent kinsmen whose support further extends influence and prestige. Honour and strength are linked. If a family is without sons the call of honour may find a man in the dilemma that if honour is lost the moral existence of the family collapses, or if honour is vindicated his family becomes a leaderless group of women and children dependent on the generosity of kinsmen, a condition which must eventually affect prestige and, perhaps, honour as well. Honour, and the obligation to die for it, is the ideal value, but the sacrifice necessarily weakens the family. Honour remains integral, but becomes more vulnerable. A family needs at least one man in the role of unmarried brother whose unreflecting courage guards its

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•571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
169 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[1734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally •bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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577 confrontations are reconciled through the acceptance of
578 competition for prestige as the end of individual and family purpose. For it turns men's minds from thoughts of the physical destruction of their enemies to the alternative of their social humiliation, a form of opposition more compatible with the
156 vulnerable quality of the shepherd's life. At the same time these
579 particular values, if they deny the practicability of universal moral principles and individual justice, present an image of man that is in some ways heroic and not ignoble. Men must be brave and women virtuous to achieve ideal, one might say mythical, forms of acting and being. They are encouraged in the need to discipline their weaknesses by the severity of their mutual criticism; roles are few, and values unambiguous in a common field of experience. But judgements concern the effectiveness of the total social personality, an amalgam of virtues, skills, and material attributes; and not abstract qualities of moral excellence.

●571 In competitive institutions, although feelings of hostility
577 may remain unabated, opposition becomes a form of mutual dependence; the more men are opposed in this way, the more they have need of one another. The values of prestige recommend the intense consideration of own interests and honour, accentuating always the exclusiveness and separation of one family from another. Yet they also impose the condition that prestige depends on the attentions and opinions of others. They separate; and, at the same time, they create a necessary and close interdependence in the common membership of a community in honour.

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577 771 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 783 772 But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 574 771 781 796 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [828] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 /136/ <u>The Principles of Married Life.</u>
602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[494] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tsóligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 422 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 422 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./
233 429 571 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda. (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 426 197 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 494 426 596 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only rational solution for the indigent.

596 494 496 233 494 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their supplementary work potential.

233 197 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their [212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 197 554 494 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 494 [233] The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[629] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[887] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[695] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
474

This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[571] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/192 cont./

436 437 474 562 [489] [571] participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the 436 474 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani 433 416 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition. [421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani 438 439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities 462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men 434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule. 433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry; 562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men. 462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro- 342 433 562 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes

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789 182 152 154 121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual [562] and procedural, owe their existence to magic. The status of men and women [554] includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a [571] standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeûw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

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182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims
121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
571 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
626 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

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[For information on the "stavradelphia" or "brothers of the cross", a form of voluntary artificial kinship in which young men over the age of eighteeen choose a young girl or woman to fraternize with them and who is thereon considered as a sister to all, see Category 608.]

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605 834
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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572 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friend-
605 ship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sym-
612 pathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability
572 itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust
605 tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or
612 has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same
476 flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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612 605 management, are the cousins least likely to form those important links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who [572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may 612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any 571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are [558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of [578] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who [154] live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

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After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

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But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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him a drink, he stands him a drink in return. Meeting him in the village square, the shepherd stops to talk for a few minutes about this and that. Were they not patron and client, a curt 'Good day' from each side would be the extent of their social intercourse. However, it is not a relationship of equals. The shepherd belongs not only to a different community, but to a qualitatively inferior one. While the President will say of a villager who is similarly his client that this man is his friend, he will not say this of a shepherd. If an explanation in his presence is necessary, he may say, 'George is a good lad, I help him', but behind his back he will simply say, 'He is my man'. Yet, although they are his social inferiors, the President gains prestige by being seen publicly with his shepherd clients. If he drinks with other villagers who are his supporters, this is no cause for comment. He merely keeps company with those who are his social equals and natural companions. When he drinks with four or five shepherds it draws attention to his possession of power, to his ability to hold men who do not waste their time drinking with ordinary villagers whom as a class of persons they detest and despise. The Sarakatsanos accepts his position of inferiority in the relationship because he must. He does not, as most villagers would, address the President by his Christian name; but he is not subservient in his manner. He speaks to him courteously as 'President'. When another person of importance comes to speak to the President, and it is clear that he is dismissed, he moves to another table, or with a 'Good health, President', to which the latter replies, he leaves the shop. These are the conventional terms on which these unequal friendships are founded. What is important to the Sarakatsanos in these situations is that other shepherds who do not possess this valued link should see and envy him.

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In asymmetrical friendship relations, since it is assumed that the patron has more favours to offer than the client can return, or that reciprocal favours are so dissimilar in quality that accountancy is difficult, there is often greater stability than in friendships between equals, which are very frequently bedevilled by accusations of ingratitude. Yet, even here, there are many complaints, the patron asserting that the client should be more vocal in his gratitude, the client complaining that the patron does very little in relation to the client's worth and needs, and

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of
602 extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[529] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[404] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

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[For information on the "stavradelphia" or "brothers of the cross", a form of voluntary artificial kinship in which young men over the age of eighteeen choose a young girl or woman to fraternize with them and who is thereon considered as a sister to all, see Category 608.]

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son 59 [612] 59 581 602 [574]

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [607]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [581]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 574
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [570] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his ●574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy one another's company and other considerations are secondary. On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast-day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. 602 There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be 612 mentioned; that of co-bride (συνυφάδα), which is the link [607] between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is 607 once more apparent when we ask which are the significant 602 affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the 606 critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings 607 and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young [574] brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and
607 the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃ καὶ φιλοξενήσῃ
[574] τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her
607 husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's
602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάϊ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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S G 621 648 S 186 591

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S [796]

S G [838]

[1] Ο πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[8]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[8] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

S G 621 648 S 186 591

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S K [796]

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

S G [838]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, /98/ for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "fretzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(591) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/109 cont./

252 prepared in the same way as the preceding. This bread appears on the
[262] tables /110/ of the Sarakatsani women only on special occasions
[574] (the arrival of a visitor, holidays, weddings, etc.).
[527]

252 Culinary art: Here again it is necessary to distinguish between
262 a number of cooked foods, on the one hand, and pastries on the other, which /together/ make up the basis of the diet of the Sarakatsani.

However, preliminary to the description of the different
[128] Sarakatsani "dishes" it is suitable to begin with the method of pre-
[234] paring of cheese since cheese and butter make up the main ingredients of most foods.

234 We know that the milk produced is sold in bulk to a contractor
252 who transforms it into butter and cheese. This system is not practiced
433 either in the course of the seasonal migrations--the contractor not
22 being a nomad who follows the caravan--or, with better reason, in the course of the first summer months when the milk production decreases rapidly from day to day until it is near zero, so that the presence of the contractor unnecessary. It is during these two periods that the milk is made into cheese by the Sarakatsani themselves, to take care of their own needs. This is how they go about it:

234 The milk, at milking temperature of perhaps slightly heated
252

[412] ←

[415] →

Fig. 92

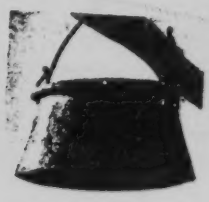

Fig. 91

/114 cont./

252 262 In order to conclude the inventory, it is necessary also to speak of the grasses and vegetables that the Sarakatsani use. The first are made up chiefly of dandelions and other edible wild plants gathered in the countryside, either to be cooked in water for a salad or to be used in making pastries (caucalide, (25) aromatic chervil

25. Condulocarpus apulus.

parella [a type of lichen], wild leek, etc.)

Among the second belong the beans, broad beans, lentils and, recently, potatoes and rice; however, their preparation does not present any peculiarity that need be reported here.

262 Meat, finally, does not make up any of the dishes that we have described. This is because meat constitutes altogether unusual food. (26)

26. Thurnwald: Economie Primitive, p. 121, says that pastoral peoples only exceptionally kill animals for their meat. Livestock is capital on the income of which the people live.

In fact, the herders do not readily "sacrifice" their livestock for their food. However, it is customary that for Christmas, Easter, [521] St. George, St. Demetrius, each one's personal feast day and each time [574] hospitality is called for (whoever the visitor may be), they kill a lamb and roast it on the spit. In all these instances the killing of the lamb takes on a ritual significance which justifies the "sacrifice."

It should be noted that this description of the Sarakatsani cuisine is a faithful account of the diet common among them.

/115/ --The cooking of foods

372 [252] The Sarakatsani practice several methods of cooking, which presuppose a method of lighting fire. This method consists of an oblique striking impact: a flint is struck with an iron hammer; the sparks which are produced ignite a piece of tinder (fig. 96). Then the fire is transferred to /Fig. 96 appears here/ dry grass of brush lying on the hearth (fig. 64). In order to stir up the fire they have recourse to a

/Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
431 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompanying him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality: R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

/179 cont./

474 He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
554 shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

577 /238 cont./
83 elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection
834 that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that
[888] requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.
[609]
[535]

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs
62 to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation
577 on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is
[609] obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.
[574]
577

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with
577 patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and
579 friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day
[576] become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

[648] This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to
577 banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might
579 recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)
114
648
[113]

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts
577 it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we
579

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and <u>feliki</u>--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while.
Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably
repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family
lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A
where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. 9v') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] 777 22 Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 776 754 [789] All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... versus 80 et 97.
--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἱερομονάχου : Ἀναθεμάτα καὶ Τάξις ἀπὸ τὸν ἄγρυπν. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
974 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 108 et commentatores de Ἐν. ΚΥΠΡΙΑΝΟΥ : Ὁ Ἱωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λειτουργός, p. 224. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 220 et sqq. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θρέψης, p. 88-89, etc.

844 /271 cont./
574 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
789 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
[783] to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
783 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
789 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
[788] nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
[842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
789 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
[527] then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I.ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child
[237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/331 cont./

796 474 554 [788] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial [596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [776] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered [474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the [554] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival [574] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the [782] Tséligato.

796 782 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
60 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[605] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 585 596 if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[5] The bride 283 may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 789 one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 585 596 one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152 only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585 gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593 may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596 her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[5] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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605 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs
612 that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes
605 or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin
521 after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both
576 sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which
836 are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations can-
[684] not be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her
000 life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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585 602 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only encourages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἀξία τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

● [578] When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the
576 instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[3] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[559] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[3] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live 609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes 578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [578] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange [521] careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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577 935 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and 156
agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by 577
the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not 583
consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom 578
accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν
πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between 637
a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult
because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[8] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is
self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching 627
a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on
other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance 691
that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal
confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is 642
merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a 156
man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[8] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros:* "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

585 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed
292 black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of con-
[531] fused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and
[123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday,
[576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor;
[539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with
[516] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

585 knees, others leaned back against the wall or the
[516] divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo,
[413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks.
[233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, stafis grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall;
[532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black
291 kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their
585 soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for
[576] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years.
[191] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

11 THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly
192 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made
233 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They
[777] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

S 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet,
583 but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
S many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
[513] rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular
patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
S looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black
585 and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall,
with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with
her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the
bride stood motionless. On either side of her on
the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-look-
S ing girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kalorizikí!*"
[576] ("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined
her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable.
Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move
a fraction when other latecomers arrived and
hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were effigies in an ethnological museum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

S [292]

G 292 In those Greek villages where the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
G as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder moun-
[184] tains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but
the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and
material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
000 deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[text continues on p. 79-C]

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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[p.v]

PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[579] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577] •
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant
[234] closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[2] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[2] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing problem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine. 612 203

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very careful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing. 612 584 587 529

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of this fragmented community are related through competition for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδριομός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sarakatsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of 591 577 203 577 612 612 829

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, ντραμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[1] And if either the

[1] The more general meaning of ντραμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 426 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of [178] demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
P33 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
[522] Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect[6] to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

[6] Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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Admittedly every man must have
596 [577] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωϊσμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 443 434 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 454 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children. 609 829 612 577

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy. 612

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has 571 577 626 609 578

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may undertake this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future. 612 627

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated vengeance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction. 612 579 [579]

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε 612 476

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίχι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine.
612 This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical
261 ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of
[431] wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the [583] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison 583 for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower. [627] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which, 577 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this 583
suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's 577
family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and dis- 584
cussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is [581]
an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a 584
kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct 582
bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 community where social relations are marked by such radical 602 discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily 577 particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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strength is simulated better by the heroic attitudes of self-assertion, pride, and even arrogance. Strength, individual prepotence, is what each man needs to be an effective protagonist for his family, and the protector of its public reputation and honour against the calumnies of those who are also its judges.

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co-
593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience
839 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery.
558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [572] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. 593 577

The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήκω, μωρή, νὰ σὲ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατ'ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γκρινιάρα). 593 562 [581]

The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan 593 581

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
● 577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδί κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[577] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[3] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[3] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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ἀπὸ κάτ' ἀπ' τὴ μηλιὰ θὰ πέση). It is thought that God often 593
punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression 828
in another proverb, "The sins of parents torment the children' 858
(ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).[3] Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God.

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its 593
general character from the close physical and psychical de- 828
pendence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse.

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very 593
strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother 577
possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love.

[3] Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 765
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 558
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 577
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
579 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.

[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his [558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com- [471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ἱκανός as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is 593
carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any 593
discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is 861
difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young 858
children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in 593
later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes in- 867
creasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the 858
duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and [577]
prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct 593
authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the 593
family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community. 593 571

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after 593 507 867 [855]

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
[624] role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association. 596 [421]

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakatsani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood, 596 826 [577] 596 826 828

[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[156] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[739] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral 596
blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut 596
that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection 577
and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside 152
his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion 596
to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole 517
family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth 152
in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The (264)
centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this 596
protection and support. The most general of these obligations 577
is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

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Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

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596 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the
577 original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive
627 solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boundary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven him there. 596 577

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance. 627

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of 1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by John Stratos. [22] [578]

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596 John Stratos. Accused of stealing the grass of the other group, a
577 young shepherd of the Achnoulas family insulted a brother of
627 John Stratos, who struck him with his crook. Both families heard the shouts and rushed to the aid of their kinsmen. In the scuffle that followed the old father of John Stratos was wounded by the knife of one of his own sons which had fallen to the ground and was then picked up by one of the Achnoulas brothers. He died from the wound. The fight was so confused, with six men grappling in a body, that the Stratos family never discovered which Achnoulas brother killed the old man. Nor did the police. After a lengthy inquiry, nobody was charged with the killing since much of the evidence appeared to suggest that it had been accidental. The Achnoulas family felt reasonably secure from direct attack because of the anonymity of the killer and nothing happened for nine months, until one day George Achnoulas, drunkenly quarrelling at a wedding, told an adversary to take care, hinting darkly that he was not afraid of spilling blood since it would not be the first time. The Stratos family, informed of this incident, necessarily accepted the evidence as sufficient, and an unmarried brother, Charalambos, waited in ambush for George and shot him dead as he walked along a path.

What we are faced with in these seeming evasions, or half evasions, of a duty which is declared to be sacred, is generally not any real weakness in the solidarity of the family of origin, but the conflict of roles between the duty of the brother or son on the one hand, and, on the other, the obligations of a father to his own family, or the right of a brother or son to marry and found his own elementary family at about the age of thirty. This conflict is, of course, related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the isolated corporate family which is associated with it. It places an inherent limit on vendetta. Clearly, a community fragmented into family commonwealths, where the individual's categorical rights and obligations are contained exclusively in this small group, where the help a man can claim from his collateral kin is severely limited, and where a family to exist in any real sense must have at least one adult male to support and lead it, is peculiarly ill contrived to prosecute blood vengeance.

It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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596 577 627 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to 596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two 577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's 627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then 684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot [621] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[591] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [626]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[554] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

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[p.263]

X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage 594
prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is [619]
fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. 594
It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or 619
affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular 571
though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. More- 594
over, unrelated families see their different interests as being 619
in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already 578
examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counter- [154]
part of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and 577
I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design* 171
in the Iliad, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated 113
by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.
578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but
[682] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find
● 577 a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive
578 behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[8] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [8] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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prevent any of their number from moving in an upward direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the category of those who are last, but the absence of any great differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

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already been examined: homicide, the drawing of blood, verbal insult, seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. 577 571

Honour, then, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its equality (at least) of status is recognized when others take care not to give offence in these particular ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, they make it clear that they consider its social existence of no account. In that case, whether the violation is accidental or not, the outraged family must answer at once, and with violence, if its reputation is to survive. [627]

But honour is not only to be considered in terms of the various external situations where it may be lost. The intrinsic principles of honour refer to two sex-linked qualities that distinguish the ideal moral characters of men and women: these are the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of women. With the exception only of persons of the lowest lineage, all Sarakatsani are assumed to possess these qualities 'by nature', although in the fallen condition of this world a reputation for manliness or shame is easily lost. In this sense it is not difficult for a man to move in a direction opposite to the true inclinations of his nature. One aspect of honour, then, is a struggle of self-discipline over cowardice and sensuality, flaws of animal nature that continually threaten to limit the natural nobility of man. 577

In general, the qualities of manliness are obvious and familiar. 'To be a man' the individual must show himself to be courageous and fearless. He must be strong in body and spirit. But there is also a nuance of meaning peculiar to a community where values are agonistic and social reputation is frequently at risk. In these circumstances a man must have boundless self-confidence in his own powers. Where few men owe him more than conditional support, and the great majority none at all, he must rely on himself. Manliness implies not only the condition of being courageous but the ability of a man to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him. For in this complex of values results count for almost everything and intentions for very little.

The physical characteristics of manliness are important. A man must be βαρβᾶτος, that is, well endowed with testicles [P31] and the strength that is drawn from them.

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβᾶτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 662

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577 archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred
793 to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal
562 attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different
[976] exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes
562 of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters
577 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the
578 Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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Even in the most favourable circumstances loss of honour is 577 unlikely to be entirely remedied within the living memory of 558 those who know of the affair. A man whose family has lost its honour cannot in any real sense be said to possess prestige at all. People say of a man who has allowed his father's slayer to remain undisturbed in the same neighbourhood, 'We don't even say "good morning" to him'. In fact this is not true. People do greet him, but formally and without enthusiasm. He is occasionally seen in the coffee-shop, but he sits in a corner and little attention is paid to him. He is tolerated but his prestige is negative. Loss of honour does not mean direct social ostracism. The sanction is more subtle; it implies the withdrawal of full recognition or response.

Although honour is an essential prerequisite of prestige it 577 is not itself entirely independent of it. Families which on quite 554 different grounds, such as poverty, have no prestige and are 735 classed generally as 'lost' families (χαμένες οἰκογένειες), are denied the imputation of honour even though no positive accusation of dishonour can be pointed against them. Quite small incidents, which are not in themselves exactly questions of honour, are seized upon by the community to show prospectively that such a family, if it were faced by the duty of defending its honour, would be found wanting. The family of Costas Pistiolis is very poor. In the Sarakatsan view there must always be something morally wrong with a very poor man, and given their system of values this is not difficult to understand. A poor man is dependent on others for employment, or favours, if his family is to survive. He is not in a position to insist upon an equality in honour which, in any case, the community will not allow him. One day I saw a youth pelting the little son of Costas with pieces of dung in his father's presence. Costas, however, could do nothing since the youth's father was an influential member of the co-operating group which only tolerated with difficulty the presence of the Pistiolis family among its number. Another witness of the little scene swore and told me that you could copulate with this man's daughter and he would stand by and hold your coat.

Any attack made on the family's honour demands an im- 577 mediate response. Failure to respond fatally damages the 554 prestige of the outraged group and all its members. Without 558

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
599 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[779] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body. 562 783 833 [834]

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied. 562 577 831 828 [276] [834]

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as 562 828

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562 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelli-
828 gence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always
828 open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The
577 inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this
[831] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons
[554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562
156 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted
561 ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά),
826 the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and
[232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd,
577 especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to
554

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these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης καὶ παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature.

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison.

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιᾶτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way.

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884 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in
156 the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple
577 singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from
831 guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 It is during these years of early manhood that the community
554 begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess
884 as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to
554 a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to
577 say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds
578 seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορόϊδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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156 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and
884 circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that
577 he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer
761 threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family.
577 Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should
885 be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possesss. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company',
885 has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures,
577 he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian
425 Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use
885 lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
597 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
597 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

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the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as 885
that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger 156
before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the 577
pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if,
after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provo-
cation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, [571]
and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are
isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year,
contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan
communal life.

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding 156
or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink 885
continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. 554
To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and 577
drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a
proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's
social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these
occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his
unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability
to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings
he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσικος), is
the verdict passed on this wretched man.

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, 885
others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of 554
family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling 464
group of a co-operative association of families, carries the 465
greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers
on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it
is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who
is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos,
or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social
reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live
from his flock without the money supplement of the wage,
or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he
might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Custom-
arily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance
being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six
months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage
shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and
the sense of being a kept man.

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἡσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts. 156 577 884 831 [885]

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day. 156 884 834 291 [302] [515] [302]

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards. 884 156 577 834 481 [526]

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may 884 156 577 834

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of
others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that
causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a
greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often
through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The
[794] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with
these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only
twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the
feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings
which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they
do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age
[561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect
[288] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought
to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving
cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the
public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested
[584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-
katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or
through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way
to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her
vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that
she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be
as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,
if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.
A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her
public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in
the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I
have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express
exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.
Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to
move about more freely and with less supervision. She must
appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).
It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife
of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these
[784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[794] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
579 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes 626
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

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577 935 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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his own motives spills over into an incidental concern for others. Such a man, it is said, will resist the approaches of a woman even where she clearly wishes to be seduced, and where there is no danger of discovery. He never uses lies or deceit to trick another man, or takes advantage of a situation to make another look foolish. A Sarakatsanos when defending his conduct will often say, 'I am a man who loves honour'. But others will not accept this estimate of self. Φιλότιμος is an epithet never attributed by one Sarakatsanos to another unrelated shepherd, because they believe that the responsibilities which each individual owes to the family group absolutely preclude his acting in this manner. On the other hand, it is not infrequently used to characterize a patron whose protection is effective; for here interests are complementary, not opposed, and in the particular context of the patron-client relationship it is possible for a man of power to appear to be acting in this way towards his client. And, in a condescending sense, it is possible for a patron to admit the same quality in his client.

156 577 829 [577]

* * *

Three concepts, 'honour' (τιμή), 'honourable' (τίμιος), and 'loving honour' (φιλότιμος), have now been considered in their relation to the community's evaluation of a man's conduct and its implicit recognition of his prestige. Although τίμιος and φιλότιμος indicate, in different degrees, some concern about other men, all three are essentially self-regarding terms. In each case it is a question of a man attempting to realize a particular ideal pattern of conduct. What interests him is the success of this quest, not the effect of his actions on others.

156 577

The quality of being honourable has this in common with honour, that most men are assumed to have it. It is not something which must be competed for, but something which must not be lost. Although there is certainly the need constantly to re-achieve standards of conduct, the emphasis is on the fact that most Sarakatsani have honour, and are honourable, but that individuals, to a greater or less degree, may stray from the path of normative virtue and lose their prestige.

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Both the concepts of honour and of the honourable man

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
591 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other 577
factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that 554
have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal 577
equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The 554
Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength 596
of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride [142]
of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the 554
father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be 577
killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a 596
girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or
[156] sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

59 (B) WEALTH

554 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its
556 flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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554 [585] again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented For pride, article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 The elements of prestige have been divided into two cate-
577 gories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the
554 community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements
558 that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωϊσμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
[624] of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
[612] that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if he did nothing.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[8] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[8] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

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156 it leads, very often, to a greater concern with appearances than reality. Or, rather, appearances become reality. In the appearance of being a pallikari, he becomes a pallikari. There is often a kind of unconscious cheating. A man boasts and asserts himself the more when there is little fear that he may be called on to prove himself. And knives are pulled with greater bravado when it is certain that others are present to prevent their use.

152 If self-regard is the need to achieve an identity with the image
156 of an ideal self, shame is the emotion experienced by an
● 577 individual when he clearly fails to do so. As in the case of self-regard, although a man may feel shame for short-comings or sufferings that remain secret, it involves at all times some idea of comparison with the achievements of others, and it is all the more acute when a man's inadequacy is publicly exposed. A man may feel shame not only for his own short-comings, but also for those of other persons with whom he is closely identified in any situation. And it may also be a sentiment imputed by others when they make critical comments on a man's behaviour or condition. They may say that his conduct in a particular situation is a matter for shame, that is, if he were an honourable man, his sense of shame would have prevented him from acting in the way that he did.

Like self-regard, shame is a sanction for all those elements that are relevant to the prestige of a family, or an individual. Thus shame relates not only to conduct which is morally bad, but also to any kind of conduct which is only conventionally deviant. And anything which leads to, or is the basis of, low prestige is a matter for shame. Whatever may be the underlying psychological character of shame, its cultural definition amongst the Sarakatsani is the sense or fear of failure. The failure exists to the extent that a man does not possess some attribute required by the image of his ideal self. When a man acts disgracefully he hurts himself. When he is poor or weak, by suffering this condition he condemns himself. And the sense of shame, an essentially internal sanction of action, is related to the external threat of social abandonment, the fear that the community will judge him to be 'lost' (χαμένος).

A number of examples illustrate the relation between shame and failure. When Nasios attempted to seduce a

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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7. A SYSTEM OF VALUES

571 Sarakatsan society offers men only three important corporate
•577 memberships: in the family, the local community, and the nation. Little conflict arises between the obligations created by these different commitments. The interests of the family are normally contained within the purposes of the community when it faces other communities, those of the community are contained within the aims of the nation opposed to the rest of the world. In war, the actions of a soldier reflect simultaneously on the honour of his family, his community, and his nation. And in each instance the honour and interests of the individual and of the group are mutually implicated.

Honour refers to an exclusive identification. The honour of a group is opposed to the honour of another if only for the reason that there is an implicit comparison between different honours in reference to a pattern of ideal attributes. But honour also reflects on the correct status relations between individuals or groups. When two groups are in communication the behaviour of the persons representing them implies, on either side, a certain evaluation of the other group. If a man suffers treatment that is less than his due, his honour, and the honour of the group he represents, are diminished. But in the experience of the Sarakatsani the interests and prestige of families, communities, and nations are inevitably in collision, and this must lead men to exploit others where they can. Thus relations between different groups always carry the threat of the depreciation of the honour of one for the benefit of the other. Although relations between families, communities, and nations refer, ideally, to an equality in honour, yet at each level those who represent these groups must struggle with all their resources of courage and self-discipline to maintain these ideal status relations. These struggles are intense. And in every significant context of action the world is necessarily divided with dramatic definition into own people and strangers, friends and enemies. Consequently relationship radically
[609] affects the forms of approved behaviour. It is a virtue generally to cheat, deceive, and lie to non-kinsmen, but the same conduct towards kinsmen would be shameful and, often, sinful as well. The values of honour and prestige are exclusive and

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particularist. They have a moral content of their own but they cannot be referred to any universal moral principle. 571 577

For the Sarakatsani, family honour is the chief concern. Indeed, the honour of community or nation is, in their view, a projection of the concept of family honour. This honour is shared in two senses; intensively, by those whose reputation is identified by their membership in the same family; extensively, by the community of families sharing in common a system of values by which they judge one another's position and performance. Honour depends not upon the consciences of the individuals in a family whose reputation is under scrutiny, but on the concessions and reluctant approval of other families. Most of these are unrelated and hostile. Since the threat of denigration is continuous, it must be balanced by the repeated exhibition of those qualities that support honour and prestige: self-assertive courage in men, modest virtue in women. In the one case by social convention, in the other by its negative character, the presence of these qualities is more often revealed by attitudes and appearances than substantive proof. There is an emphasis on opinions and appearances, not facts. The consequences of action rather than the intentions behind it are important. This does not mean that private shame for undiscovered failure does not exist. But, inevitably, ideas about individual moral responsibility are blurred, and undiscovered shame is not as morally serious as public disgrace. 571 577 59

Reputation is impossible without strength. Poverty is a mark of failure, not a virtue. Strength in sheep and in men encourages others to respect a family's honour, it attracts dependent kinsmen whose support further extends influence and prestige. Honour and strength are linked. If a family is without sons the call of honour may find a man in the dilemma that if honour is lost the moral existence of the family collapses, or if honour is vindicated his family becomes a leaderless group of women and children dependent on the generosity of kinsmen, a condition which must eventually affect prestige and, perhaps, honour as well. Honour, and the obligation to die for it, is the ideal value, but the sacrifice necessarily weakens the family. Honour remains integral, but becomes more vulnerable. A family needs at least one man in the role of unmarried brother whose unreflecting courage guards its [235]

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
●577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
157 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[627] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [P31]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. What- 59
ever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος) morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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577 578 confrontations are reconciled through the acceptance of competition for prestige as the end of individual and family purpose. For it turns men's minds from thoughts of the physical destruction of their enemies to the alternative of their social humiliation, a form of opposition more compatible with the 156 vulnerable quality of the shepherd's life. At the same time these 577 particular values, if they deny the practicability of universal moral principles and individual justice, present an image of man that is in some ways heroic and not ignoble. Men must be brave and women virtuous to achieve ideal, one might say mythical, forms of acting and being. They are encouraged in the need to discipline their weaknesses by the severity of their mutual criticism; roles are few, and values unambiguous in a common field of experience. But judgements concern the effectiveness of the total social personality, an amalgam of virtues, skills, and material attributes; and not abstract qualities of moral excellence.

571 577 In competitive institutions, although feelings of hostility may remain unabated, opposition becomes a form of mutual dependence; the more men are opposed in this way, the more they have need of one another. The values of prestige recommend the intense consideration of own interests and honour, accentuating always the exclusiveness and separation of one family from another. Yet they also impose the condition that prestige depends on the attentions and opinions of others. They separate; and, at the same time, they create a necessary and close interdependence in the common membership of a community in honour.

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[p.321]

XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the villages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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776 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resis-
781 tance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ἕνα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ 'Αδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collaborator in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of [577] habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 The second category of personal sins relates to family life,
829 and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes
59 and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of
783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a community where masculine values are paramount, it has led the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt. 783 577 562

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form. 783 152 156 [754] [572]

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with 783 828

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil. 771 996 996

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of 831 577 884 [771]

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577 771 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 783 772 But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 574 771 781 796 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [828] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[235] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 771 783 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 154

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

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585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/218 cont./

627 682 [602] [581] [182] 627 628 682 182

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the [562] young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

839 181 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
597 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
(171) it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
(848) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

839 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
(684) acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[574] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[573] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
983 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[574] [794] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[555] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

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671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[627] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

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577 121 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [824] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [888] [609]

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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5. This opinion is also shared by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 61 f. who, referring to some cases of banditry by the Sarakatsani, is largely generalizing. There are evil-doers everywhere. must agree that they are an exception. Their morality positively excludes it.

577

Having identified their principal values, we now understand that almost all of Sarakatsani life is imbued with morality and that it is almost always present, as is proper to types of social life that have not yet been depersonalized, but are based on direct, non-mechanical relations and have preserved their entire human depth.

* * *

Nevertheless, the aspect of moral life that we have just examined does not determine solely and in the final analysis what one must do in daily life, but also what one ought to become, the moral qualities that each Sarakatsani must acquire and with which he must build up his own personality. The values described suggest a model that each man, woman and child must follow and carry out by conforming to it as much as possible. The components of this model we already know, but in different contexts. We must therefore try to synthesize them in a few words and into a coherent picture, despite the risk of repetition.

The Sarakatsani must be temperate, chaste and reserved in his acts, his manners, his language; respectful of the social hierarchy and the discipline prescribed in the rules by which his social life functions; dilligent in the obligations and the exercise of rights related to his role and his social status; he must conform to the prescriptions of tradition to the point of rigidity.

In particular, in order to measure up to his duties, the head of a family or of the Tséligato must show prudence and foresight, action and application in the management of common interests. /240/ As administrator he must show competence, generosity and justice; and as manager and as a

/240 cont./

577 "link with the outside," experience, skill and "sociability" are demanded of him.

As for the groups or group-agents of morality, they are expected to show a restraint in their behavior clearly similar to that indicated for individuals.

* * * *

577 181 The chief observation that may be made on the basis of these cursory statements on the values and moral qualities of the Sarakatsani is that their morality is highly social, and that for two reasons: first, because they spring from collective ideas; second, because they aim essentially at "the common good."

On the first point no comment is necessary in view of the sole and supreme authority of tradition--a collective entity--over values and moral qualitites.

As for the second point, one need only consider each of the fundamental values, their content and objective, in order to be convinced that they correspond only to collective needs and assumptions.

If individuals benefit and if they develop their moral personalities from these values that is merely a parallel consequence. They perfect themselves morally by practicing morality. (6)

6. An analogous assertion is found in Fr. Rauh: L'expérience morale, p. 71, who, citing the formula or Renouvier "to do and by doing become" applied to science, notes that it is also true of morals.

577 182 However, Sarakatsani morality does not aim directly at the moral elevation of individuals. It is concerned chiefly with controlling Sarakatsani society within the limits of its possibilities with moving it toward structuralization.

The functional correlations between this morality, on the one hand, and the family framework, the socio-economic organization and conditions of

/240 cont./

577 [182] Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

* * * *

/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, [867] first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to [626] morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

/241 cont./

577 Now the idea of "honor" depends upon the moral requirements that Saraktsani society imposes on its members. These may be grouped under two headings: minor moral requirements and major moral requirements.

Under the heading "minor requirements" we include every case in which a comparative conformity of individuals or groups to rules, norms, moral
577 propositions, etc., is tolerated. In all these instances the persons
156 involved may conform to norms closely or less closely without dishonor. If a person /242/ succeeds only more or less in embodying the ideal symbolic image presented to each according to his condition, his status, his role, if a person does not succeed in reaching perfection in commercial, economic, or administrative skill (8) (provided he is not a Tsélligas), if

8. Underneath these attributes one finds a "morality of usefulness" according to the terminology of G. Gurvitch, the existence of which is attested by a consideration of the honor those enjoy who achieve it: Ibid., p. 149.

he is not capable of becoming a "rebel leader" or an "animal thief," etc., he is not dishonored, but merely not honored, not distinguished in the crowd. On the other hand, a person is dishonored if he makes no effort to practice "comparative" conformity, if he does not embody this "moral minimum," in other words, if he falls into complete amorality. Saraktsani society has no room for amorality.

Dishonor also falls on the one who goes outside the fundamental rules of Saraktsani life. These are the major moral requirements that no one, under any pretext, has the right to transgress. Individuals and groups are inevitably dishonored if they do not conform to the rules pertaining to the creation and functioning of the family, the rules of chastity, of solidarity, of upholding tradition, etc. In all these instances such persons are exposed to general contempt.

However, the one who comes as close as possible tothe ideal symbolic image corresponding to the situation and who conforms strictly to the major moral requirements is honored by all.

/242 cont./

577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. [626] Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

/243 cont./

577 [180] [67] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

182 /382 cont./
291
261 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
181 women).

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
691 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
691 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
599 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
77 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)

182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

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sound of one another. And although the grazing areas high above the village are spatially more extensive than in winter, they are, however, overstocked. Shepherds have a common grazing boundary with the sheep of two or three other stanis on whose grass they systematically trespass. Between families unconnected by kinship or marriage, relations, acted out during these months in terms of reciprocal hostility and theft, are more intense than in winter. Summer, indeed, is the time for quarrels. It is also the season of festivals. It is true that, if the total community is less dispersed than in winter, this is a relative difference since it is still disposed over an area of some 390 square miles. But summer shepherding conditions allow shepherds the possibility of visiting kinsmen who live at a distance. At weddings and village festivals kinsmen are able to meet and exchange their news, and unrelated men have the opportunity to observe one another critically. In summer, generally, social exchanges whether friendly or hostile are both more frequent and more ardent.

Practical arrangements for the care of the flock have a further consequence. Personal and family honour and pride, which are fundamental values of the community, breed a spirit of intense and aggressive competitiveness that sometimes threatens even the relations of unmarried brothers, more commonly the co-operation between more distant kin in the same stani, and frequently provokes verbal or physical quarrels between shepherds unrelated by kinship or marriage. Yet the simple circumstance that within the one stani each shepherd is physically isolated, or with only a single companion, in the service of the different flocks which have been described, limits the potential moments of disharmony in the family and the stani. The animals allow their protectors no rest except when they sleep themselves; otherwise they must continually graze to remain alive and the shepherds must continually follow them because of the absence of fencing and the presence of wolves and sometimes of human thieves. Each shepherd is insulated, as it were, by his work. In the winter, moreover, the shepherds may be more or less isolated from contact with other unrelated shepherds since there is often no grazing boundary with another stani. In the summer, it is true, there may be common grazing boundaries with two or three different stanis across which shepherds face

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[934] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[577] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 602 619 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [581]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [579]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 571
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 577
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 579
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, νταμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[7] And if either the

[7] The more general meaning of νταμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with

their cousins.

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The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less reasonable. Unless their requirements happen to be similar, 596 what is given to one wife is by definition not given to the other. 578 Inevitably each believes that the other is the better treated. An elder brother often makes a conscious effort to treat his younger brother's wife with particular consideration and tact, supplying from the family purse without debate the money required for all her children's needs; shoes, a new jacket, medicine and so on. This may merely infuriate the elder brother's wife who sees herself and her children sacrificed to her husband's wish to maintain intact the relationship with his brother. On the other hand, the younger brother's wife is seldom grateful. She may not believe that she is being favourably treated and, at best, she will still resent the fact that she must apply to her husband's brother for the requirements of her children.

Yet the break-up of the united group of brothers is not due 596 to the quarrels of the wives alone. As his children pass out of 454 infancy, a father's thoughts are increasingly concerned with the problem of how to provide for their future. For instance, it may be necessary to practise extreme economy for a number of years, or even to borrow money to buy additional sheep, in an attempt to build up a flock large enough to support his sons and provide for his daughters' dowries. Obviously such operations can only be carried through efficiently and equitably when each brother has command of his own share of the family's stock.

The affairs of the family group led by Theodoros Ferendinos 596 (see Chart, page 74) illustrate these problems. After thirteen years together in an extended family the five brothers are considering the need to divide their household and the flocks. It is a family of moderate wealth and prestige owning 365 sheep and goats. The five brothers are known to be resolute, brave, and mutually devoted. Yet although I never observed an open [578] quarrel between these brothers, friction is evident. Four of the brothers are married, two of them have children nearing school age while three of the eldest brother's children are already at school. They are all concerned as to how they will support these growing families. Theodoros the elder brother has four children, but the second and third brothers have only two each. While the group lives in one household it is clear that to some extent the younger brothers are carrying part of the burden of

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596 Admittedly every man must have
[597] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωισμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
443 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
434 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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596 578 159 [165] Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife. [606] Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [861]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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474 602 571 Membership in a 'company' is in principle based on free association, although in particular cases a man without brothers may be so dependent upon the particular kinsmen who form the dominant nucleus of a 'company', that he has, in fact, little choice. But co-operating 'companies' are relatively stable associations only as long as the problems they help member families to overcome remain problems. They are a loose form of contractual association in which each family jealously guards its domestic autonomy and the right to secede at any time. Power to influence the association's decisions lies with the dominant group of brothers from whom the company takes its name, and it is the desire to escape from the position of dependence on this group which leads the more distantly related families in the association to detach themselves from it in the summer months.

474 602 578 Co-operation between kinsmen and affines has its difficulties. So imperative are the interests of a man's own family that sometimes he begins to suspect even the actions of a close kinsman if he co-operates with him: and he, himself, must sometimes fight against the temptation to defraud a kinsman or an affine. The Sarakatsani say that 'every stani has a pimp' (χάθε στάνη ἔχει τὸ ρουφιάνο της). Ρουφιάνος means a procurer and by extension a man without conscience or manliness. In this context it implies that in each co-operating group the cheese merchant is able to find at least one man who for the favour of more liberal credits is prepared to play the part of informer about the secrets of the group. As a statement of fact this is an exaggeration, but it testifies accurately to the strains and restraints that co-operation between related families involves, strains which are thought to be peculiarly inappropriate in the relations of kinsmen.

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children. 609 829 612 577

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy. 612

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has 571 577 626 609 578

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609 not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This,
578 in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation with-
[558] out losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the super-
ordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of
[554] age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a
627 collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go
[682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [607]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [581]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
474 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his [685] sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action [684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 591 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [578] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his 574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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612 605 management, are the cousins least likely to form those important links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who [572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may 612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any 571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are [558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of [578] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who [154] live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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584 within eight days. If the negotiator has worked skilfully, there is little chance of the girl's family rejecting the proposal. Within a few days a kinsman of the girl's family arrives at the future bridegroom's homestead, inviting the family to come to the home of the girl's family on the next Sunday to effect the betrothal contract (τὸ σύβιασμα).

[178] It is only in the last ten years that the betrothal ceremony, under the influence of village customs, has developed into a feast where both the families participate. Previously, the father or eldest brother came alone to the girl's house. He was offered Turkish delight and ouzo (κέρασμα), and immediately afterwards the two heads of family exchanged the rings, an act which indicated the formal sealing of the contract. The girl's representative handed over her wedding ring, tied in a white handkerchief, which contained also, rice, red and white wool, and a gold sovereign. In return, he took from the bridegroom's brother, or father, the ring which was to be worn by the groom at the wedding ceremony. Each side kept the other's ring until the day of the marriage as a pledge that the marriage contract would be honoured.

584 178 At the modern betrothal feast the exchange of rings is effected in the same manner. But in place of the single representative the whole of the bridegroom's family together with various close kinsmen make the journey on the appointed Sunday to the home of the bride's family where they are entertained with feasting and dancing until the early hours of the Monday morning. There is something inappropriate about this act of 584 178 commensality between future affines. At the moment of betrothal there are only feelings of suspicion and distrust 578 between the two sides. This is reflected in the unhappy record of betrothal feasts since this village custom was adopted. Brawling between hosts and guests is not infrequent and generally the result of these celebrations is that relations between the two groups deteriorate yet further.

584 Under the old convention, when the groom's representative arrived to exchange the rings, it was customary to hide away the future bride in the hut of a close kinsman. The ostensible purpose of this manœuvre was to protect the reputation and sensibilities of the maiden from the shame of suffering the gaze of her future father- or brother-in-law. But, also, it was thought

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please 584
the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance [582]
with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when [36]
the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future 584
bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party 178
are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse [578]
the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely 584
secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret. 584 178

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made [578] directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction. 584

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told 583

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, 585
as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to 602
them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing,

[539]

'We have not come for food or drink,
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[9]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted 585
by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. 602
Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's 578
departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress.

[9] Δὲν ἤρθαμαν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πί
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμαν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι' ἤρθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
βρίσκω τραπέζια νόμορφα
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγιομάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς κερνᾶν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαφρύδες.

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585 602 578 [277] Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the 585
assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with 602
the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οἱ συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally [201]
succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the [578]
criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men! From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, 593 who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the 582
community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, 602
they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable 612
marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, 554
tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has 582
analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of 602
kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages 612
between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. 619
For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an [578] ●
example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred ● 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [624] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent. 593 554 578

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles. 593

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister. [222]

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the 593 858

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593 858 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάρικο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 582 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately 593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the 578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 578 461 463 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the specialization of technical roles.[5] Shepherding in the Zagori country demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[5] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[559] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[836] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her
[578] chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[6]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the
sisters have been settled.

[6] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

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593 compromises her sexual honour. Secondly, there is the danger
578 of competitive differences between a father who has not yet retired and his adult but unmarried sons. Thirdly, the rivalry inherent in the relations of brothers is a continuing threat to the solidarity of the family. It grows in inverse proportion to the degree of authority which the father is able to exert, and to the extent that brothers are dependent on one another for co-operative assistance. In each of these instances, we have already reviewed particular sanctions and institutionalized arrangements which generally help to prevent altogether, or to keep within tolerable limits, these types of disruptive behaviour.
593 But in each of these instances, there is also the positive sanction
571 of the mutual identification of interests and the responsibility
578 of all members of the family for the actions of other members, attitudes which follow from a common opposition to all those persons who are not members of the family. And it is to the consideration of the solidarity of corporate family groups, which is a consequence of their mutual hostility, that we turn in the following pages.

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596 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the
577 original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive
627 solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boun-
dary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven him there. 596

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance.

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of 1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by John Stratos.

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 578
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even 596
where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer 597
is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if 627
an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of 628
years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual 619
this community is divided into the two opposite but complemen- 602
tary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking rela- 609
tions in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents 610
co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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Moreover, the produce of the
609 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[903] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στὴ λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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which through common membership can commit him to any 571
duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship 609
or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person 593
would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of 578
betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very 571
clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose 609
they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is 476
established high in the mountains above the village so that the 234
various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular mer- 578
chant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing 571
point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not 609
generally found among those families using the grazing lands 578
of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within 685
the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the pre- [554]
caution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring
and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the [521]
number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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571 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft,
609 which was less often attempted, partly because of the consider-
578 able danger and partly because it made even greater demands
685 on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the
[439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a
[422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some
[554] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [122]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [425]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [625]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [188]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live 609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes 578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [576] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange [521] careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction. 571 609 221 233 578

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a 571 578 571 578 685

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its
571 source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
609 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
233 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
578 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
685 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
[554] the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[6] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] [6] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups. 594 [619]

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. Moreover, unrelated families see their different interests as being in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counterpart of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system 594 619 571 594 619 578 [154]

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960. 577 171 113

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.

●578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but
[482] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions
579 between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive
578 behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[8] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [8] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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577 archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred
793 to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal
562 attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different
[976] exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes
562 of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters
577 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the
● 578 Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is 834
evident. For in this context women are always a potential 562
threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani [535]
of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the 562
management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition 578
is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening con- [521]
versation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffer- 562
ing. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate 571
help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is 831
often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the [833]
male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

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884 156 577 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 577 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (κορώϊδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
597 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἄμιλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
597 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωϊσμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
624 of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
612 that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if he did nothing.

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [P.31]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. Whatever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος), morally as well as practically. 59

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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577 confrontations are reconciled through the acceptance of
578 competition for prestige as the end of individual and family purpose. For it turns men's minds from thoughts of the physical destruction of their enemies to the alternative of their social humiliation, a form of opposition more compatible with the
156 vulnerable quality of the shepherd's life. At the same time these
579 particular values, if they deny the practicability of universal moral principles and individual justice, present an image of man that is in some ways heroic and not ignoble. Men must be brave and women virtuous to achieve ideal, one might say mythical, forms of acting and being. They are encouraged in the need to discipline their weaknesses by the severity of their mutual criticism; roles are few, and values unambiguous in a common field of experience. But judgements concern the effectiveness of the total social personality, an amalgam of virtues, skills, and material attributes; and not abstract qualities of moral excellence.

571 In competitive institutions, although feelings of hostility
577 may remain unabated, opposition becomes a form of mutual dependence; the more men are opposed in this way, the more they have need of one another. The values of prestige recommend the intense consideration of own interests and honour, accentuating always the exclusiveness and separation of one family from another. Yet they also impose the condition that prestige depends on the attentions and opinions of others. They separate; and, at the same time, they create a necessary and close interdependence in the common membership of a community in honour.

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

/134 cont./

586 solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that
587 divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established
182 alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise
[581] to hostilities and disorder.

586 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife,
182 an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the
578 estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can
602 scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective
587 grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives
602 of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the
858 children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If dis-
578 affections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only
[613] the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility
182 of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life
[586] together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the
[587] widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [593] [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. [182] It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
818 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
868 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.
594

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

/168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by
596 comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
578 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
(B24) moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
(128) means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[629] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 692 691 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [199] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 627 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and [474] the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

[17]
[114]

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

/397 cont./

578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories:

Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 627 182 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions, the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tséligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims
121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
591 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
626 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)

182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/400 cont./

578 to the Marxist theory, (3)
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3. On the different meanings of the term alienation in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol, II, pp. 253-258. although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds.
128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].
578 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and
675 distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or
182 psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may
121 be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4).
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

578 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 275 182 183 121 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists [626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates [177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 178 182 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may undertake this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future.

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated vengeance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction.

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 374
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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585 612 273 579 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous excitement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 612 605 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do this not only by their presence but also by lending practical assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first [252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por- [264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual [261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 612 562 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebrations apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the [603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important [252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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5. This opinion is also shared by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 61 f. who, referring to some cases of banditry by the Sarakatsani, is largely generalizing. There are evil-doers everywhere. must agree that they are an exception. Their morality positively excludes it.

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Having identified their principal values, we now understand that almos all of Sarakatsani life is imbued with morality and that it is almost always present, as is proper to types of social life that have not yet been depersonalized, but are based on direct, non-mechanical relations and have preserved their entire human depth.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the aspect of moral life that we have just examined does not determine solely and in the final analysis what one must do in daily life, but also what one ought to become, the moral qualities that each Sarakatsani must acquire and with which he must build up his own personality. The values described suggest a model that each man, woman and child must follow and carry out by conforming to it as much as possible. The components of this model we already know, but in different contexts. We must there fore try to synthesize them in a few words and into a coherent picture, despite the risk of repetition.

The Sarakatsani must be temperate, chaste and reserved in his acts, his manners, his language; respectful of the social hierarchy and the discipline prescribed in the rules by which his social life functions; dilligent in the obligations and the exercise of rights related to his role and his social status; he must conform to the prescriptions of tradition to the point of rigidity.

In particular, in order to measure up to his duties, the head of a family or of the Tséligato must show prudence and foresight, action and application in the management of common interests. /240/ As administrator he must show competence, generosity and justice; and as manager and as a

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may marry a kinswoman of this degree. In other words, the children of a marriage throw away, as it were, perhaps three-quarters[12] of those kinsmen who are recognized collateral relations of the parents. The father, when he identifies himself with the interests of his own children, at once creates a certain kinship distance between himself and any one of his own siblings, the kindred of whose children only partly coincides with the kindred of his own children. Since the descendants of the father's second cousins are no longer kinsmen of his children, they also cease to be significant for him and are not recognized as kinsmen; similarly in the case of the grandchildren of first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of siblings. And the same considerations apply in the case of the mother and her collateral kin. With the passage of time parents turn their loyalty and interest from the collateral kinsmen of their own generation to their direct descendants and to only those collateral descendants who remain relevant for their own descendants; these are necessarily fewer in each descendant generation. 612

From one point of view a man's kinsmen are the descendants of the four sibling groups of his two grandfathers and two grandmothers. Sarakatsan kinship finds its source in the unity of the sibling group born and nurtured within a legitimate family. Collateral kinsmen see themselves as the descendants of such a group and it is this sentiment which provides the basis of the personal moral solidarity with a kinsman. Thus the Greek word for cousins (ἐξάδερφοι) means literally 'from brothers'. But Sarakatsani are, also, conscious that it is through marriages in which the interests of siblings or cousins cannot be mutually identified that kinsmen become separated. For a man is related more closely to a particular kinsman than to the kinsman's child; thus, with the close identification of a father's interests with those of his children and the exclusive concentration of categorical obligations in the family of marriage, the marriages of collaterals inevitably lead to change and a measure of disintegration in the individual's kindred. In a phrase, marriage joins strangers while it separates those who are already kinsmen. The consequences for the children and grandchildren of siblings are that a man has approximately only half his kindred 612 58

[12] The exact size of this fraction depends upon the size of the various sibling groups in the kindreds.

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612 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common
58 with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man
582 may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families
591 who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103–6.

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [753] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [581]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [579]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 571
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 579
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

59 [612] 59 581 602 [574]

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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59 581 602 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

593 581 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and [602] cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

596 571 233

[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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[p.59]

IV

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

1. THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

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I HAVE said that the Sarakatsan family is an isolated and autonomous social group and I have stressed the moral solidarity which characterizes the relations of its members. But the Sarakatsan family, like all domestic groupings, passes through a cycle of development which in this instance begins with the marriage of a man with a woman and normally ends with the final division of the family's flocks between their sons one or two years after the youngest has married. An examination of some aspects of this process makes it possible to give an account of the institutions governing the redistribution of rights over property and persons which accompanies the development of new families and the dispersion of the older groups which have brought them into being. But the autonomy, solidarity, and isolation of the family make this transition difficult and critical. It is not only that it causes individuals real psychological distress when a girl at her marriage must abandon the family of her birth or when another family must receive a strange woman into the circle of their close and exclusive relationships. The marriages of any group of siblings have to be arranged in such a way that the family derives the maximum of prestige from them; and also that individuals relinquish their obligations to the family of origin only when these have been fulfilled, or have been safely delegated to another unmarried member of the group.

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A description of the cycle of family development serves a second purpose. It documents the changing relations in the sibling group which are precipitated by the marriages of its members. The solution of the conflict between parents' newly assumed obligations to infant children and their long established duties and affections to siblings and parents in the family of origin, illustrates the distinction between the relatives of the family and the collateral relatives of the kindred. Indeed, this conflict is, as it were, the growing point of the distinction.

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [602]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [591]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers. 605 [581]

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom. 604

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [579] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his 574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [851] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειὰ μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the [583] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison 583 for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower. [127] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which, 577 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this 583
suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's 577
family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and dis- 584
cussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is [581]
an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a 584
kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct 582
bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their
●581 negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the
602 day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the
602 relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.
[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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585 602 578 577 Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [[71]] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [585] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. 583 577

The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήκω, μωρή, νὰ σὲ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατ'ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γκρινιάρα). 593 562 [581]

The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan 593 581

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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[581] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581] an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584] reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558] does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836] she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684] certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[56] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[73] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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596 577 627 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to 596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two 577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's 627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then 684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot [621] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[591] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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884 156 577 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 577 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

156 885 577 834 152 [844]

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

885 156 581 [826] [251]

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

885 156 593 [152]

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

885 577 828 [842]

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[5]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[5] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep.

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred.

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters.

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of

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581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, [593] and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of [589] another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to
157 feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[4] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [4] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114]

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

(approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the
[583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
431 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality:

R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p.233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/134 cont./

586 solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that
587 divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established
182 alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise
[581] to hostilities and disorder.

586 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife,
182 an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the
578 estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can
602 scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective
587 grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives
602 of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the
858 children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If dis-
578 affections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only
[613] the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility
182 of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life
[586] together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the
[587] widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[876] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
596 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
594 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
[561] which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
682 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the
627 blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.
628

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important
628 lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted
613 several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which
[581] seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stérea Hellas) recently
627

/217 cont./

682 627 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] [602] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 627 628 182 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Otherwise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 682 627 628 182 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies, that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members, the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 682 627 581 182 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals, by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively. They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

627 687 [602] [581] [182] 33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

627 628 682 182

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

[562]

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

837 187 577 Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
494 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
428
583

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Saracatsans. Étude linguistique*, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1905. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1905, p. 38.

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611 determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
612 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[29] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

612 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
[58 2] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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612 58 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 582 591 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103-6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[15] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[15] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered that although it may be hinted through the mediation of kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait

TABLE II

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945–55)

Age at Marriage	*Brides*	*Grooms*
Over 32	2	13
32	2	12
31	6	27
30	7	21
29	10	17
28	17	13
27	14	9
26	22	4
25	25	5
24	16	2
23	6	0
22	5	0
	132	123

many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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And even if his

582 596 [626] physique remains unimpaired he cannot delay the marriage of his first son beyond his thirty-first year without suffering considerable and growing criticism in the community. He must, then, bow to the inevitable, arrange the marriage of his son and in a short time (at the birth of the first grandchild) hand over control; for, as we have stressed, it is not compatible with the values of this community for a married man with a child to be still under parental control and not master in his own house. But fathers do not normally hand over control until they have to. An elder brother, who has no sisters to guard or provide for, may marry a year or two sooner, but the difference is not marked.

[626] Old age, then, and the fear of public criticism and ridicule generally force a man to arrange the eldest son's marriage before his thirty-second birthday. No consideration of the needs of sisters will normally delay this event. And the marriage of other brothers in the middle of the birth order of the sibling group are arranged with the same upper limit in mind. On the other hand, the youngest brother will almost certainly not marry until all the sisters have found husbands. Through the social equivalence of brothers, the duty of watching over and, if need be, avenging the honour of the sisters, is delegated to the unmarried member of the group of brothers. This arrangement recognizes the conflict between the roles of father/husband and brother when they are played simultaneously by the same person; a conflict which, according to Sarakatsan kinship values, can only be resolved in favour of the father/husband. It is an arrangement which, on occasion, may delay considerably the marriage of the youngest brother.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF EUTHYMIOS CARVOUNIS

Group of Siblings		*Age at marriage*	*Age in 1955*
Demetrios	(M)	31	42
George	(M)	30	38
Michael	(M)	32	36
Elias	(M)	Unmarried	35
Amalia	(F)	24	32
Evangelike	(F)	28	28

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The children of Euthymios Carvounis (Table III) are one of those unfortunate sibling groups where all the brothers were born first and the sisters afterwards. The youngest sister has just been successfully married to a villager. But the youngest brother, Elias, is 35 and only now becomes free to find himself a wife.

Naturally, under these conventions, a sister may sometimes find herself without an unmarried brother to act as guardian of her honour. Apart from sibling groups with no brothers, this is likely to be the case where there is only one brother with sisters who are considerably younger and a father who is incapacitated. Pericles Gogolos, for instance, had to marry and succeed his father at the age of 27, when his two younger unmarried sisters, Erasmia and Machoula, were respectively only 23 and 19 years of age.

It appears, then, that the solidarity of the sibling group, as this is manifested in the obligations of brothers towards sisters, ideally demands that all sisters should be married before any of their brothers. In practice, we find that while the ideal is approached, though seldom achieved, when the ages and birth order of the siblings are not an obstacle, in less favourable circumstances it is only the youngest brother who may have to wait some time before marrying. But while the obligations to a sister do not in the main delay the marriages of brothers, the presence of unmarried sisters in the house does effectively prevent married brothers from dividing the extended family household. It is true that in most families, by the time the second brother has married and has children approaching school age, the sisters because of their earlier age of marriage will have left their family of origin. But where this is not so, it is held to be wrong for married brothers to break up the united family group before the sisters are married. In the first place, it is said that brothers who live in a united household are accustomed to reaching unanimous decisions. If each brother has become used to making various decisions for himself, it is less likely that they will agree about whom the sister should marry, and how much dowry in sheep and money should be conceded. Moreover, the traditional element in the dowry, the heavy blankets and personal clothing, claims the better grades of wool from all the sheep of all the brothers for a number of years before the

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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The importance of virginity
is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred 834
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, working in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
605 young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a
[609] wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [P5] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειὰ μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please 584
the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance [582]
with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when [361]
the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future 584
bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party 178
are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse [578]
the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely 584
secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this 583
suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's 577
family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and dis- 584
cussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is [581]
an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a 584
kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct 582
bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 581 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 602 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 602 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage. [152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [684]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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582 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage
602 of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely
602 turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage
612 in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred
602 which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from
612 collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard un-
554 related families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been con-
[558] stantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the 582
community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, 602
they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable 612
marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, 554
tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has 582
analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of 602
kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages 612
between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. 619
For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an [578]
example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 community where social relations are marked by such radical 602 discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily 577 particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or 593
insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is [828]
pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or [688]
strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as [578]
distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the 596
transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It 593
will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be [512]
recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be [851]
expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάριχο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the speciali-
578 zation of technical roles.[6] Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or
463 failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[6] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 578 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life. [559] [836] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in [578] [582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband [461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.*

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important [627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation [584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to [582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

* Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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S 4 554 master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, S 186 physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

S 619 The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education S 619 or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakat- 582 sani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

S 619 The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense 621 of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless 221 a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the 594
living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of 558
some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first [582]
lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent 594
the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its 554
number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of 571
ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [i.e. the head of a "stani" or "company" -- Analyst]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[577] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks.* Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid [252] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted [263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

16 /17 cont./
123 published data. (1)
124
127

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

163 --The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

858 842 562 [582]

162 Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

[582] [114]

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

[125] [178]

165 --Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

[217]

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and
586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden.
587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem-
221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

(113) 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/125 cont./

58 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b)
171 it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree
671 (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no
671 /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all,
186 the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque
[753] you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage
[613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/126 cont./

582 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction
613 of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the
182 same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the
582 Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta:

Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth
613 degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and
193 defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 613 173 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and never beyond that. (3)

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

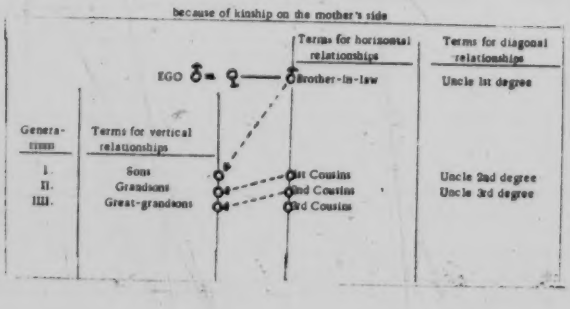
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

[602]
[613]

/128 cont./
582 602 (213) system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses; second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:.,. reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

582 /129 cont./
Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 582 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)

7. In the official law as well.

two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

[788] The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

[171]

/130 cont./
608 That is why the participants afterwards call each other stavradelphia, that is to say "brothers in the cross."

The stavradelphia owe each other fraternal love and a solidarity which sometimes exceeds that of natural brothers. As to their only sister, they owe her protection and support in all circumstances of her life.

The ethnic origin of the participants, or better still, their belonging to different cultural groups, does not constitute an obstacle to the fraternization. For this act may be carried out not only between Sarakatsani, but between Sarakatsani, peasants and even Koutsovalaques. We should keep this in mind because it will permit us to understand the multiple functions of marriage among our herders.

608 Be that as it may, marriage is, of course, prohibited between the
582 stavradelphia and their sister.

It is likewise prohibited between one of the participants and the sisters, cousins and other natural kinsmen up to the sixth degree of another participant, for the latter occupies the place of a true brother in the family of the former.

Fraternization "in the cross," therefore, concerns not only the participants, but also their respective families. Thus there is created "a whole corporation with numerous ramifications." (10)

10. D. Loukopoulou: Ibid., p. 211.

* * * *

582 /131/ From all that has gone before we may conclude that the system of prohibitions examined above prescribes a negative behavior in the sense that the Sarakatsani knows perfectly well who the individuals are who cannot be considered as potential spouses; but he never knows who the individual is whom he will marry. The marriage rules of Sarakatsani society do not prescribe marriage of one of its members with a specific person.
[583] Consequently, it is certain that we are faced with a generalized system of exchange of women, (11) the existence of which plays a very important

/131 cont./

582 [583] role in the social life of these nomads.

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 582 [183] As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 582 584 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves. The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the [583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

[114] 12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

607 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 186 184 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended: the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 171 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 184 186 [582] The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

* * * *

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
428
583

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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 We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 426 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προυκιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of [178] demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούι. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[6] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express. 585 596 283 289 585 596 152

During the early months of the marriage the young husband gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence, 585 593 596

[6] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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The children of Euthymios Carvounis (Table III) are one of those unfortunate sibling groups where all the brothers were born first and the sisters afterwards. The youngest sister has just been successfully married to a villager. But the youngest brother, Elias, is 35 and only now becomes free to find himself a wife.

Naturally, under these conventions, a sister may sometimes find herself without an unmarried brother to act as guardian of her honour. Apart from sibling groups with no brothers, this is likely to be the case where there is only one brother with sisters who are considerably younger and a father who is incapacitated. Pericles Gogolos, for instance, had to marry and succeed his father at the age of 27, when his two younger unmarried sisters, Erasmia and Machoula, were respectively only 23 and 19 years of age.

It appears, then, that the solidarity of the sibling group, as this is manifested in the obligations of brothers towards sisters, ideally demands that all sisters should be married before any of their brothers. In practice, we find that while the ideal is approached, though seldom achieved, when the ages and birth order of the siblings are not an obstacle, in less favourable circumstances it is only the youngest brother who may have to wait some time before marrying. But while the obligations to a sister do not in the main delay the marriages of brothers, the presence of unmarried sisters in the house does effectively prevent married brothers from dividing the extended family household. It is true that in most families, by the time the second brother has married and has children approaching school age, the sisters because of their earlier age of marriage will have left their family of origin. But where this is not so, it is held to be wrong for married brothers to break up the united family group before the sisters are married. In the first place, it is said that brothers who live in a united household are accustomed to reaching unanimous decisions. If each brother has become used to making various decisions for himself, it is less likely that they will agree about whom the sister should marry, and how much dowry in sheep and money should be conceded. Moreover, the traditional element in the dowry, the heavy blankets and personal clothing, claims the better grades of wool from all the sheep of all the brothers for a number of years before the

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῇς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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whose fair hair and black eyes captured his heart, but when his father pressed him to marry another not strikingly well-favoured girl, after some resistance he finally agreed, 'so as not to displease' (νὰ μὴ χαλάσω τὸ χατίρι). A marriage is arranged to suit the requirements of the family group, not the individual preference of the youth or maiden. 584

Since marriage is, from one point of view, a contract between hostile groups, a family which is looking for a bride proceeds with the utmost circumspection, to avoid offending other families with daughters of marriageable age. For this reason they appoint a kinsman or a close affine, generally a senior man with a reputation for skill in these matters, as the marriage negotiator. If the family already have a particular girl in mind, the negotiator will make a tentative approach to a close kinsman of the girl's father from whom he inquires with a great deal of periphrasis, whether he has any knowledge of the family's plans, and how much dowry she is likely to have. The girl's kinsman may undertake to make the inquiries if he does not already know, and report to the negotiator in one or two days' time. If the negotiator has some link of kinship or affinity with both families, he may make a more direct approach to the girl's family.

When the negotiator by one means or another has obtained oblique assurances that the girl's family are willing to consider a marriage proposal, he informs the family of his kinsman. The head of that family now waylays the girl's brother or father in some quiet place, but not at his home. Naturally both are aware why the one has sought out the other. But for a while they pursue a conventional conversation about sheep and weather, until, quite casually, the one remarks that he has a brother or son who is of an age when it is right that he should marry. And then he asks, 'Would you give us the girl so that we may become one house?' (νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς τὴ κοπέλλα νὰ γίνωμε ἕνα σπίτι). At this point he will also mention how many sheep or gold pounds are demanded in addition to the traditional dowry. This too will already be known to the girl's family and is therefore no longer a matter for debate. The other receives the news as if it comes as a complete surprise. He explains that this is not a light matter and therefore he would like to discuss it with his family, and that he will send word to the other's home [583]

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret. 584 178

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made [578] directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction. 584

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. 583 The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the [683] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison 583 for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower. [627] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which, 577 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this 583
suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's 577
family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and dis- 584
cussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is [581]
an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a 584
kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct 582
bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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554 581 The problem of choosing a bride or accepting a bridegroom involves a consideration of the other family's total prestige, the personal qualities of the candidate bride or bridegroom, and the question of dowry. The prestige that a family will derive from the marriage depends on these three interrelated factors. For severely practical reasons a man may value certain elements of the prestige of the family into which he is trying to marry, more highly than others. He may seek an affinal connexion with a family possessing abundant pastures, or a group with a number of brothers, if he himself has none and proposes to co-operate with them. A family rich in stock is sought when the object is to extract a large dowry. Nevertheless, whichever of these, or other motives, is in the forefront of a man's mind, he will not leave out of account, if he has any self-regard, the reputation of the girl's family for honour and honourable conduct.

A man will not normally marry into a family he considers to be of lower prestige. He often attempts to take a wife from a family of somewhat higher prestige than his own, and such is the haunting fear of a daughter remaining unmarried that her family will sometimes allow a daughter without striking attractions to marry a man from a somewhat inferior family. This is so especially in a case where a man has two or three daughters. For in the case where the girl's lineage is distinctly superior to the bridegroom's, the bride's family is unlikely to pay any considerable sum in money or sheep in addition to the traditional dowry.

581 583 554 178 But, in other cases, the gradual introduction since 1945 of a system of dowry that includes the transfer of sheep and money (dowry-wealth) as well as the traditional blankets, furnishings, and clothes, may work against the slightly hypergamous trend that was previously a feature of some marriages in the community. To take a substantial amount of dowry-wealth is, now, a point of prestige in itself, and also in the sense that it increases the total wealth of the bridegroom's family. Thus it happens, more frequently than in earlier years, that a man will take a girl from a family considered to be of a somewhat lower prestige, if this short-coming is balanced by the advantage and prestige of 50 or 60 sheep.

A large amount of dowry-wealth in sheep or money serves as

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωϊσμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
624 of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
612 that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if he did nothing.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos* who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

* Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

585 533 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sudden ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 539 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makaronádes* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makaronádes*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chicago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

585 During the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Gerámata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 583 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber. The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

S 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet, but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
583 the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
S many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
[513] rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
S 585 looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall, with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the bride stood motionless. On either side of her on the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-looking girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kaloriziki!*"
S [576] ("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable. Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move a fraction when other latecomers arrived and hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were effigies in an ethnological mu-
S [292] seum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

G 292 In those Greek villages where the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
G as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder moun-
[184] tains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
000 deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[text continues on p. 79-C]

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 587 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/130 cont./
608 That is why the participants afterwards call each other stavradelphia, that is to say "brothers in the cross."

The stavradelphia owe each other fraternal love and a solidarity which sometimes exceeds that of natural brothers. As to their only sister, they owe her protection and support in all circumstances of her life.

The ethnic origin of the participants, or better still, their belonging to different cultural groups, does not constitute an obstacle to the fraternization. For this act may be carried out not only between Sarakatsani, but between Sarakatsani, peasants and even Koutsovalaques. We should keep this in mind because it will permit us to understand the multiple functions of marriage among our herders.

608 582 Be that as it may, marriage is, of course, prohibited between the stavradelphia and their sister.

It is likewise prohibited between one of the participants and the sisters, cousins and other natural kinsmen up to the sixth degree of another participant, for the latter occupies the place of a true brother in the family of the former.

Fraternization "in the cross," therefore, concerns not only the participants, but also their respective families. Thus there is created "a whole corporation with numerous ramifications." (10)

10. D. Loukopoulou: Ibid., p. 211.

* * * *

582 /131/ From all that has gone before we may conclude that the system of prohibitions examined above prescribes a negative behavior in the sense that the Sarakatsani knows perfectly well who the individuals are who cannot be considered as potential spouses; but he never knows who the individual is whom he will marry. The marriage rules of Sarakatsani society do not prescribe marriage of one of its members with a specific person.

[583] Consequently, it is certain that we are faced with a generalized system of exchange of women, (11) the existence of which plays a very important

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the
[583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

585 /136/ The Principles of Married Life.
602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 (516) custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
(198) but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[574] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
428
583

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [587]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [579]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 591
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 579
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, νταμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[7] And if either the

[7] The more general meaning of νταμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of [178] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the
585 day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen
602 and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father.
[584] After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.[1] The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible 'Thank you' and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

[1] However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered that although it may be hinted through the mediation of kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait

TABLE II

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945–55)

Age at Marriage	*Brides*	*Grooms*
Over 32	2	13
32	2	12
31	6	27
30	7	21
29	10	17
28	17	13
27	14	9
26	22	4
25	25	5
24	16	2
23	6	0
22	5	0
	132	123

many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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[p. 124]

VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [851] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειά μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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whose fair hair and black eyes captured his heart, but when his 584
father pressed him to marry another not strikingly well-favoured girl, after some resistance he finally agreed, 'so as not to displease' (νὰ μὴ χαλάσω τὸ χατίρι). A marriage is arranged to suit the requirements of the family group, not the individual preference of the youth or maiden.

Since marriage is, from one point of view, a contract between hostile groups, a family which is looking for a bride proceeds with the utmost circumspection, to avoid offending other families with daughters of marriageable age. For this reason they appoint a kinsman or a close affine, generally a senior man with a reputation for skill in these matters, as the marriage negotiator. If the family already have a particular girl in mind, the negotiator will make a tentative approach to a close kinsman of the girl's father from whom he inquires with a great deal of periphrasis, whether he has any knowledge of the family's plans, and how much dowry she is likely to have. The girl's kinsman may undertake to make the inquiries if he does not already know, and report to the negotiator in one or two days' time. If the negotiator has some link of kinship or affinity with both families, he may make a more direct approach to the girl's family.

When the negotiator by one means or another has obtained oblique assurances that the girl's family are willing to consider a marriage proposal, he informs the family of his kinsman. The head of that family now waylays the girl's brother or father in some quiet place, but not at his home. Naturally both are aware why the one has sought out the other. But for a while they pursue a conventional conversation about sheep and weather, until, quite casually, the one remarks that he has a brother or son who is of an age when it is right that he should marry. And then he asks, 'Would you give us the girl so that we may become one house?' (νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς τὴ κοπέλλα νὰ γίνωμε ἕνα σπίτι). At this point he will also mention how many sheep or 585
gold pounds are demanded in addition to the traditional dowry. This too will already be known to the girl's family and is therefore no longer a matter for debate. The other receives the news as if it comes as a complete surprise. He explains that this is not a light matter and therefore he would like to discuss it with his family, and that he will send word to the other's home

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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584 within eight days. If the negotiator has worked skilfully, there is little chance of the girl's family rejecting the proposal. Within a few days a kinsman of the girl's family arrives at the future bridegroom's homestead, inviting the family to come to the home of the girl's family on the next Sunday to effect the betrothal contract (τὸ σύβιασμα).

[178] It is only in the last ten years that the betrothal ceremony, under the influence of village customs, has developed into a feast where both the families participate. Previously, the father or eldest brother came alone to the girl's house. He was offered Turkish delight and ouzo (κέρασμα), and immediately afterwards the two heads of family exchanged the rings, an act which indicated the formal sealing of the contract. The girl's representative handed over her wedding ring, tied in a white handkerchief, which contained also, rice, red and white wool, and a gold sovereign. In return, he took from the bridegroom's brother, or father, the ring which was to be worn by the groom at the wedding ceremony. Each side kept the other's ring until the day of the marriage as a pledge that the marriage contract would be honoured.

584 178 At the modern betrothal feast the exchange of rings is effected in the same manner. But in place of the single representative the whole of the bridegroom's family together with various close kinsmen make the journey on the appointed Sunday to the home of the bride's family where they are entertained with feasting and dancing until the early hours of the Monday morning. There is something inappropriate about this act of 584 178 578 commensality between future affines. At the moment of betrothal there are only feelings of suspicion and distrust between the two sides. This is reflected in the unhappy record of betrothal feasts since this village custom was adopted. Brawling between hosts and guests is not infrequent and generally the result of these celebrations is that relations between the two groups deteriorate yet further.

584 Under the old convention, when the groom's representative arrived to exchange the rings, it was customary to hide away the future bride in the hut of a close kinsman. The ostensible purpose of this manœuvre was to protect the reputation and sensibilities of the maiden from the shame of suffering the gaze of her future father- or brother-in-law. But, also, it was thought

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to be imprudent to display the girl in case she did not please the groom's representative. Girls marry strictly in accordance with the order of birth and if the eldest unmarried daughter is ugly or unhealthy a family will sometimes try to deceive an inexperienced negotiator into believing that a younger and more personable sister is the next in order to marry. In any event, whether the bride was particularly ill favoured or not, it was considered wise that the groom's people should remain in ignorance of the bride's appearance until the wedding day. And this was the more easily achieved twenty years ago when the Sarakatsani did not live in, or generally close to, the mountain villages. In the modern betrothal feast, the future bride appears only about an hour before the groom's party are due to depart, that is between four and five o'clock in the morning. By this time the rings have been exchanged and there is no way of retreat left open to the bridegroom. The girl appears in the doorway with a tray of Turkish delight and small glasses of ouzo which she offers to each member of the other party in turn, including her future husband. She disappears, to return a quarter of an hour later with cups of coffee which she again offers to the bridegroom and his kinsmen. The groom's kinsmen invariably demand that the girl should appear much earlier in the proceedings before the rings have been exchanged, as indeed she ought to do if the village custom were strictly adhered to. Invariably, the girl's father and brothers refuse the request, and it is often this refusal which is the beginning of the brawling and quarrelling between the two groups. The traditional seclusion of the girl in a relative's hut, the present-day precaution to produce her only when the rings have been exchanged, the practice of trickery and the fear of it, all indicate the quality of the relations which exist between the two sides at the moment they enter into this contract.

The betrothal contract amongst the Sarakatsani is entirely secular and it is an agreement between families rather than individuals. The groom contracts to marry a certain man's daughter whose face he may never have seen rather than a particular person of the opposite sex. If he withdraws from this agreement, not only does he break his pledged word but he damages the girl's reputation in a way which makes it impossible for her to make an honourable marriage in the future. For it

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584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man
[627] from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour.
[664] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a
178 bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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already had the opportunity to see the girl more naturally at a wedding, a village festival, or perhaps on the road during the two annual migrations between the mountains and the plain. And young men look forward to these occasions as opportunities to assess the virtues of unrelated maidens. But in whatever way a man succeeds in seeing the girl, his purpose must remain secret. 584 178

There is no likelihood of a change of mind on the part of the girl's family between betrothal and marriage. Men and youths lead a public life and their virtues and deficiencies are more widely known than those of their sisters and daughters who live and work in privacy close to, or inside, the huts. The action of the girl's family which is most likely to give grave offence to the man and his kinsmen is not the breaking of the betrothal contract, but unwillingness to enter into it at all. Even if the refusal is made through the negotiator, the situation is serious enough, and the reactions of the groom's family depend to some extent on the diplomacy with which the negative answer is given. The usual formula is that the family are not yet ready to marry the girl. She is too young, and she has not yet completed her dowry, or the supplementary dowry asked for is too high, although this last excuse is not often made since no family wishes to plead poverty. In the event of the refusal being made after the brother or father of the man has made a formal request for the girl's hand, the situation is much graver. In any event, the fact that the man wanted the girl, and was refused, is bound to become generally known. If the refusal is made directly and not through the negotiator, it is more obviously an insult. Such direct refusals are, however, rare. What the rejected bridegroom will do depends upon his estimate of the effect of his unsuccessful suit on his own and his family's prestige in the community. If he believes that he has been made to look ridiculous, he may be driven to attempt the only remedy, abduction. 584 [578]

To abduct a girl against her will is a dangerous undertaking. The man, together with one or two trusted kinsmen, mounted on fast horses, waylay the girl when she is collecting wood or water at some distance from her home. Naturally she resists and on this account she is not always handled with gentleness. One wife, who is now happily devoted to her abductor, told 583

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girl is a proof of courage and strength which refutes this suggestion and reinstates the man's prestige. The bride's family are extremely angry at the time but their reputation is not unduly damaged; the original assertion of their greater worth, which the refusal to give the girl implied, still carries some of its force and there is considerable material compensation in the fact that no dowry need be handed over.

It is, now, easy to appreciate why much thought and discussion is given to the negotiation of marriages. A marriage is an arrangement between opposed groups which involves important considerations of honour and prestige. Its negotiation is a difficult and delicate operation. The importance of the negotiator in the marriage settlement is that he stands between the two groups and prevents any direct collision which might otherwise prove fatal to the conclusion of an agreement. He is able to present to the girl's kinsmen in a relatively objective and calm manner all the virtues of the prospective bridegroom, and to bargain over the dowry in a disinterested fashion which cannot easily cause offence. If the girl's family decline the proposal, he is able to soften the blow so that it does not inevitably lead to the dangers of an attempted abduction.

The ideal marriage negotiator is a kinsman who is also a kinsman of the intended bride. Such a man serves as a direct bridge between the two unrelated and opposed groups. When the bridegroom's family ask a kinsman to act as negotiator and have not yet decided on a suitable bride, he will first search in his mind for a possible bride from those female kinsmen of his own kindred who are not related to the youth. In this way, it frequently happens that a man takes as his bride the cousin of a cousin. In another direction the negotiator may look among the kinswomen of his own wife or the wives of his brothers and cousins. It is not unusual for two cousins to have as wives, women who are themselves cousins or even sisters. Also, it is possible for a man to marry his third cousin. Such a union has the obvious advantage that the two contracting families are known to one another, but, among some Sarakatsani, there is the uneasy feeling that it is wrong that relations originally founded on the confidence of cousinship should be endangered by the ambivalence of affinal ties of which they are well aware.

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582 581 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 602 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 602 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (σύμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage. [152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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585 Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages
602 in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal
[584] is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[3] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible
612 than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol I, Part A, p. ροε'.

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

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* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide.

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[534] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[536] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her
[572] chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.*

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[622] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

* Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [626]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of
others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that
causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a
greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often
through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The
[794] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with
these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only
twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the
feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings
which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they
do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age
[561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect
[286] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought
to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving
cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the
public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested
[544] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-
katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or
through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way
to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her
vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that
she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be
as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,
if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.
A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her
public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in
the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I
have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express
exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.
Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to
move about more freely and with less supervision. She must
appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).
It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife
of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
756 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
579 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps 831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

/131 cont./

582 role in the social life of these nomads.
[583]

* * *

However, one must not think that, by definition, this system eliminates any kind of choice. On the contrary, though preferential marriage is unknown, there are, all the same, rules of a different order which determine unions and which we shall now enumerate.

581 As we have indicated, marriage for love is excluded. A Sarakatsani
582 norm states "that it is disgraceful to marry on the basis of one's own
[183] feelings." In the course of our investigations we met a family of Sarakatsani, married for a long time and having a considerable number of children, who nevertheless, did not enjoy a good reputation: they had married for love!

581 This is because--and that is the third rule of marriage--marriage
582 is the concern of the parents and not of the interested parties themselves.
584 The father of a young man or young girl (12) of marriageable age
[114] (approximately 25 years) seeks among his acquaintances the father of a family containing a child who might marry his child. The choice depends upon friendship, esteem and above all the prestige enjoyed by the family of the future husband or wife. This prestige is based not only on economic criteria (the respective circumstances of the two families), but also on the families' reputation and on the respect shown them by the rest of the
[583] Sarakatsani. The dowry /132/ is unknown. It therefore does not enter in as a factor in Sarakatsani marriage.

12. According to B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 361, it is forbidden to parents of young girls to look for a husband for them. We were unable to verify this prohibition.

584 The choice made, negotiations are undertaken between the two fathers. Neither the future spouses nor their mothers are ever called upon to give their consent or to express their preferences. A trustworthy man is chosen as intermediary. And it is he who vouches for the alliance between the two families and notifies the two parties that the mutual accord has

/132 cont./

584 been reached.

584 The father of the future husband then visits the father of the
574 future wife. And there, while confirming the agreement, he may send for
43 his future daughter-in-law and give her a gold piece or a jewel. For her part, the young girl must offer him, as well as the persons who may be accompaning him, which never include the suitor, table napkins and handkerchiefs woven with her own hands. (13) That is all. From this
584 moment on, the betrothal is completed. However, no contact between the

13. These gifts are not the only ones that one may find among the Sarakatsani in connection with marriages and betrothals. However, we shall not emphasize this point since we have devoted a special work to them in which we discuss them in detail.

betrothed /pair/ is permitted. And it often happens that the future spouses meet and see each other for the first time during the celebration of the marriage.

* * * *

584 The first thing that becomes apparent from this entire betrothal
581 procedure is the fact that the future spouses are regarded by their families as subjects belonging completely to society. (14)

14. On the notion of the socialization of sexuality: R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 233.

Their lives do not belong to them. It is the father of the family who disposes of them as he sees fit in accordance with the conceptions prevailing in his own surroundings. Consequently, they will be married according to what suits the family community and not according to their personal wishes.

Now, the interest of the two families which forms the basis of the choice of future spouses lies in concluding alliances that will permit a reciprocity of collaboration and a strong solidarity guaranteed by the indissolubility of the matrimonial bond.

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
554 give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
[584] of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[178] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/203 cont./

121 67 183 [113]

11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584]

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

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14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Net Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indi#, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(171) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
(182) it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(848) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

(684) If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562 Rape and abduction of a young girl.
684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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S V 191 We started off by trying to identify different groupings among the nomads. Christos Berates was himself of the Karagouni (Arvanito-Vlachs), and even he found it difficult to draw the distinctions in dress between his people and the Sarakatsani and Koutso-Vlachs. The women of the Sarakatsani usually wore sandals with large pompoms attached; the Koutso-Vlach women usually wore an embroidered bolero, although the small hats they once wore have now disappeared in favor of a simple head kerchief. He S V 191 recognized, of course, the linguistic differences and pointed out that the Koutso-Vlachs do not know Albanian the way his people do. When Berates spoke Greek, he did so with a liquid or French *r*, a fact which the Greeks present attributed to his Albanian linguistic background. Other Karagouni V [194] spoke Greek with the same peculiarity.

S 186 When the discussion turned to other customs, Berates indicated that the Sarakatsani (the Greek-speaking group) have their noses up in the air, thinking themselves better than the other nomads. As we have already noted, they have unwritten laws not to marry outside their group. They, like the S V 584 Karagouni, will betroth their sons or daughters without the young persons having seen the proposed mate, while the Koutso-Vlachs allow the young man to see whom he is to marry quite a while before the wedding wreath is put on her head.

S V 511 434 233 [433] Conversation became animated when I asked the men to tell me what the income would be from a "fairly good-sized" flock. They assumed that such a flock numbered 700 sheep, 400 of these producing milk. Each of the 400 can be expected to give 25 okas (an oka equals one and a third quarts) of milk during the winter season and 10 okas in the summer, making a total of 14,000 okas per year. The whole fleece from each of the 700 sheep will average three fourths of an oka of wool, or 525 okas per year for the flock. In addition, about 150 male lambs will be sold for meat. Thus, the income over a year would be, with 30 drachmas equaling one dollar, 74,600 drachmas.

The animation came about when the agricultural-extension worker tried to raise some of the shepherds' estimates of income to what he considered a fair amount. They kept insisting that they received very little but finally reached agreement on the above figures. They were only too ready, however, to list with enthusiasm all of the expenses they had. In drachmas, these items included:

Winter and summer pasture	49,000
Hire of shepherds (6 for flock, each at 5,000 per year)	30,000
Food (chiefly bread for hired shepherds)	6,000
Salt (so sheep will drink more water and give more milk)	1,000
Travel expense of head shepherd	7,000
	93,000

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[15] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[15] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβώνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the
585 602 day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father. [584] After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.[1] The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible 'Thank you' and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

[1] However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[3]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[3] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο κίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses. 585 602

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

585 596 312 415 461 462 482 822

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 585 596 if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[6] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 283 789 one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 585 596 one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152 only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585 gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593 may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596 her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[6] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
P33 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
[522] Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect[6] to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

[6] Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 579
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the 612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins- 571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in [183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin- 585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated 612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people [576] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his 574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main 612
purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some 574
business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy 612
one another's company and other considerations are secondary. 527
On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of [575]
July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number 796
of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast- 612
day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous [535]
dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or [556]
distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is [273]
drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these 585
612

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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine.
612 This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical
261 ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of
[431] wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [539]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 579
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
605 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[8] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Τίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[8] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride. 585 605

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known. 595 612 [294] [513] [533]

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep 612 593 612 605

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582 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their
581 negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the
602 day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the
602 relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage.
[152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs 585
which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides 602
and its limitation within conventional bounds.

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [534]
bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271]
prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535]
contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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585 602 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only encourages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἄξια τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

[578] When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, 585
as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to 602
them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing,

[539]

'We have not come for food or drink,
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[2]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted 585
by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. 602
Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's 578
departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress.

[2] Δὲν ἤρθαμαν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πί
ροῖδούλα, ροῖδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμαν,
ροῖδούλα, ροῖδούλα,
ροῖδούλα, χαμαῖδούλα,
κι'ἤρθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
βρίσκω τραπέζια νάμορφα
ροῖδούλα, ροῖδούλα,
ροῖδούλα, χαμαῖδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγιόμάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς κερνᾶν,
ροῖδούλα, ροῖδούλα,
ροῖδούλα, χαμαῖδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαφρύδες.

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585 602 576 [227] Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the 585
assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with 602
the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οἱ συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally [201]
succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the [578]
criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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585 602 [584] Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[9] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 612 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[9] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol i, Part A, p. 90ff.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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S G 648 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they S G 648 stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a G 829 man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. S 571 648 608 The most effective means of achieving these ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
563 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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'having pride', but also things. A shepherd's crook with a carved wooden handle is the privilege of respected heads of family. It has pride. A tselingas of high lineage trains a horse as a μπινέκι, an animal that will trot with the foreleg and hindleg moving together. Mounted on such a beast his pride is unassailable by lesser individuals. Other men might, without difficulty, train such an animal; a wage shepherd or a brother without an independent household might easily strut about the village square with a carved shepherd's crook in his hand. But these objects have pride only when a status has been achieved; they merely produce ridicule when it has been usurped.

The migrations between the plains and the mountains (particularly the spring journeys) are important occasions for the display of family pride, for then the entire community is on the road together with their flocks and their horses and mules. This is an opportunity to make a direct physical appraisal of a family, its bearing, and its wealth, in a way that at other times is not possible. 'For pride', on these occasions, horses and mules are decorated with coloured saddle-cloths, the sheep are loaded with large and sonorous bells; and if the spring shearing precedes the journey, one, two, or sometimes three long tufts of fleece (φοῦντες) are left on their backs. One or two late-born lambs that have been adopted as household pets are gaily decorated with lengths of coloured woollen cord. Despite the hardships of the journey, heat and dust in the spring, often continuous rain in the autumn, the men and women also give much attention to their own appearances. The women wear their best skirts, bodices, and shoes, the men are continually combing their hair and straightening their jackets. If a family has taken a new bride during the previous six months, this woman, decked in the finest clothes of her dowry, leads the first mule in the train so that she may be seen and remarked by all.

Similarly, a wedding is a setting for the display of pride. Men show pride in the dance by the dignity of their demeanour; each struggles to show himself first in skill and enthusiasm (μεραχλῆς). The visible pride of the riders in the bridegroom's procession brings prestige to his family, but also the individual riders vie with one another in the quality of their horses and accoutrements and the severity of their bearing. For pride,

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554 [585] again, the dowry of the bride is formally presented For pride, article by article to the assembled guests, first at the bride's home, and afterwards at the home of the groom.

The display of pride is an important element in prestige but it must itself be based on reality. The pride of a Sarakatsanos may always be disproportionate in the view of other men but when it is wholly false it leads only to mockery.

* * *

183 577 554 The elements of prestige have been divided into two categories. The first category emphasizes the ideal equality, in the community, of families and individuals of the same sex and age group. Their ideal equality rests on the belief that most Sarakatsani have honour and are honourable, that they struggle to achieve in their lives ideal patterns of conduct. These elements of prestige require of the individual man or woman constant effort and self-discipline. An idea of the essential nobility of the Sarakatsani underlies them. The second category of elements of prestige are factors which to a considerable degree lie beyond the power of the individual, or even the group, to alter. They are all factors (numbers, wealth, leadership of co-operating groups, opportunities to show hospitality, lineage, marriage alliances, and the effective display of pride) which far from positing the ideal equality of families lead inevitably to their differentiation in terms of prestige. And, necessarily, they are caught up in ideas of fate, envy, and the fallen condition of this world.

The two categories of elements of prestige are nevertheless interdependent and both must figure in the evaluation of a family's total prestige. Without the imputation of honour and the quality of being honourable, wealth and numbers only represent a prestige which is, at best, equivocal. And weakness, or poverty, draws in its train doubts about the honour of a family, however socially conformist it may be.

6. THE SANCTIONS OF PRESTIGE VALUES

156 558 One sanction for the conduct, qualities, and achievements that have been presented as elements in the prestige of an individual, or a family, is the simple fact of the loss of this

pondered how I could get into conversation. Soon, with a clap of horny hands, he was summoning the *kafedji* and preparing to depart. The *kafedji* arrived laden with an armload of elaborate gear, and a boy followed leading a horse. The Sarakatsán mounted and laid his crook across his lap. The *kafedji* handed him two six-foot-tall candles, adorned with ribbons and fluttering white satin bows. Then followed all the frivolous-looking white baubles which, as I know to my cost, a *koumbaros* — the groomsman, sponsor, or best man — must contribute to the crowning of a groom and his bride at an Orthodox wedding. There were smaller candles, lengths of cloth in brown paper, parcels of sweets, and finally, the box containing the tinsel wedding crowns themselves. Suddenly my luck changed; as he moved off, a muslin bag of sugared almonds slipped and fell into the dust. I dived for it, ran after him, and, my luck still holding, remembered as I handed it over to utter the ritual phrase of a wedding guest to a *koumbaros*: "*Axioi tou misthou sou!*" ("May they be worthy of your hire!") He reined in, and placing his right hand over his heart, bowed his head in a ceremonious gesture of thanks. Then, after an up-and-down glance and a pause, he asked, in a queer rustic accent, what place I was from. When I had told him, I asked him where the wedding was to be. "Tomorrow at Sikarayia," he said, "two hours from here." After another pause, he said, "Honor us by coming." He repeated his graceful bow, and bristling with his crook and his candles and aflutter with satin ribbons, clattered off.

The carriage that bore us along a narrow-gauge track next day seemed as obsolete as an equipage in a museum. It was high and narrow, the coachwork was painted to mimic the graining of yellowwood, and the upholstery was threadbare tasseled velvet. This delightful carriage, fit for two travelers out of Jules Verne, carried us swaying through the Thracian sky at an abnormal height. The gorges and forests of plane trees, the rocky river beds, and even the scrub-mantled mountainsides seemed far below. Every so often we passed solitary police posts and lookout platforms on stilts, each one a pedestal for an armed and helmeted soldier; reminders of the nearness, and of the danger, of the Bulgarian frontier. Asprawl among the trees and bracken, blown there by guerrilla mines, the rusty remains of carriages were gloomy mementos of the civil war. The country shook in the noonday.

A jovial unshaven face appeared outside the moving windows, as though its owner were flying alongside. It was the ticket collector. When he

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphli, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAVIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

585 Black-clad Sara-katsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were those of the bridal couple. 585 292 [302] The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

585 292 fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his [531] outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

[352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [576] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

585 knees, others leaned back against the wall or the
[516] divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *kombolói* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo,
[413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks.
[233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall;
[532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black
291 kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their
585 soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for
[576] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years.
[191] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

11 Their thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly
192 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made
233 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They
[792] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 [252] [263] The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 262 [273] being moved in and wedged among the company as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred magnificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this [252] delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside. [609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 533 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild [539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Ori!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

585 533 warlike past began, heckled and abetted by sudden ejaculations and shrill shepherds' whistles.

585 539 These Sarakatsáns were not great virtuosos, but they had the merit of vigor and conviction. I was struck by one of their songs in which the last word, *Makaronádes* — a derogatory epithet for the Italians — had obviously, judging by the style of the words and the tune, replaced the name of some much older foe in order to fit the winter campaign of 1941: "Would that I had wings to soar on high, up to the topmost peaks of the mountains, to alight there and gaze down, down over Epirus and over poor Chimarra, to look down on the war, where the Greeks are fighting the *Makaronádes*." The modern ending was a bit of an anticlimax, especially after the mention of Chimarra, that warlike Greek stronghold in the Acroceraunian Mountains over the Albanian border, which is almost as celebrated for its martial stubbornness, in Turkish times, as Souli and the Sphakian Mountains of Crete. There was a distinct trace of anticlimax too, but also of oddity, about another of their songs: "Anyone who wants to go to America, let him sit down and ponder. Forty days at sea, days of sorrow and sighing. They get into a boat and go ashore in New York. They know nobody there, so back they wing like birds." A sad little tale, but most peculiar here because, although in most Greek gatherings of this size at least a half dozen would have spent a few years in Brooklyn or Chicago or Nebraska, Uncle Petro assured me that [167] no one in the room had ever been to America, nor, as far as he knew, any Sarakatsán ever, and ideas of its whereabouts and character, for those who had heard its name, would be as hazy as a layman's notions of life on Mars.

585 During the banquet and the long procession of refilled glasses and the concatenation of songs, the falling shafts of sunlight from the windows had slanted horizontally and veered askew down the room; the long sunlit parallelograms on the opposite wall were turning an evening apricot hue. During these cheerful hours there had been no glimpse of the bride. "She's upstairs," Uncle Petro said, "we must go and look at her," and grasping the shaft of his upright crook like a punt pole, with joints momentarily acreak after a long session, he levered himself to his feet. "*Ta Geramata!*" he said, with a smile, "old age." He led the way up the ladder staircase, and the clamor dwindled.

585 583 Dead silence reigned in the upper chamber. The dowry was arranged along the two side walls: rolled bales of dark homespun for capes and for the bivouacs which are pitched on the march;

S 585 a few of them white, some gray or a dark russet,
583 but most of them black — the colors, indeed, of
S the flocks from which they had been shorn — and
[513] many of them of a matted and shaggy texture, like
S rolled-up smoke. Scratchy blankets with angular
585 patterns were piled in tall heaps, and pillows that
looked as hard as granite, and the bride's black
and white trousseau. In the center of the end wall,
with bowed head and lowered eyelids and with
her brown hands crossed over her midriff, the
bride stood motionless. On either side of her on
S the floor sat her retinue of wild but subdued-look-
[576] ing girls. At our conventional wishes, "*Kaloriziki!*"
("May the marriage be well rooted!"), she inclined
her head a few inches but uttered never a syllable.
Nor, beyond a stiff bow, did she or her lips move
a fraction when other latecomers arrived and
hobnobbed with Uncle Petro and us as indifferently as if the figures at the other end of the room were
S effigies in an ethnological mu-
[292] seum. Their extraordinary outfits, nearly identical except for the flowers and the gold coins that adorned the bride, were unlike anything I had seen before.

G In those Greek villages where
292 the women wear their regional costumes on feast days and for ceremonies — and there are still a large, though diminishing, number — and in some out-of-the-way spots where a simpler working version of this gala rig is worn on weekdays as well, one is astonished by the richness and variety and grace: by voluminous skirts, expanding from tight waists, of Damascus brocade or Broussa velvet; by the soft and tilted mulberry-colored fezzes with long satin tassels, or gold-embroidered velvet pillboxes, or intricately arranged silk kerchiefs; even, in one part of Macedonia, by a headdress topped by a semicircular plume, like the helmet of Pallas Athene. There are satin-covered buttons, chased silver clasps, and oriental filigree from Yanina, and over the velvet boleros and the tight sleeves — or sleeves which may hang slashed and loose from the elbow like the petals of tulips — rivers of gold braid uncoil and ramify in flowing, oriental, baroque, and rococo flourishes as richly and elaborately
G as over an archbishop's cope. In the wilder moun-
[184] tains the costumes are stiffer and rougher, but the basic canon is a dazzling variety of color and material and a style that is fluid, feminine, and
000 deeply romantic. The visions summoned up by

[text continues on p. 79-C]

2. Fermor T-3,4 (no date) 1962

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

Sikarayid village

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[p.79-B]

000 Byron's Haidée and the Maid of Athens are, in fact, pretty near the mark.

585 All was different here. Not only was there no
292 silk, satin, velvet, or gold braid from the West
[286] and the Levant, but hardly a stitch which came
[531] from anywhere but the backs of their flocks and their prehistoric-looking looms, and complex though the costume was, there was not a single foliating curve or circle or ellipse, nothing swaying
[301] or branching or interweaving or flowering. The only rounded things were the chains of necklaces, the gold Napoleons, Turkish sequins, and gold talers that hung around the bride's neck. Another latter-day curvilinear afterthought to the angular whole, and one which was common to both the bride and her retinue, was a wide white goffered or crocheted circular collar like a flattened, hidalgo's ruff, ending at the shoulder in scallops. The complex headdress of flowers and stiff muslin and the veil which hung down the bride's back had the extraneous and charming air of votive adornments attached to a processional statue on a Calabrian or Andalusian feast day. From a rosette over each of her ears a long cluster of ribbons hung; they framed her face like the pendants on the diadem of the Empress Theodora at Ravenna.

But, apart from these festival trimmings, all was made up of stern black and white lines and angles, and so broad and solid seeming were the black white-banded pleats that if any of the girls made a movement, her heavy and unwieldy clothes moved as unpliantly as armor. The aprons, which reached their knees, were as stiff as stoles or heralds' tabards, their tunics were as rigid as dalmatics, and nothing bore any relationship to conventional ideas of the human shape. The costumes were related to the curvature and the jointing of the human body as arbitrarily as are the plates of a metal fish to its prototype, the sections of a toy wooden snake, or the laminations of a samurai's armor.
[301] Their forearms and legs were encased in geo-
[531] metrically patterned armlets and greaves, and the bride's wrists were aclank with heavy bracelets, and all, strangely and touchingly, were shod in stout flat-heeled walking shoes. (Their mothers would have worn pomponned *tsarouchia*.) It was hard to determine, therefore, why these
[531] clothes appeared so beautiful. They exerted, it finally dawned on us, the peculiar captivation of

[p.79-C]

585 292 531 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for every design was made up of straight lines and triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 [302] The bride's face, with the blue cross on her forehead under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 [534] THERE was no time for more of these cogitations. The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"

[533] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns.

[648] He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 831 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [835] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 Her two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 535 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

585 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under [535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex- [283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end [854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing [533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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[p.81-A]

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[362] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[354] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

[p. 81-8]

585 By the light of the fires among the huts, the scene out of doors was assuming a Brueghelish aspect. The dancers were still sedately moving in silhouette, a last spitted lamb was turning over a bed of glowing charcoal, and groups of nomads were staggering about arm in arm, filling the night with cries and laughter. Overcome by wine or exhaustion, a few of them lay fast asleep under the branches in disjointed attitudes, as though snipers had laid them low in mid-career. A heroic but unsteady figure, egged on by his companions, was draining, with head and trunk flung back, the last dregs from an immense wicker-cradled demijohn. Empty, it fell to the ground with a thud and rolled away amid cheers. A flaxen-haired boy, bent double against a tree trunk, vomited the day's intake in a somber gush. Chewing and snarling sheep dogs wrangled over bones.
[354] The huts, vague globes looming out of the night, were now softly lit from within by the glimmer of oil dips and hearths. Deeper still in the darkness, one divined the presence of tethered horses. The singing grew fainter as we reached the railway line.

585 178 "You should have seen the weddings when I was a boy," Barba Petro was saying, as the serpent of lighted train windows grew larger down the valley. "We used to set out on horseback a hundred strong to carry off the bride, firing off our guns as fast as we could load them. *Dang! Dang! Boom! Boom! Dang!* Horses used to be lamed, people wounded, sometimes people actually got killed. Whereas now —"

123 The train had clanked to a standstill beside us. We were aloft once more among the anachronistic fringes and tassels of our Victorian carriage.

"Come to see us up in the mountains, up in the Rhodope!" he shouted as the train began to move. "The plains are no good." He pointed with his crook into the night. "Up in the Rhodope —"

The wheels drowned the rest. The light from the carriage windows flashed down across his dwindling figure at quicker intervals, and the glimmering huts and the fires and the tiny moving silhouettes behind him looked as strange now and as alien to Europe as a nomadic encampment in the steppes of central Asia.

114 WHAT I could not know about these extraordinary people at the time of my visit to Sikarayia, I learned two years ago, when Mrs. Angelica Hadjimichalis' two quarto volumes, *I Sarakatsáni*, appeared. A long lifetime of devotion and study, a great knowledge of the Greek past and Greek art history, and many decades of research and fieldwork among the Sarakatsáns themselves have been

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a [352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on 573 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- [525] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- [22] aneled. If he should die on the road — and the [255] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for [554] his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 766 mourning. When men turn fifty and women 767 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

***

621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[996] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/135 cont./

602 571 182 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a complementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 602 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[520] [494] [605] [572] [492] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 602 536 [583] Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party withdraw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a dialogue between the future spouses: [533] [539]

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose;" she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)
May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
594

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533
585 --O wife! May you have sons
[539] So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
593
594
829

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 613 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkhéim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/249 cont./

842
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262
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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).[A] The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by
[783] the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

A. /See p.119--Analyst/

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825

/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
876

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
864 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: das/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

[606] [607] [213] [782]

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

[171]

789 /263 cont./

585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

[293] [182] [823] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden

789 825 322 531 233 283 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance

777 236 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237]
[832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐπετηρίδ, 5, 278.

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
[178] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
[785] aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[196] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[176] [181] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί ἐνεργείας Δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873,

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[171] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

[184]

788 /322 cont./
789 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
554 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
182 the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[851] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[848] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[585] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[604] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
[844] and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/332 cont./
the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 183

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. [illegible].

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the
789 magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany
[178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the
789 snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual
533 breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the
585 verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in
[581]
[535]
[538]

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] [535] [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/366 cont./

789 533 585 (539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

53 789

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

53 178

533

Table scngs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

[648]

/370 cont./

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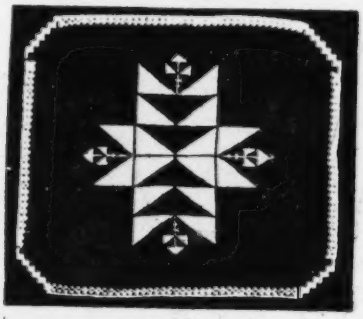

Fig. 107

/371 cont./

53 precisely what the "authorized" sentiments, so to speak, are and the place
152 they occupy in Sarakatsani life.

585 When the bride leaves her paternal hut her attendants perform a song
533 which is supposed to be a dialogue between the girl and her mother:
539 --My rosy apple, where will you take shelter tonight?
152 --You show no tenderness for me,
Why are you interested in my fate?
--I pine away for you
And I shall die if I cannot see you...
--Follow the shore of the sea
You will find three beds
On the one you will see my mother asleep
On the other, my sister,
And on that which is covered with roses
It is I who shall sleep alone...

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
533
539

--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
124
539 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[ff-150]

VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

I. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [589] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[582] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596
854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[556] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[738] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

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[586] together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the
[587] widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.
787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented
[833] by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[785] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[8] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' ('Γίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[8] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
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[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

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droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a church for forty days and then retrieved, is sovereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blunder on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotychs* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above [789] all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close 777 to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p.150]

VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in [171] relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [589] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[4] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [4] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

/18 cont./

165 Now the life which the Saracatsan lead is extremely hard. We do not have any information on infant mortality, but it is probable that natural selection takes place, favoring the strongest and most resistant organisms, so that those who survive are physiologically endowed to reach an advanced age.

It is therefore not out of the question that the presumed longevity of the Saracatsan corresponds to reality. But this applies to only a fraction of individuals, those who have already been selected by nature. Under these circumstances, Sarakatsani longevity remains relative.

On this point, as on so many others, we can offer only hypotheses.

However, it is true that the observer is able to perceive among the Sarakatsani the presence of a considerable number of old people.

589 --Marriage is also very strong here. In view of the fact that the entire social life of the Saracatsan is based on the family, celibacy is unknown and is even considered disgraceful.

582 In general, the men marry between the ages of 25 and 30, and 586 the women between 20 and 25. Divorce and remarriage are forbidden. 587 At any rate, they are never practiced.

361 These phenomena are linked to another phenomenon which, is dem- 221 ographic in nature but which, in the factors that /19/ determine it, touches on the ecological aspect (4)

[113] 4. The term "ecology" discussed as such by the theoreticians (C. Lewelyn and A. Hauthorn: L'écologie humaine in La Sociologie au XXe siecle, p. 477 f.) is used here to refer to the dialectical relations which develop between a group of human beings and their geographic and natural invironment.

of the Sarakatsani world. We are referring to the migratory movements of our herders--movements which take the form of seasonal displacements.

In spring, more precisely on Saint George's day (April 23), the

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

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The family and the flock are both terms divinely
confirmed, the earthly family being a refraction of the Holy 181
archetype Family, while the sheep is a sacred animal blessed by 182
God. These things have always been so, they always will be so. 233
Life is sheep, children, and honour, mutually implicated elements 59
none of which requires any justification of utility or profit. The family is the form in which these three elements are fused; and it is to a consideration of this circumstance and its consequences that the analysis now proceeds.

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III

KINSMEN AND AFFINES

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSMEN

6/2 THE kindred (τὸ σόϊ) includes only those blood kinsmen of a man (or woman)[1] who are formally recognized for social purposes. The Sarakatsani recognize as members of the kindred all cognatic relatives as far as the degree of second cousin, whether these links are traced through the father's or mother's side of the family. In this system, all those persons descended from a man's four grandparents and their brothers and sisters are his kinsmen, except the children of his second cousins, the grandchildren of his first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of his own siblings, who are not members of his kindred. To express this in more general terms, the recognition for social purposes of collateral relations is relatively wide in a man's own generation and subsequently becomes, from his point of view, relatively less wide in each descendant generation. As a man passes through life, critical events, such as his [602] marriage and the birth of children, the marriages of these children and the birth of grandchildren, direct his obligations and interests to his own immediate descendants to the exclusion of collaterals.

6/2 Kindred relationships are considered by the Sarakatsani to ●59 be extensions from the family. Naturally, it is always a member of a man's elementary family who mediates his various relationships in the kindred, parents providing the links with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins; siblings those with nephews and nieces. And although the kindred is a system of personal relationships while the family is a corporate group,[2] the systematic character of the former, and the structure of the latter, are necessarily interdependent and consistent.

[1] Except where there is ambiguity I shall not repeat this cumbersome qualification.

[2] Perpetuity is a quality often premised of corporate kinship groups, whereas Sarakatsan families are limited to a life of some 40 years, i.e. the period which normally elapses between a man's marriage and the division

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 602 619 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

●69 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of [178] demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούτ. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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827 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour
828 is not approved, but in terms of χούζ it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

●59 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and
612 character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[8] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[113] [8] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

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[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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59 581 602 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

593 581 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and [602] cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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IV

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

1. THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

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I HAVE said that the Sarakatsan family is an isolated and autonomous social group and I have stressed the moral solidarity which characterizes the relations of its members. But the Sarakatsan family, like all domestic groupings, passes through a cycle of development which in this instance begins with the marriage of a man with a woman and normally ends with the final division of the family's flocks between their sons one or two years after the youngest has married. An examination of some aspects of this process makes it possible to give an account of the institutions governing the redistribution of rights over property and persons which accompanies the development of new families and the dispersion of the older groups which have brought them into being. But the autonomy, solidarity, and isolation of the family make this transition difficult and critical. It is not only that it causes individuals real psychological distress when a girl at her marriage must abandon the family of her birth or when another family must receive a strange woman into the circle of their close and exclusive relationships. The marriages of any group of siblings have to be arranged in such a way that the family derives the maximum of prestige from them; and also that individuals relinquish their obligations to the family of origin only when these have been fulfilled, or have been safely delegated to another unmarried member of the group.

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A description of the cycle of family development serves a second purpose. It documents the changing relations in the sibling group which are precipitated by the marriages of its members. The solution of the conflict between parents' newly assumed obligations to infant children and their long established duties and affections to siblings and parents in the family of origin, illustrates the distinction between the relatives of the family and the collateral-relatives of the kindred. Indeed, this conflict is, as it were, the growing point of the distinction.

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In 59 a community where social relations are marked by such radical 602 discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily 577 particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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strength is simulated better by the heroic attitudes of self-assertion, pride, and even arrogance. Strength, individual prepotence, is what each man needs to be an effective protagonist for his family, and the protector of its public reputation and honour against the calumnies of those who are also its judges.

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

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554 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its
556 flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[5]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[5] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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particularist. They have a moral content of their own but they cannot be referred to any universal moral principle. 571 577

For the Sarakatsani, family honour is the chief concern. Indeed, the honour of community or nation is, in their view, a projection of the concept of family honour. This honour is shared in two senses; intensively, by those whose reputation is identified by their membership in the same family; extensively, by the community of families sharing in common a system of values by which they judge one another's position and performance. Honour depends not upon the consciences of the individuals in a family whose reputation is under scrutiny, but on the concessions and reluctant approval of other families. Most of these are unrelated and hostile. Since the threat of denigration is continuous, it must be balanced by the repeated exhibition of those qualities that support honour and prestige: self-assertive courage in men, modest virtue in women. In the one case by social convention, in the other by its negative character, the presence of these qualities is more often revealed by attitudes and appearances than substantive proof. There is an emphasis on opinions and appearances, not facts. The consequences of action rather than the intentions behind it are important. This does not mean that private shame for undiscovered failure does not exist. But, inevitably, ideas about individual moral responsibility are blurred, and undiscovered shame is not as morally serious as public disgrace. 591 599 59

Reputation is impossible without strength. Poverty is a mark of failure, not a virtue. Strength in sheep and in men encourages others to respect a family's honour, it attracts dependent kinsmen whose support further extends influence and prestige. Honour and strength are linked. If a family is without sons the call of honour may find a man in the dilemma that if honour is lost the moral existence of the family collapses, or if honour is vindicated his family becomes a leaderless group of women and children dependent on the generosity of kinsmen, a condition which must eventually affect prestige and, perhaps, honour as well. Honour, and the obligation to die for it, is the ideal value, but the sacrifice necessarily weakens the family. Honour remains integral, but becomes more vulnerable. A family needs at least one man in the role of unmarried brother whose unreflecting courage guards its [235]

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
157 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [83]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. What- 59
ever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος), morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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776 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resis-
781 tance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ἕνα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ 'Αδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collabora-
[577] tor in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 The second category of personal sins relates to family life,
829 and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes
●59 and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of
783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is 181
considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is 562
at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior [183]
not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a [602]
unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these 591
preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his 596
father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained 596
on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Else- 591
where in the Greek world, where masculine values and pref- [191]
erence for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after
marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family [594]
of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [861]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591 up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596 is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571 domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422 trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591 are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596 ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422 driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425 passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591 brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596 their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571 only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα από την γδαρμένη άλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [684]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and
594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.
[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young
[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the
612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful
596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
> [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
> despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
> extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live 596 (421) communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 420 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 427 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

● 592

/For information on the composition of Sarakatsani households, see category 596./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
579 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes [626]
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsilingas* or Leader of the stani	Working males over 13 years of age	Working females over 13 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
CONSTANTINE TANGAS		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tsilingas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tselingas or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zyros	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Gregory Kapsalis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.												
‡ Constr. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Theocharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	215	60	275	Detsikas and Chaskis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chaskis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myriounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	5	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chaskis' sister)

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Trellagas* or Leader of the raid	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes re Location of Winter pasture, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3 / 3	3	—	—	0	6 / 6	3	180	0	180 / 180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
14. George Chariss	2	—	3 / 3	3	—	—	3	9 / 9	5	110	60	170 / 170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
15. Demetrios Detsikas		—	1 / 1	2	—	1	—	4 / 4	1	54	0	54 / 54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1 / 1	2	—	—	2	5 / 5	1	80	15	95 / 95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2 / 2	4	—	—	1	7 / 7	1	30	10	40 / 40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2 / 2	2	—	—	1	5 / 5	2	85	20	105 / 105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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354

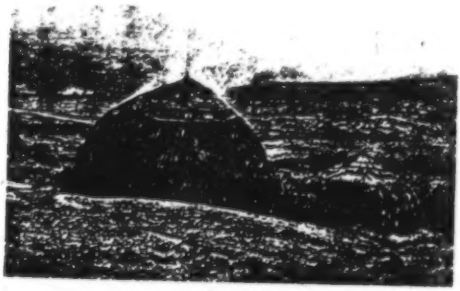

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).▲

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

▲. [Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

We

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly pos-
sessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
• 592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of
522 humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

1: Campbell EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

● 593

/For general information on various inter-personal relationships within the extended family, see category 596./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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59 581 602 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

593 581 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for [602] the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling 593
solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and 581
moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the [596]
risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small 612
extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a 611
feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal 602
principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[6] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express. 585 596 283 289 585 596 152

During the early months of the marriage the young husband gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence, 585 593 596

[6] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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596 their cousins. In many unilineal descent systems, on the other hand, the interests and rights of a woman's children are so intimately related to those of the children of their father's brothers that irrespective of personal feelings, her duty to her own children demands loyal co-operation with all members of the lineage. The weak extended family of the Sarakatsani does not provide a framework with continuity in time in which units segmented in one context may yet be united in another. When the joint flock of animals has been divided, co-operation be- [593] tween married brothers, and therefore contractual obligation, generally continues, but categorical obligations deriving from common membership in the family of origin are no longer valid. An index of this instability of the extended family is the relatively early retirement of the father, which has already been discussed.

An important characteristic of the extended family is that it is based on consent rather than authority. The flock and everything connected with it is held as common property, and since brothers have equal interests in the flock, decisions which concern its welfare are based on a general consensus of opinion. The eldest brother, who normally acts as the executive head, implements the general decision of the group. He also acts as its treasurer and all money is controlled by him. When business affairs take him to Jannina he does the shopping for the whole group, returning with perhaps a pair of shoes for the wife of one of his brothers, a cotton frock for his daughter, and a new jacket for one of his nephews. If one of his brothers wants cigarettes or requires money to play cards in the coffee-shop he comes and states his needs without embarrassment. The younger brother knows from experience what is reasonable and he does not usually make impossible demands on the family's slender resources. If he injures his family, he injures himself. The solidarity of brothers in such matters, even after marriage and the birth of children, is remarkable. Yet gradually, and in most cases with the greatest reluctance, they come to realize that their several obligations to their new families of marriage preclude the possibility of their living together indefinitely in a single domestic household. Observation of the conduct of their wives may often assist them in arriving at this conclusion.

The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins. 474 602

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'. 554 474 593 554 474 [571]

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605 834
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [607]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [581]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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But even
within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not 602 578
mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage [593] ●
and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the 602
extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were 578
discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, 666
Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection 602
of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, 578
however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, ●593 who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [371]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neigh-
bouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he [593]
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάϊ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co-593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience 839 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery. 558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [577] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. 593 577

The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήκω, μωρή, νὰ σὲ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατ'ὁ Θεὸς τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γκρινιάρα). 593 562 [581]

The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan 593 581

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593 581 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and [586] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

596 854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous [855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 858 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore 867
him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep' 858
around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the 861
minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual 862
process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in 863
cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In 858
other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two 861
and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child 593
to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life 858
is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents. 593
The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

868 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[583] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[598] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or 593
insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is [828]
pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or [588]
strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as [578]
distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the 596
transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It 593
will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be [582]
recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be [851]
expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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596 593 626 558 for these arrangements[2] is public opinion. However reluctant a man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 593 233 461 886 There are two other circumstances which may help to persuade a father to cede his position at the customary time. Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country. The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 212 178 596 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[2] i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son
--- Analyst

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [862]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her,

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593 596 [888] domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 858 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 888 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 828 858 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations towards each other but they are morally identified. The responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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ἀπὸ κάτ' ἀπ' τὴ μηλιὰ θὰ πέσῃ). It is thought that God often 593
punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression 828
in another proverb, 'The sins of parents torment the children' 858
(ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).[8] Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God.

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its 593
general character from the close physical and psychical de- 828
pendence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse.

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very 593
strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother 579
possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love.

[8] Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

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593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is
[562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 152 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts
593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading
764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the
152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the
[533] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their
593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in
765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593 ●
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 765
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 558
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 577
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
599 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.
[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his
[558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com-
[471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ἱκανός as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is 593
carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any 593
discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is 861
difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young 858
children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in 593
later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes in- 867
creasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the 858
duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and [577]
prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct 593
authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [573]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [531]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family, 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [626] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent. 593 554 578

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles. 593

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister. [222]

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the 593 858

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593 858 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάριχο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 582 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 578 461 463 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the specialization of technical roles.[8] Shepherding in the Zagori country demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[8] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μάλλωναν καὶ δυὸ τρελλοὶ χαίρονταν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

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593 578 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life. [554] [836] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. [572] [592] Differences in physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband [461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[6]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important [627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation [584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to [582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

[6] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the 593
family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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● 593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

593 885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593 562 462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community. 593 591

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after 593 577 869 [855]

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
[624] role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

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593 compromises her sexual honour. Secondly, there is the danger
578 of competitive differences between a father who has not yet retired and his adult but unmarried sons. Thirdly, the rivalry inherent in the relations of brothers is a continuing threat to the solidarity of the family. It grows in inverse proportion to the degree of authority which the father is able to exert, and to the extent that brothers are dependent on one another for co-operative assistance. In each of these instances, we have already reviewed particular sanctions and institutionalized arrangements which generally help to prevent altogether, or to keep within tolerable limits, these types of disruptive behaviour.
593 But in each of these instances, there is also the positive sanction
571 of the mutual identification of interests and the responsibility
578 of all members of the family for the actions of other members, attitudes which follow from a common opposition to all those persons who are not members of the family. And it is to the consideration of the solidarity of corporate family groups, which is a consequence of their mutual hostility, that we turn in the following pages.

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Moreover, the produce of the
619 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[973] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στη λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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which through common membership can commit him to any 571
duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship 609
or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person 593
would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of 578
betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very 571
clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose 609
they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is 476
established high in the mountains above the village so that the 234
various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular mer- 578
chant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 796 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [776] [783]

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβᾶτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 562

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἡσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is [593] little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the [589] shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

554 Περηφάνια, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to
157 feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word ὑπερήφανος, proud, is relevant.[6] From ὑπέρ and φαίνομαι it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] [6] Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 587 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
585 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
602 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
261 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
[516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here . Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene: One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [593] [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It [182] merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
855 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
593 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
868 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.
594

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 594 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form
593 of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and
[428] the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision
594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593 Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

594 593 /147 cont./ obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533 --O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539]

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
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/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

527 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil
[789] eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must
593

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

/168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by
596 comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
596 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumer-
578 ated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
596 moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself
[626] against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
[128] means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[176] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[168] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/206 cont./

671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
[602] tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes
593 the form of strict law. (19)

> 19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never
593 has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death
428 otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/207 cont./

671 exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited
593 share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and
[428] thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

494 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in
695 Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the
671 Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
[171] it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

-/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

1: Campbell

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/Information on the "company/stani" as a cooperative work group of related families will be found in categories 612/474./

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[13] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[13] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

59 [612] 59 581 602 [574]

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is 181
considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is 562
at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior [183]
not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a [602]
unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these 591
preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his 596
father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained 596
on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Else- 591
where in the Greek world, where masculine values and pref- [191]
erence for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family [594]
of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or 851
the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in 596
a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this [602]
problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live 576
together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. 578
This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often [539]
quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from 576
the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral 612
extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only [594]
corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with
their cousins.

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The
[427] lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, 578 593 who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties 602 to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the [594] elementary family from both the families of origin of the two parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 593 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is 594 established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

Moreover, when ~~a~~ father or brother has given his daughter or 593 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if 606 the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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[p.150]

VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in [171] relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [589] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [354]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάϊ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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[p.263]

X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage 594
prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is [619]
fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. 594
It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or 619
affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular 571
though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. More- 594
over, unrelated families see their different interests as being 619
in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already 578
examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counter- [154]
part of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and 577
I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design* 171
in the Iliad, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated 113
by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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594 619 578 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider structure of Greek society.

But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but [482] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 571 579 578 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[2] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [2] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

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loses its sheep through disease its reputation must fall, but in the 594
living memory of its past greatness it will retain a position of 558
some distinction. On the other hand, if their reputations for wealth and honour are untouched, men of these families may often commit breaches of social convention which leave little permanent mark on their prestige. One tselingas[1] of the 'first [582]
lineage' married his daughter to her second cousin, a marriage permitted by the Church but not by the customs of the community, yet after the first shock of his action had passed, his position in the community was essentially unchanged.

The families which fall between these two extremes represent 594
the greater part of the community, perhaps four-fifths of its 554
number. In their case, it is difficult to determine any order of 571
ranking that is objective since these families show few differences in wealth, courage, and honour. Yet this level of equality is not merely a residual category between the two extremes. However subjectively it may be assessed, each family believes in a particular and detailed ordering of prestige in which it must continually struggle to maintain its position. Always action of one kind must be taken, action of another kind avoided, 'so that you do not throw down your prestige' (νὰ μὴ ρίξῃς τὸ γόητρο κάτω). It is precisely among these families of equivalent prestige that rivalry is greatest. For here doubt and insecurity are considerable, and this is reflected in the display of ostentatious pride, a touchy sense of honour, and a compulsive attempt to conform to accepted standards of conduct. The very intensity of this competition supports the stability of the ranking order at either extreme. Other families in the community have a common interest in refusing to accept any claims of increased wealth or virtue put forward by families of the lowest prestige. In this way they confirm their higher ranking. Similarly they unite to deny the pretension of any of their own number to be a family of 'the first lineage', or to establish other grades of differentiation, since this would lead to a relative lowering of their own positions.

In radical form, then, the hierarchy of prestige, considered objectively, has only three ranks: there are those who are first and those who are last, in either case they are few in number. The majority are in the interstitial category from which pride and their common interest against further differentiation

[1] [i.e. the head of a "stani" or "company" -- Analyst]

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594 prevent any of their number from moving in an upward
554 direction. There is always the possibility of falling to the
571 category of those who are last, but the absence of any great
[558] differences in wealth, and the value given to the struggle to protect personal and family honour, hold the majority of families to an unwilling recognition of their equality in prestige, which is seldom admitted in speech but is less precarious than it seems.

2. HONOUR

577 The social reputation, whether of a man or a family, is a composition of various elements, analytically separable in description but with greater difficulty in life. Among these it is convenient to begin with a consideration of the concept of honour (τιμή) since this is fundamental to any assessment of prestige. Indeed, it is doubtful if prestige may be said to exist in its absence.

The translation of this concept by the English word 'honour' is useful if it is remembered that the analogy is only approximate. In modern Greek usage τιμή is conferred as a sign of the recognition of the excellence or worth of a person. It becomes the respect or esteem owed to certain persons, for example, to the heroes of the Revolution. From the point of view of the receiver it is whatever raises him up in the eyes of another and gives him reason for pride. In other contexts it may indicate certain qualities or conditions on which the reputation of an individual, or a group, is dependent. More specifically, it refers to the sexual virtue of a woman. It also describes the monetary price, or value, of an object or service. The last instance points to the common element in these various contextual uses. Τιμή expresses the idea of worth, whether this is an economic value in a market, or social worth evaluated in a complex of competing groups and individuals. Most Sarakatsani would understand this range of use, but they restrict their own employment of this word to the three last instances.

577 Among the Sarakatsani the concept refers particularly to
571 the honour of the individual and the family, these two points of reference rarely leading to any conflict of loyalties since the solidarity of the elementary family is so complete. The situations in which this honour is typically violated or betrayed have

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and
● 594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.
[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young
[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the
612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful
596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

/125/

CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 <u>Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions</u>.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 [516] custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
[178] but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

[551] The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
[553] that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
[586] perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
[182] what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
[533] the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.
[533] Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
[539] says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

[593] Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
[594] expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [593] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who [152] betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It [182] merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
855 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
593 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
868 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.
594

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (of my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

[264] /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or
561 guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in
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593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

56 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/145 cont./
121 594 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 593 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and [428] the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision 594 of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social value. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
(593) tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

594 593 /147 cont./ obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
Education	CHILDREN	Freedom
OBLIGATION	HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY	COMPENSATION

594 128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

594 593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

121 593 594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
533

--O wife! May you have sons
585 So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)
[539]

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
182 and make the best of it.
593
594
829

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/157 cont./
596 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a
474 family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know
121 why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on
596 their economic activity.
474

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be
596 profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must
474 be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is
[594] numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomad-
[464] ism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

/33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of pomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
[594] 34. The model of this type of living-together already
[613] existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
[171] Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

596 474 554 434 [436] [581] /163 cont./
not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management 594 554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 474 177 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively. [861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a [872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading [875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this. [562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the 596 594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show [561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 594 613 554 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/164 cont./

596 594 554 [584] Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

[584] [178] However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 606 554 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 554 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/167/

596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

527 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

596 /168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
578 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
[626] moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
[128] means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs, both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
596 474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
[594] extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the

[594] one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.

171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)

113 42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45. Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[B19] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
474

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.
[177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[494] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[494] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

596 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

[571] This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/223 cont./

671 [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources [596] is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the 182 291 261 181 way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [519] [425] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 <u>Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions</u>.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[796] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

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[For additional information on the Tséligato, an economic cooperative the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, see Category 474.]

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/Information on the "company/stani" as a cooperative work group of related families will be found in categories 612/474./

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling 593
solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and 581
moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical [596] aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small 612
extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a 611
feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal 602
principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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596 571 [581] Secondly, the marriage ceremony does not set the seal upon an already established relationship, it only creates the necessary legal and religious conditions for its inception. This is a pertinent fact in a community where, although a man may sometimes have seen his bride before the marriage day, it is most unlikely that he has ever spoken to her. It requires the passage of time and the birth of a child before it can be said in any real sense[17] that an elementary family has been founded. The third reason introduces an economic factor. The Sarakatsan technique of grazing sheep demands for optimum efficiency the co-operation of certainly not fewer than four adult males. An undivided household means an undivided flock, and generally sufficient shepherds to look after it. It is true that after partition brothers normally continue to run their sheep together, but sheep must then be branded, accounts kept, and in different ways the possibility of friction between the associated brothers is greater than when the flock is undivided.[18, 19]

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[17] As opposed to its formal establishment at the religious ceremony of marriage.

[113] [18] Parts of this chapter appear in an essay, 'The Kindred in a Greek Mountain Community', included in *Mediterranean Countrymen*, edited by Julian Pitt-Rivers, Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1963. This volume has been published in the series 'Recherches Mediterranéennes' of La Maison des Sciences de L'Homme. I am grateful for permission to reprint this material.

[113] [171] [19] The degree to which my analysis of the Sarakatsan kindred is valid for Greek rural communities in general may be judged by comparing it with Ernestine Friedl's lucid account of kinship usage in her book, *Vasilika: A Village in Modern Greece*, New York, 1962.

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[6] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express. 585 596 283 789 585 596 152

During the early months of the marriage the young husband gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence, 585 593 596

[6] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
P33 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
[522] Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect* to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

* Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family. 596 577 [558]

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase. 596 571

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman. 851 596 [594]

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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851 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work
596 very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she
[555] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is
[606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or 851
the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in 596
a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be
some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his
family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family
of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this [602]
problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct
lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to
either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not mar-
riage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the
group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live 596
together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. 528
This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which
eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that
the differences between wives often provide the occasions for
separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often [539]
quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house
and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν).
'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ
σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that
wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each
wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot
come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of
brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed
in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing dis-
tance between brothers is due to the obligations and affec-
tions which they owe to their children and which replace their
former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives
are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or
some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because
wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their
children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from 596
the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral 612
extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only [594]
corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this
bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common
with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their
affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain
affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with
their cousins.

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596 their cousins. In many unilineal descent systems, on the other hand, the interests and rights of a woman's children are so intimately related to those of the children of their father's brothers that irrespective of personal feelings, her duty to her own children demands loyal co-operation with all members of the lineage. The weak extended family of the Sarakatsani does not provide a framework with continuity in time in which units segmented in one context may yet be united in another. When the joint flock of animals has been divided, co-operation between married brothers, and therefore contractual obligation, generally continues, but categorical obligations deriving from common membership in the family of origin are no longer valid. An index of this instability of the extended family is the relatively early retirement of the father, which has already been discussed.

[593]

An important characteristic of the extended family is that it is based on consent rather than authority. The flock and everything connected with it is held as common property, and since brothers have equal interests in the flock, decisions which concern its welfare are based on a general consensus of opinion. The eldest brother, who normally acts as the executive head, implements the general decision of the group. He also acts as its treasurer and all money is controlled by him. When business affairs take him to Jannina he does the shopping for the whole group, returning with perhaps a pair of shoes for the wife of one of his brothers, a cotton frock for his daughter, and a new jacket for one of his nephews. If one of his brothers wants cigarettes or requires money to play cards in the coffee-shop he comes and states his needs without embarrassment. The younger brother knows from experience what is reasonable and he does not usually make impossible demands on the family's slender resources. If he injures his family, he injures himself. The solidarity of brothers in such matters, even after marriage and the birth of children, is remarkable. Yet gradually, and in most cases with the greatest reluctance, they come to realize that their several obligations to their new families of marriage preclude the possibility of their living together indefinitely in a single domestic household. Observation of the conduct of their wives may often assist them in arriving at this conclusion.

The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less

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The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less
reasonable. Unless their requirements happen to be similar, 596
what is given to one wife is by definition not given to the other. 598
Inevitably each believes that the other is the better treated. An elder brother often makes a conscious effort to treat his younger brother's wife with particular consideration and tact, supplying from the family purse without debate the money required for all her children's needs; shoes, a new jacket, medicine and so on. This may merely infuriate the elder brother's wife who sees herself and her children sacrificed to her husband's wish to maintain intact the relationship with his brother. On the other hand, the younger brother's wife is seldom grateful. She may not believe that she is being favourably treated and, at best, she will still resent the fact that she must apply to her husband's brother for the requirements of her children.

Yet the break-up of the united group of brothers is not due 596
to the quarrels of the wives alone. As his children pass out of 454
infancy, a father's thoughts are increasingly concerned with the problem of how to provide for their future. For instance, it may be necessary to practise extreme economy for a number of years, or even to borrow money to buy additional sheep, in an attempt to build up a flock large enough to support his sons and provide for his daughters' dowries. Obviously such operations can only be carried through efficiently and equitably when each brother has command of his own share of the family's stock.

The affairs of the family group led by Theodoros Ferendinos 596
(see Chart, page 74) illustrate these problems. After thirteen years together in an extended family the five brothers are considering the need to divide their household and the flocks. It is a family of moderate wealth and prestige owning 365 sheep and goats. The five brothers are known to be resolute, brave, and mutually devoted. Yet although I never observed an open [578]
quarrel between these brothers, friction is evident. Four of the brothers are married, two of them have children nearing school age while three of the eldest brother's children are already at school. They are all concerned as to how they will support these growing families. Theodoros the elder brother has four children, but the second and third brothers have only two each. While the group lives in one household it is clear that to some extent the younger brothers are carrying part of the burden of

[Text continues on p. 75]

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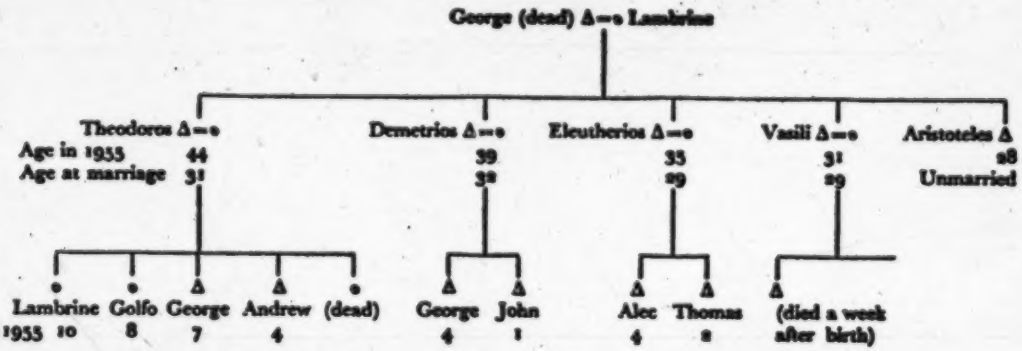
CHART

EXTENDED FAMILY LED BY THEODOROS FERENDINOS



N.B. There are also two sisters not shown in this chart. They were, in 1955, respectively 42 and 40 years of age; the elder sister was married three years before, the younger one year after, the marriage of Theodoros.

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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations. 596

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

596 519 [275] 596 [431] [405] [205]

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596 Admittedly every man must have
[597] some 'self-regard' (ἐγωισμός) but the family had to pay fifty shillings for this watch.

438 During the summer of 1954 Vasili worked for a Thessaly
443 merchant who had come to the Epirus looking for wool. Vasili
434 travelled around the Zagori countryside as his agent, buying up wool wherever he found it. By entering a price in his account book somewhat in excess of the amount he actually paid out, but still below the maximum buying price laid down in the merchant's instructions to him, he was able to make a very pleasing profit in addition to his weekly wage. When he re-
596 turned to the family he gave almost all the profit to Theodoros
454 but secretly withheld six pounds for himself. Vasili had been married only two years at the time, but his wife was expecting a child in the next month. His conscience was clearly troubled at the deception he was practising and in his confession to me he explained that three years ago there would have been no point in keeping any of the money to himself, but now he was married, his wife was about to have a child, and he vaguely felt the need to have some reserve of money which was entirely under his own control.

596 The wives of the four married brothers live together in one domestic unit and work under the direction of their mother-in-law. There are many practical advantages in this situation of which they are not unaware. When one wife is cooking the communal meal, another is collecting firewood or carrying water while the old mother-in-law watches over the children. There are goats to be milked, wild herbs to be collected, clothes to be washed. There is the whole lengthy process of spinning and weaving. In all these multifarious domestic tasks the collaboration of the five women makes for companionship and a certain
596 economy of time and energy. But while the joint operations of
578 the brothers with the sheep are based on a relationship of common identification, the co-operation of their wives is of a contractual character. The partnership works smoothly so long as each wife is thought to be pulling her weight in relation to her seniority. This clearly may often be a matter rather of opinion than obvious fact. And while the brothers are usually careful not to express any displeasure they may feel for one another, wives are only too ready to criticize one another in public.

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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596 578 159 [165] Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife. [606] Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [581]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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591 and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought
596 to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother
591 with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking
[422] there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ καλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting 591
up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury 596
is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple 571
domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, 422
trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals 591
are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, 596
ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are 422
driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal 425
passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual 591
brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up 596
their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case 571
only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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general arrangement of the marriages of a sibling group or if it is an attractive offer for prestige reasons. But it has to be remembered that although it may be hinted through the mediation of kinsmen that a girl is ready to marry, it is always the man's family who must make the approach. If a girl is poor, ugly, unhealthy, or from a family of low social standing, she may wait

TABLE II

THE AGE OF MARRIAGE (1945–55)

Age at Marriage		*Brides*	*Grooms*
Over	32	2	13
	32	2	12
	31	6	27
	30	7	21
	29	10	17
	28	17	13
	27	14	9
	26	22	4
	25	25	5
	24	16	2
	23	6	0
	22	5	0
		132	123

many years without receiving an offer; and, in the end, she may be forced to accept the proposal of a widower or a man with some physical or mental incapacity.

But, providing that all the brothers are not born first and all the sisters last, or that there are two sisters very much younger than the rest of the sibling group, it is often possible to marry off all but one of the sisters before the eldest brother has had to wait beyond the age when he might normally expect to marry. Although the late age of marriage of brothers is not unconnected with the duty of first discharging obligations towards the sisters before a man acquires a family of his own, it is not a simple correlation. It is also related to the balance of power between father and son. If a man marries at the age of 30 and his first son is born a year later, this son will in turn reach the age of 30 when his father is in his early sixties, an age at which he becomes physically incapable of the strenuous life that the executive head of a shepherd family necessarily leads. And even if his

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And even if his

582 physique remains unimpaired he cannot delay the marriage of
596 his first son beyond his thirty-first year without suffering con-
[626] siderable and growing criticism in the community. He must, then, bow to the inevitable, arrange the marriage of his son and in a short time (at the birth of the first grandchild) hand over control; for, as we have stressed, it is not compatible with the values of this community for a married man with a child to be still under parental control and not master in his own house. But fathers do not normally hand over control until they have to. An elder brother, who has no sisters to guard or provide for, may marry a year or two sooner, but the difference is not marked.

[626] Old age, then, and the fear of public criticism and ridicule generally force a man to arrange the eldest son's marriage before his thirty-second birthday. No consideration of the needs of sisters will normally delay this event. And the marriage of other brothers in the middle of the birth order of the sibling group are arranged with the same upper limit in mind. On the other hand, the youngest brother will almost certainly not marry until all the sisters have found husbands. Through the social equivalence of brothers, the duty of watching over and, if need be, avenging the honour of the sisters, is delegated to the unmarried member of the group of brothers. This arrangement recognizes the conflict between the roles of father/husband and brother when they are played simultaneously by the same person; a conflict which, according to Sarakatsan kinship values, can only be resolved in favour of the father/husband. It is an arrangement which, on occasion, may delay considerably the marriage of the youngest brother.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF EUTHYMIOS CARVOUNIS

Group of Siblings		*Age at marriage*	*Age in 1955*
Demetrios	(M)	31	42
George	(M)	30	38
Michael	(M)	32	36
Elias	(M)	Unmarried	35
Amalia	(F)	24	32
Evangelike	(F)	28	28

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The children of Euthymios Carvounis (Table III) are one of 582 those unfortunate sibling groups where all the brothers were 596 born first and the sisters afterwards. The youngest sister has just been successfully married to a villager. But the youngest brother, Elias, is 35 and only now becomes free to find himself a wife.

Naturally, under these conventions, a sister may sometimes find herself without an unmarried brother to act as guardian of her honour. Apart from sibling groups with no brothers, this is likely to be the case where there is only one brother with sisters who are considerably younger and a father who is incapacitated. Pericles Gogolos, for instance, had to marry and succeed his father at the age of 27, when his two younger unmarried sisters, Erasmia and Machoula, were respectively only 23 and 19 years of age.

It appears, then, that the solidarity of the sibling group, as this is manifested in the obligations of brothers towards sisters, ideally demands that all sisters should be married before any of their brothers. In practice, we find that while the ideal is approached, though seldom achieved, when the ages and birth order of the siblings are not an obstacle, in less favourable circumstances it is only the youngest brother who may have to wait some time before marrying. But while the obligations to a sister do not in the main delay the marriages of brothers, the presence of unmarried sisters in the house does effectively prevent married brothers from dividing the extended family household. It is true that in most families, by the time the second brother has married and has children approaching school age, the sisters because of their earlier age of marriage will have left their family of origin. But where this is not so, it is held to be wrong for married brothers to break up the united family group before the sisters are married. In the first place, it is said that brothers who live in a united household are accustomed to reaching unanimous decisions. If each brother has become used to making various decisions for himself, it is less likely that they will agree about whom the sister should marry, and how much dowry in sheep and money should be conceded. Moreover, the [583] traditional element in the dowry, the heavy blankets and personal clothing, claims the better grades of wool from all the sheep of all the brothers for a number of years before the

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wood had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of
[427] the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting
[558] very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties 602 to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the [594] elementary family from both the families of origin of the two parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good [828] standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [884]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a 594
symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the
different members of the family to one another. The shepherd [461]
husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and
if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the
skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and [521]
talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he
will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire [554]
situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the
wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsan
family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the
spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife [593]
for the simple but to him very important attentions which he
associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom
interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a
contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of
action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife 593
is absolute. A wife must show respect (σεβασμός) to her husband
before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the
village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards
behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife 593
never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands 264
erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the [574]
squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband [596]
and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of
the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (προσφάϊ)
is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with
whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of
eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon
the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily
eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality
between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of
the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit
and eat together. For in this most private situation, the
relationship of mutual identification between the members of
the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in
the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and 593
private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[586] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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596 593 626 558 for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. The sanction However reluctant a man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 593 233 461 886 There are two other circumstances which may help to persuade a father to cede his position at the customary time. Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country. The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 212 178 596 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] [i.e. the taking over of family authority by the younger generation] --- Analyst

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [862]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her,

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593 domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth
596 with her various grandchildren around her, the mother be-
[888] comes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but
858 also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing
888 up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right
[596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations
828 towards each other but they are morally identified. The
858 responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association. 596 [421]

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakatsani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood, 596 826 [577] 596 826 828

[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[156] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[234] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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596 422 [583] [434] μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on this common stock according to the needs of his status and situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters, which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother. It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in emergencies.

596 425 428 888 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the family property ought to occur before all the daughters have been married with dowries which represent their share of the commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share in the flock and any other property which the family may own. One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and this property passes with them into the family of the youngest son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half share is retained for his or her support. When the old people eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden. [884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age, which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will not claim this share until he is married and the father of children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth. Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate crime such as incest or fratricide. [684] [682]

596 421 We can see from these facts that in principle the father and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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corporate family, stand as equals in relation to the common 596
flock and the common property. Strictly speaking, the son does 421
not inherit property from his father; rather the father and the son both have claims on the corporate property which they exercise when they leave the group or when the group is dissolved. Through their dowries, the daughters also have parallel claims, and should a daughter remain unmarried she too will receive something, a half share, with which, like her parents, she passes into the family of her youngest brother. The partition of the corporate property and the single household does not come about so much as the result of individuals claiming individual rights, as through the redeployment of the resources of one corporate family group to endow and accommodate the needs of a number of new corporate families which, in part, are sprung from it. That this process of growth cannot be contained within the framework of a single corporation with continuity through time, is a consequence of the bilateral kinship system.

The authority of the head of the family group is limited in a 596
number of ways. In the early years, before the maturity of his children, the authority of the father is unquestioned, but in the administration of family affairs his position, even then, is that of trustee rather than master and owner. A father who squanders the wealth of his family through gambling or inattention to his duties is despised. If the community discovers that he [558]
punishes his wife and children too harshly, or without reason, he will lose prestige. In the later years of the family's development when the father holds his authority over adult sons and daughters, and *a fortiori* during the period when the elder brother presides over an extended family group, the head of the family increasingly exercises an authority which is based on a process of collective decision and unanimity. During these years, for instance, the family head does not buy or sell stock or other property without consulting his sons or brothers. Through discussion, in which everybody participates, a collective viewpoint about conduct and action emerges, and the family is prepared to continue a debate for many hours until unanimity is reached. As opinion begins to harden, the remaining dissenters give way out of loyalty, if not from conviction. So tightly drawn to one another in the mutual

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596 identification of their interests and affections are the members of the family that they cannot tolerate a permanent minority opinion. To dissent is a kind of treason. In a qualified sense, it may be said that authority over the affairs of the corporate family, in the later years of its existence, is corporately exercised. In practice, there are naturally many matters in which the head of the family through his experience in bargaining and negotiation has more expert judgement; and here the family will be guided by his recommendations. But, similarly, he in turn will take the advice of his sons or brothers when difficulties arise over the grazing and condition of the animals.

596 626 No outside person or group has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of a family. The family has an unfettered jurisdiction over its own concerns. Public opinion exerts an immense moral pressure on a family, if the conduct of its members falls appreciably short of the ideals of family life; but it has no means of legitimately and forcibly restraining an unrepentant father 596 or brother. One day, together with a Sarakatsan friend, I was 861 passing the home of a man from whose courtyard we heard a 626 confusion of shouts and cries. Looking carefully over the high wall, we saw the father lashing his thirteen-year-old daughter with a leather belt; it seemed that the girl's only fault was that she was too frail to lift and secure some heavy sacks on to a waiting mule. My friend's fury was evident. Sarakatsani cannot tolerate any form of cruelty to children. Yet he insisted that he could not interfere with the father's action even if he were on the point of killing her. But, lifting a heavy stone, he tossed it over the wall. The man, realizing that somebody had been watching him, at once ceased his blows on the child.

596 Within this autonomous family group there is a certain equivalence of rights and obligations between the members. It must be said, however, that this abstraction and separation of rights and obligations only emerges somewhat artificially in our analysis. Because of their very diffuseness it would not normally occur to an individual to balance his rights and privileges against those of another member of the family. There is no conscious accountancy in this solidarity. In general terms everybody has the right to expect material, moral and affective support from the family, as well as assistance in the event of physical assault. We have already stressed that a person will never admit

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to an outsider that a member of his family is worthy of moral blame in any dispute. We shall discuss again the right to moral support, as well as the right to protection from physical assault, when we consider the concept of family honour. As to the right to material support, this has been dealt with in the discussion of family property. It remains, therefore, to examine a person's right to affective support.

It is only within the privacy and secrecy of the family hut that a man or woman is able to relax, to laugh, to give affection and receive it. The burden of public life is a heavy one. Outside his house a man must be severe and proud. He must strut about like some turkey-cock as if his affairs were matters of abnormal consequence. He must on no account show his emotions unless it be an unrestrained anger at some actual or imagined slight. Publicly, he treats his wife and daughters with disdain, barking at them orders in harsh staccato phrases. An unmarried girl or a wife must walk slowly with measured tread and downcast gaze. Only inside the hut is it possible to abandon these conventional attitudes. After the evening meal, an act of communion to which only a visiting kinsman will be admitted, the whole family, men, women and children, sit or lie around the hearth in no fixed order, laughing, gossiping and asking riddles. The centrally-positioned hearth, around which the family gathers, seems to symbolize a common fellowship rather than a hierarchy of relations. Despite a measure of conventional restraint in certain relationships, especially that between father and daughter, the general tone of the family in assembly is one of the utmost intimacy, solidarity and identification. Trust between brothers is proclaimed in the action of a younger brother who leans his head against the shoulder of his older brother's wife. It is an atmosphere of easy camaraderie and undemonstrative affection, which is impossible with unrelated persons in any situation, and possible for the members of a family only when they are shielded from the public gaze.

A person also has obligations to the family which gives this protection and support. The most general of these obligations is an attitude of loyalty and reciprocal support towards the other members of the family who must be sustained morally and physically in all situations without any consideration of the consequences. A sequel to the affair of the man who beat his

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596 597 (583) daughter which we have just described illustrates the strength of this loyalty. This girl was a regular visitor to our hut. On the first visit after her ordeal, some expression of sympathy was made. The girl's composure was visibly upset, tears came to her eyes and her lips trembled, but she would not discuss the incident and even refused to comprehend what we were talking about. Whatever maltreatment the individual may receive in the family, he remains loyal in the face of outsiders. And indeed there is no alternative, for the individual cannot abandon or change his family, or live outside its limits.

596 157 Secrecy about the family and its affairs is a measure of loyalty and of the internal cohesion of the group. The Sarakatsani are, in fact, extremely secretive. As a matter of policy and habit they never give accurate answers to questions about numbers of sheep possessed or quantities of milk sold. The answers to taxing authorities are diminished, and to other persons, when the purpose is to impress, responses to the same questions are inflated beyond credible limits. The marriage aspirations and negotiations of sons and daughters are guarded secrets. Information about private family life is denied to all unrelated persons; and with reason, because people are always seeking to find or fabricate incidents of intimate family life to destroy the reputations of others. But secrecy goes beyond the point of mere discretion and becomes an end in itself. A Sarakatsanos declines to give almost any personal information to a non-kinsman, even where it could not remotely damage the family's interests or prestige. One housewife will not disclose to another what she is cooking for the evening meal. Two shepherds leading mules meet on a path and pause for ten minutes to deny each other the simple pleasure of knowing where each has come from, what he is carrying, and where he is going. The questions are as pertinent as the answers are evasive. Children are drilled into these attitudes from their early years. Asked by another adult Sarakatsanos or villager who his father is, a child replies with an air of false innocence, 'And you do not know me?' Secrecy erects a barrier around the members of the family and their intimate relations. The family secrets, whether they have significant content or not, are relevant, simply because they represent something which is denied to other people who are not members of the group.

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλη τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

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596 577 627 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boun-
dary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven him there. 596 577

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance. 627

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of 1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by John Stratos. [221] [578]

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596 John Stratos. Accused of stealing the grass of the other group, a
577 young shepherd of the Achnoulas family insulted a brother of
627 John Stratos, who struck him with his crook. Both families heard the shouts and rushed to the aid of their kinsmen. In the scuffle that followed the old father of John Stratos was wounded by the knife of one of his own sons which had fallen to the ground and was then picked up by one of the Achnoulas brothers. He died from the wound. The fight was so confused, with six men grappling in a body, that the Stratos family never discovered which Achnoulas brother killed the old man. Nor did the police. After a lengthy inquiry, nobody was charged with the killing since much of the evidence appeared to suggest that it had been accidental. The Achnoulas family felt reasonably secure from direct attack because of the anonymity of the killer and nothing happened for nine months, until one day George Achnoulas, drunkenly quarrelling at a wedding, told an adversary to take care, hinting darkly that he was not afraid of spilling blood since it would not be the first time. The Stratos family, informed of this incident, necessarily accepted the evidence as sufficient, and an unmarried brother, Charalambos, waited in ambush for George and shot him dead as he walked along a path.

What we are faced with in these seeming evasions, or half evasions, of a duty which is declared to be sacred, is generally not any real weakness in the solidarity of the family of origin, but the conflict of roles between the duty of the brother or son on the one hand, and, on the other, the obligations of a father to his own family, or the right of a brother or son to marry and found his own elementary family at about the age of thirty. This conflict is, of course, related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the isolated corporate family which is associated with it. It places an inherent limit on vendetta. Clearly, a community fragmented into family commonwealths, where the individual's categorical rights and obligations are contained exclusively in this small group, where the help a man can claim from his collateral kin is severely limited, and where a family to exist in any real sense must have at least one adult male to support and lead it, is peculiarly ill contrived to prosecute blood vengeance.

It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the 596
Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an 577
unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed 627
in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to 826
accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent 761
on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil [1115]
cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents 596
to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in 577
prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family 627
almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the com- [626]
munity views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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596 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this
577 terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.
627

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to
596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two
577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's
627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then
684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot
[626] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [625]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[554] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even 596
where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer 577
is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if 627
an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of 558
years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual 619
this community is divided into the two opposite but complemen- 602
tary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking rela- 609
tions in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents 578
co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.

685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[4] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] [4] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (εὐεργεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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S G 439 57 G 441

The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ καλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [511]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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885 828 577 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 596 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind [606] heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 577 554 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 754 [855] But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and [794] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other 577
factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that 554
have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal 577
equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The 554
Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength 596
of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride [142]
of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the 554
father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be 577
killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a 596
girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
●596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

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556 Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[287] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
● 596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[287] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[235] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any 596 person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye 754 is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. 152 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige 554 which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, 577 honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

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[p.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

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This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

[204]
[436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

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[662]

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434

Income	*Drachmas*
190 ewes produced for sale on average 23½ okes of milk per head at 4½ Dr. in the winter and spring	20,092
190 ewes produced for sale on average 7½ okes of milk per head at 5 Dr. in the summer	7,125
Sale of 173 okes of wool (60 okes were kept for the use of the family), at 26 Dr.	4,498
Sale of 78 male lambs at an average price of 120 Dr. per beast	9,360
Total	41,075

[424] This was a fairly satisfactory year for the family. But it has to be taken into consideration that they have a debt of 5,000 Dr. to their winter cheese merchant and a loan of 7,000 Dr. from the Agricultural Bank as well as smaller amounts of debt in two shops.

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and

594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.

[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young

[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a coopérative of an economic order, the

612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful

596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
562 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
593 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
594 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
462 devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature. And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consideration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this context that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social contexts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593 Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

– The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/150 cont./

596 613 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4). A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596 421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended [613] family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

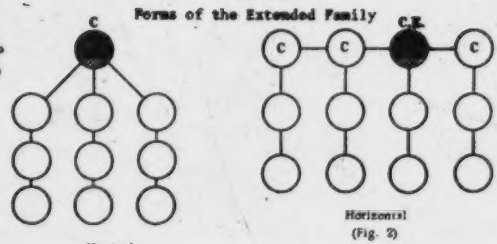
A, /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

/150 cont./

596
613

TABLE No. 4

Forms of the Extended Family



Vertical
(Fig. 1)

Horizontal
(Fig. 2)

C = head

C. E. = elected head

/ 151 cont./

596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [191] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/153 cont./

596 There is, however, a difference, the sociological significance of which is important. While the father in the conjugal family and the ancestor in the extended family are holders of power /154/ that has devolved upon them by reason of their place in the hierarchy of kinship, the elected head is merely an agent. His mandate, implied and included in what everybody expects of him, imposes upon him obligations unknown to the ex officio heads. He thus finds himself subject to the control of his subjects to whom he must render an account of his activity. If his management is slightly or entirely inefficient, he may be dismissed and replaced by another who will better serve the interests of the co-owners . However, here some details are necessary.

The elected head has absolute power in the economic domain. Everyone owes him obedience and everybody must abide by his decisions when they concern the use of the shared wealth. Of course, he may ask the opinion of others. But this is not obligatory, any more that it is obligatory that he follow the opinion expressed. Constituting the chief agent in the economic life of the family, disposing of funds and acting in the name of all, both for production and consumption, the elected manager-chief finally becomes a sort of central bank permanently at the service of the family group. This formula clearly sets forth the prerogatives of the head. And it makes intelligible his obligation to give an account of his activity--an accounting which is always made after the action.

596 461 474 Nevertheless, to speak of "economic exploitation" is at the same time to speak of "work." The principle of cooperation which we have seen in connection with other aspects of Sarakatsani economy is equally valid in the domain of everyday labor. The various tasks that are carried out in connection with economic activity are performed in the name of the group.

This formula means that there is first of all an allocation of work

/154 cont./

596 according to certain rules with which we shall discuss shortly. Each
461 task is assigned to a defined group. It is carried out jointly within
474 the appointed group. In the end, all profit from the fruit of the labor thus divided. The separate efforts merge so that what has been produced separately is enjoyed in common. Thus the extended family seen from the outside gives the impression of a beehive in which everybody works for everybody under the general direction of one head.

596 There is therefore nothing astonishing in the fact that the dis-
434 postion of the income is made according to collective criteria and not
474 individual ones. The income belongs to the group. This rule, constituting the fourth and final /155/ organizational principle of Sarakatsani economy means that the income must benefit all. Nevertheless, this requires explanation, again on the basis of facts.

596 If, after the productive season, chiefly winter, profits have been
434 realized, they are not divided up but invested in livestock. The results
474 are the following: on the "ownership" level the members of the family
454 and co-owners of the family fortune see their wealth increase. On the
556 level of "daily life" nothing changes. The dress of the men or the women, or the harness of the horses may, of course, become more beautiful. But the daily round remains the same. Genuine enrichment is felt on the level of "social prestige." The stani, or simple unit of herding will become a Tséligato, or larger, more important unit, which will attract the lower class of herders who have been less successful. And
[571] the family will find that other families seek alliance with them and compete for their young members of marriageable age.

596 There is no doubt that this increase of prestige will have reper-
474 cussions on the herding enterprise. The social relations of a powerful
556 family are less encumbered by hindrances and hostilities than /those of/
571 a weak family that is vulnerable and therefore more likely to be stopped by them. Everybody will cooperate with the former in a spirit of deference and consideration, anticipating the profits that may be

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
596 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
474 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
434 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
233 However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the
474 guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in
689 order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.
434
[431]

However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the
474 punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is
689 not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect,
431 that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman,
182 and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of
474 the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one
434 may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles
474

/157 cont./

596 474 of economic organization of the extended family that the latter is a family herding enterprise, that has a sharing and cooperative, as well as a communal nature. Thus, the question that now arises is to know why the Sarakatsani have chosen the family as the group to carry on their economic activity.

121 596 474

At first glance it seems normal and natural that relatives cooperate and join together economically. But once again, the appearance does not completely correspond to reality. By referring anew to two of the constant and fundamental parameters of Sarakatsani life, their geographical and social isolation and their activity as herders, we can get to the heart of the matter.

233 596 474 As a matter of fact, in order that traditional herding be profitable, the flocks must be large. Each category of livestock must be cared for separately by several shepherds who will insure its care and its security. The male work force of any conjugal family is numerically insufficient to assume this task. Now, inasmuch as nomadism makes recourse to a labor market outside Sarakatsani society is very difficult, the only solution to be found is in cooperation. (33)

[594] [464]

33. See below p. 197 ff.: Tséligato."

However, owing to the force of circumstances, this cooperation cannot be limited to a simple association between herders, that is to say, to that which contractual bonds of an economic cooperation ordinarily impose on its participants. The practice of nomadic herding, apart from organized society, demands that the bonds /158/ existing between cooperators be close, deep and humane. For our herders, constantly obliged to defend themselves against difficulties of all kinds: bad weather and animal epidemics, Turks, bandits, livestock thieves, packs of wolves, etc., can rely only on themselves and their own resources. Which means that each must be willing to risk his life to all kinds of dangers and above all to expose himself at any moment and without hesitation, in order to safeguard the life and the livestock of others.

/158 cont./

596 474 602 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Something more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 128 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [596] [613] [171] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[36] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

596
462 /159 cont./
[313] as is the manufacture /160/ of the objects themselves. The Sarakatsani
[322] youth specializes from childhood on in wood craft, and is proud of his competence and his skill. Likewise, the work that involves the decoration of these objects is always done by the men. The women never participate, even when it is a matter of distaff or a spindle.

[342] Since certain phases of the construction of huts demand a physical strength that the women do not have (the erection of the framework of the round hut, for example), the men take charge of this work. But here their participation ends. All the Sarakatsani buildings are the work of the women.

[234] As far as milk products are concerned, the men take care of this
[439] work only in very rare cases where the Sarakatsani market these products themselves. All the cheese and butter meant for family consumption is prepared by the women.

[252] The shepherds straying far from camp, as they do during the summer,
[233] prepare their own bread and cook their food. Here necessity prevails over custom according to which women take charge of the preparation of meals.

596 However, there is <u>also another division of tasks, based on technical</u>
233 <u>criteria this time</u>. It concerns, to begin with, the work of shepherds.
463 Each concerns himself with a certain category of livestock, according to his own capabilities. Thus one may distinguish shepherds who are in charge respectively:

--of lambs up to the age of one year,

--of ewes from that age on up,

--of ewes that are pregnant, as well as of milch ewes,

--of sterile ewes,

--finally, of rams.

The most experienced shepherds take care of milch ewes and those that are pregnant. Then come the shepherds who are in charge of the lambs and the little ewes. The other categories do not require special abilities.

/160 cont./

596 Among shepherds who take care of goats, there are similar ranks,
233 namely:
463 Shepherds who take care of:

--goats that give birth and with milch goats,

/161/--kids and she-goats up to the age of one year,

--finally, bucks and sterile she-goats.

596 In order to complete the picture one would have to include among
463 the tasks based on certain techniques the work and the responsibilities
554 of the head. For it is the manager-head who determines the time when
494 each task must be accomplished, the individuals who shall take charge of it, the method and the details of carrying it out. Next, it is always he who secures socio-economic contacts with the outside and initiates the sale of products, buys the necessities and sets up the stock of provisions, finally takes care of the distribution of income and its investment. Therefore, he must possess a certain number of abilities and some knowledge which is not within reach of all and which makes him a specialist in his way.

However, the responsibilities of the head merit a more detailed and complete description. His most important task seems to consists in
(437) carrying out transactions. We will take advantage of the opportunity to describe at the same time this fifth manner of acquisition, which we have not yet examined.

439 The fact is that, the Sarakatsani sell milk, cheese, wool, meat
432 and very rarely blankets.

The money they obtain from them permits them to buy:

--Grains (wheat, maize) which will be made into flour.

--Vegetables (green beans, fava beans).

--Oil, wine, spirits and also coffee.

--Salt and sugar.

--Medicines (quinine, etc.).

--Grains for feeding the livestock during the depth of winter.

311 /162 cont./
233 Finally, the Sarakatsani must locate pastures required for the needs of their flocks, inasmuch as they are unacquainted with landed property.

439 However, the process of carrying out the transactions enumerated
432 presents certain peculiarities which should be mentioned. The sale of
474 Sarakatsani products is always carried out on the spot. The merchant-buyers arrive at the konakia and buy up the entire annual production of milk, meat and wool. The buyer of milk installs on the spot and for the entire productive season a cheese dairy which is clearly distinguishable from the other buildings, for it is built of solid materials and is run by non-Sarakatsani personnel who turn the milk as it is supplied into cheese.

596 During all the stages involved in these activities, the /163/
554 Sarakatsani are represented by their head. It is always the head who
439 takes care of the sales, the services and the location of the pastures,
177 as well as of all contacts with various authorities, and who personally
474 betakes himself to the nearest towns and villages. Thus the majority of shepherds and other members of the family and, therefore, of the Tséligato, may pass all their lives without having major contacts with the outside, so that the risks of acculturation and change are reduced to a minimum.

596 Having said this, let us come back to the other responsibilities of
474 the head. To him falls the duty of stocking supplies for consumption in
554 the small huts built for this purpose. When his subjects have need of
434 something (food, fabrics, footgear, medicines, etc.) they must apply to him. However, in practice he does not await their requests in order to supply them. It is even humiliating for him to receive such requests. For, "to show that he is head" means also to distribute goods by foreseeing the needs of each one.

[454] If a transaction leaves monetary surpluses it is always the head
who invests them in livestock, buying ewes and she-goats, preferably
[436] "for relatives." The money, the instrument of wealth and prestige, must

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
596 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
594 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
[561] which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/164 cont./

596 Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his
594 descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or
554 give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice
[584] of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal
[584] family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated
[198] seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very
[584] significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the
606 wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended
554 family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended
554 family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/165 cont./

596 554 [601] are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] [114] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort

[113]

36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 601 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 561 554 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also are required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

* * * *

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior. The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/167/

596 527 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[954] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

596 /168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
598 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
[626] moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
[128] means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/ first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

596 Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs, both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
596 474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
[594] extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/169 cont./
596 626 exercised by the family.

[113] 39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XXe siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the [867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/171 cont./

596 which ignores kinship through women.

[171] If we have adopted for it the term "extended family" it is, on the
[594] one hand, in order to distinguish it from the conjugal family which is less broad, and, on the other hand, to avoid confusion with the types of families we have just enumerated.

However, this is not all. The Sarakatsani extended family is not a "patriarchal" family properly speaking. It shows some resemblances to families whose patriarchal character is very clear, but it also /shows/ certain very considerable differences. Yet here we must be aware of slight differences and distinguish between the Sarakatsani extended family whose head-manager is the common grandfather and the extended family which is run by an elected head. Let us examine the first instance.

The family managed by the grandfather shows a trait in common with unquestionably patriarchal families, which historical evidence and sociological analysis accept as such in the Mediterranean region; the trait is that of paternal authority and of the principle of management confined to the "patriarch."

596 This point aside, very striking dissimilarities soon loom up.
171 Comparing the Israelite family of biblical times, (42)
113

42. See E. Renan: Histoire du peuple d'Israël, pp. 15-25.

the pre-Homeric Hellenic family (43)

43. See G. Glotz: La Cité Grecque, pp. 708, 45.
Also: Études sociales et juridiques sur l'antiquité grecque, p. 240. Also: Le travail dans la Grèce ancienne, p. 12 f. P. Guiraud: La propriété foncière en Grèce, p. 46 f. Fustel de Coulanges: La Cité Antique, III, chapter IX, pp. 104-110.

and Roman family (44)

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[176] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/172 cont./

596 554 However, by basing our evidence on the very pronounced authority of the common grandfather, we believe that we may characterize it as "quasi-patriarchal."

Let us now move an examination of the character of the extended family managed by an elected head.

The existence of the latter and the possibility of his dismissal does not suffice to characterize it as democratic, since there is not complete equality among its members.

Moreover, contrary to what happens in the bosom of the undivided family of the great family, the head is not considered the equal of the men of his generation. Once elected, he occupies a higher rank than they. All the more is he not the equal of the men of other generations.

596 554 171 (113) In the Slavonic Zadruga (47) the Staréchina, its head, is assisted

47. See D. Novakovich: La Zadruga, pp. 33, 102, 122, 124. É. Sicard: La Zadruga, pp. 135-193, 142, 145, 146, 372. Archpriest Douchich: Le Monténegro, p. 59. Articles 507 and 57 of the Code civil Serbe, and 709 of the Code de Monténegro.

by a council whose decisions, above all in serious matters, /173/ are binding, while the Sarakatsani head determines his actions all alone. In the exercise of his managership the Staréchina may not go beyond the limits that the council has fixed for him--a fact which shows that his initiative is relative. The Sarakatsani head does not come up against anything comparable. Finally, in the Zadruga the post of Staréchina can be held by a woman, something that is never seen among the Sarakatsani.

It is the same with the head of the Kabyle family, the t'amen who is an elected head, or rather an agent, in charge of maintaining order and enforcing the decisions of the amin (his council).(48)

48. R. Maunier: Ibid., p. 64 f.

596 Having established these characteristics, we propose to describe the

/173 cont./

596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal, (49)

[114]

49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is

[829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and

171 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

/174 cont./

596 171 humanization which was the result not only of the brilliance of the gentilices family units under the influence of the City, but also of the general progress of humanistic ideas, above all after the appearance of the Sophists. (51)

[113] 51. The Roman world too knew a similar evolution after the fall of democracy. The Lex Julia de adulteriis: D. 48, 5, 22-1 and other texts show the change: P. 5, 2, 1, G. 1, 117, 118, C.J. 4, 43, 1, etc. On the later rights of the Roman wife: J. Gage: Matronalia, etc. p. 55. Let us also recall the famous definition of marriage of Modestinus: "conjunctio maris et feminae, consortium omnis vitae, divini et humani juris communicato."

Moreover, under the influence of Christianity, Byzantine Greece was acquainted with a family in which "the social position of the wife was singularly elevated." According to the preambles drafted by Emperor Leon VI the Wise, to accompany his Novellae regulating marriage, the woman "should remember that she was created from Adam's rib to be only an ally, a help to the man. It is he who is chief member, the head of a unique body formed by the marriage."

It is therefore not necessary, as is generally done, to refer to Germanic, Teutonic families with bilateral kinship, as Tacitus says, (52)

52. Germania.

whose members bear the name of their agnatic lineage as well as that of the maternal (uterine) lineage, in order to explain the condition of the woman in the family and the kindred, as observed in the area occupied by the Hellenes.

It is even very probable--especially if the theory that the Sarakatsani appeared very recently holds true--that the details of their family structure and their system of kinship were influenced by the ancient Hellenic systems of values and those of Byzantium.

* * * *

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 494 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 420 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 (427) 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/175 cont./
233 details, the role of clients of the family and of the Roman latifunda.
427
571 (54)

54. See J. Declareuil: Ibid., p. 150.

233 Providing funds for small herders. In case of need, the small
426 herder whose income did not permit savings, had no recourse but the
199 peasant usurer--a solution that was actually a vicious circle from which, once having entered it, he found it impossible to escape.

233 By contrast, the Tséligato, having the possibility of providing
404 funds to its members without demanding interest, represented the only
426 rational solution for the indigent.
596

596 /176/ The labor requirements of large herders. When the extended
404 family does not have sufficient man-power to maintain the livestock
426 which, under favorable conditions, increases constantly, it joins with
233 other herders who have smaller flocks and can put at its disposal their
424 supplementary work potential.

233 The need to maintain relations with the outside world, that is to
199 say, with the surrounding society. The simple shepherds are not in a position to fulfill this function for two reasons. First, their very engrossing work demands their uninterrupted presence close to their
[212] flocks. In the second place, they are not prepared for it, for they are generally illiterate and devoid of all social experience.

596 On the other hand, the extended and wealthy families are able to
199 prepare one of their members for the demands of the indispensable socio-
554 economic contacts with non-Sarakatsani, and give them the necessary
404 education to succeed in this delicate task, the substance of which has been described in connection with the function of the head-manager and of which we shall speak again a little farther on.

596 The necessity of defending themselves and of cooperating in the
404 economic utilization of the livestock. Though the extended family
[233] already provides an answer to this problem through blood ties and kinship (affinal and fictive) and through its functions, the Tséligato creates

596 474 /176 cont./
ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

596 474 554 INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato. This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative. [428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns [871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the [868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

/177 cont./

596 474 554 However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

474 [596] Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

474 675 The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/179 cont./

474 554 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage, [434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not [432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 576 198 675 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close observation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 576 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 675 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 554 The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.

The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[627] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 [621] The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/181 cont./

474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[889] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[695] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/182 cont./

474 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the
596 same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families
675 take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

182 As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made
[474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/184 cont./

619 Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One
186 does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter
[474] being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani
474 society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically
596 limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

179 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

177 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign

[171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

596 594 Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the other hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
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/186 cont./

619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
[177] and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

596 In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
594 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
182 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
177 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
474 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.

This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[597] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

436 /192 cont./
437 participants their share of the profits of the cooperative. On the
474 other hand, money becomes very important at the time of dealings with
58 the outside (purchases, renting of pastures, etc.).
[469]
[77]

Although, in daily life, the Sarakatsani does not need money, the
436 Tseligas is obliged to have funds at his disposal permanently in order to
474 handle the financial requirements of business and likewise to provide funds to his subjects if necessary.

433 In the fifth place, it must be emphasized that the Sarakatsani
476 economy is cooperative economy in the sense that it tends toward the suppression of individualism and competition. The underlying assumptions and arrangements are distinctly unfavorable to the latter. There is, first of all, the organization of work on the basis of group membership, for if each of the fellow-workers tried to follow his own way, cooperation would vanish forthwith. Then there is the complete lack of special socio-
[571] professional groups--virtual hotbeds of antagonism and competition.
[421] Central management in the hands of one individual initiative. There is a strong organization and a system of joint ownership.

438 Finally--and this is the sixth and last principle of Sarakatsani
439 economy, very revealing of their way of life--all the activities
462 connected with "acquisition" properly speaking are carried out by the men
434 only. On the other hand, in all cases having to do with "consumption" the activity is confined to the women.

462 Nevertheless, appearances sometimes seem to contradict this rule.
433 The women engage in gathering, the raising of goats and occasionally poultry;
562 they are also in charge of building. However, neither gathering nor the raising of poultry play an important role in Sarakatsani economy. In the tending of goats, women's competence is confined to milking and shearing. The most important aspect of the work, pasturing, is reserved for the men.
462 Finally, the building of huts and sheepfolds does not represent a pro-
342 ductive activity in the same sense as the others. By its nature it comes
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671 [128] We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 429 768 602 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter [494] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same [596] Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
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21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.

[596] Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627 Mauss. (27)
626

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

/223 cont./

671 [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources [596] is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

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789 /322 cont./
554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[351] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[604] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious,
of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants
recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In
studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by
the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme
importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions
connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which
would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now,
it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are
rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward
the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit
from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand.
And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person,
it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act
and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive
situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegiti-
mate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical
instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./
182 families and the Tsiligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and
554 affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up
596 into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers,
788 thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears
182 on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
553 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[471] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
796
178

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Π. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-255 and the bibliography drawn up by Ι. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Π. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 224-226.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 576 564 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

796 788 474 564

/331 cont./

796 474 554 [188] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [176] [474] [554] [574] [182] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 474 596 796 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/338 cont./

764 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
775 of representation which determines magic action.
[776]
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall, [596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
771 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme
775 Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in [764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We [182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[785] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 951 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY
AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

771 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of [594] these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, [688] meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., I 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 103

/347 cont./

771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women, who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

006 /349/

Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

/354 cont./

829 562 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
[596] the heads of families and of the Tseligato, ensures the cohesion of
[494] the group and its good functioning.
[621]

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
[811] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
[562] guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
[177] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
[361] tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

/368 cont./

with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

/369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

121 /378 cont./

--Kinship and male preponderance.

--Cooperation and suppression of individualism.

--A communal life (solidarity--community).

--A cosmology and an anthropology based on beliefs concerning the Mother-Goddess.

--Orthodox Christianity interpreted according to previous beliefs.

But here several questions arise: 1st, Do these idea-principles really exist? Or are they a construction of our mind projected subsequently onto Sarakatsani life? 2nd, Do they govern forth above, hence capable of leading us to a solution of our problem?

From all evidence, only a close study of facts is capable /379/ of giving a satisfactory answer. Let us try therefore to put these ideas to the test of contact with reality.

IDEAS AND PHENOMENA. A CONFRONTATION.

We begin with a remark. If we wish to stick to reality and not indulge too much in abstract fragmentation, it is impossible to establish a single and unique correspondance, individualized and absolute, between an element and an idea, for the simple reason that each phenomenon is related to several ideas and that several ideas converge toward identical phenomena.

This polyvalence of phenomena and ideas is a consequence of the total character of socio-cultural phenomena; we shall therefore have to treat several elements and ideas at once--which makes it inconvenient for the economy of this text (one will often have the impression of going around in circles and repeating oneself), but also an advantage: shedding light on the organic ties existing between the parts.

182 596 Now, the confrontation of phenomena and ideas leads us to the following conclusions:

Herding, kinship, cooperation and community determine the adoption of the family group, the extended family as a form of group life. They raise

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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583

182 /380 cont./
596 even have the right to a dowry. The patrimony of the men and patrilocal
[562] families must never be reduced.

All communal life, social as well as economic, presupposes organi-
[474] zation. The Sarakatsani family and, with even better reason, the Tséligato have an organization and a very strong one. This is because struggle and defense, the results of isolation, can be much more effectivly ensured when the group is organized. And economic activity proves more profitable, especially under difficult conditions, when it is supported by beneficial organization. The organization of the Sarakatsani family group presupposes power centralized in the hands of a head entrusted with social and economic authority. It is dictated, first
[233] of all by the technology of herding which requires the shepherds always to live near the livestock and prevents them from being involved in management and community (2)

[224] 2. It is very characteristic that the Sarakatsani are not hunters. "If we take up the gun," they say, "herding will be finished." The livestock have need of constant surveillance.

and family matters. Someone must therefore take charge of them. On the other hand, a central government, so to speak, ensures better functioning
182 of this large group, always in a state of alertness. In the third place,
596 and since no economy is absolutely closed and autarchic, /381/ and that
554 of the Sarakatsani only potentially so, it is very necessary that the in-
197 evitable exchanges (buying and selling of products, location of pastures, etc.) be negotiated by a responsible member of the group. This contact with the outside by a single individual acting as intermediary guarantees isolation. And as for the person of the head man he is either the common ancestor (criterion of kinship) or the most capable of his sons (criterion of effective cooperation).

/387 cont./

121 182 --The fundamental concerns of the Sarakatsani are: to live, first of all, and then to survive materially, socially, culturally and ethnically.

--The objective conditions of their life include: climate, the earth (nature and topography), the fauna and flora, isolation from surrounding society, finally the Greco-Christian tradition, to which the Sarakatsani adhere as a result of their ethnic and religious affiliations.

182 Now, the correlation of all these elements shows that:

[181] --The independence which explains the Sarakatsani's penchant for liberty has led him to abandon his sedentary home in order to avoid slavery. At the same time it has separated him from Hellenic society [177] (and from its fortunes) and the relations he maintains with it are reduced to a strict minimum. It has therefore imposed on him /388/ isolation raised to the level of one of the fundamental conditions of his life.

182 233 --Sheep herding, as the means of acquiring economic goods, represents the only solution that permits him to meet material needs, considering the peculiarities of the climatic and natural environment and the isolation. The latter forces an economy of self-sufficient subsistence that can be realized only by herding. Furthermore, herding, for the same reasons, imposes nomadism.

182 596 --Kinship and the preponderance of men over women, which assumes concrete form chiefly in the quasi-patriarchal extended family, constitute a response to numerous problems. To isolation, first of all, which favors the formation of the extended family, while the family, in turn, guarantees isolation. For the extended family ensures security and the possibility of not mingling with the "others" and consequently safeguarding

/388 cont./

182 596 [233] its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock. In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the [464] extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes [233] herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 602 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable, ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation, extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add [233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we shall come back to that.

182 562 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure the worst weather.

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
773 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [474] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [476] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [971] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

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Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen
612 but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in
[426] almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal
[611] characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[113] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόι, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παππούλης, grandfather, γιάγω, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ἐξάδερφος, ἐξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνεψιός, ἀνεψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[606] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[606] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
● [601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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851 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work
596 very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀφέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she
[551] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is
[606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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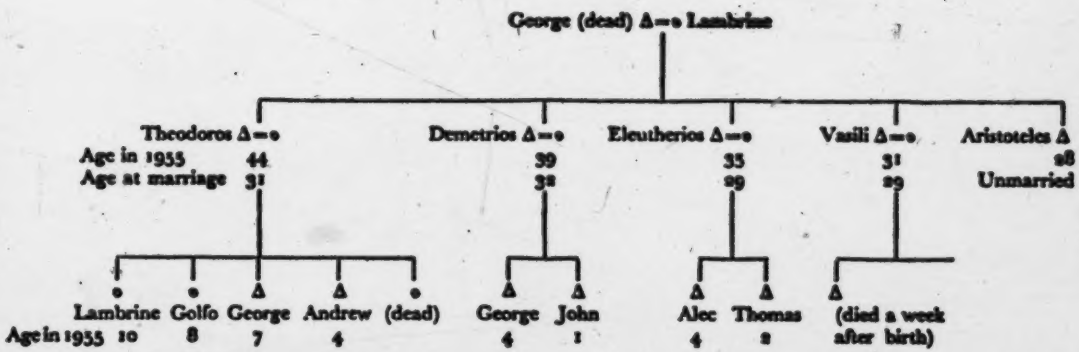
CHART

EXTENDED FAMILY LED BY THEODOROS FERENDINOS



N.B. There are also two sisters not shown in this chart. They were, in 1955, respectively 42 and 40 years of age; the elder sister was married three years before, the younger one year after, the marriage of Theodoros.

/165 cont./

596 are extremely significant in this respect. Thus, the wife is expected
554 to call the brothers and male cousins or her husband "lord," and his
[601] sisters and female cousins "mistress."

[601] To claim that the existence of classificatory kinship (36) among
[114] the Sarakatsani can be concluded from this fact would be to distort
[113]

36. In the sense proposed by L. Morgan: Systems. See also A.L. Kroeber: Classificatory System /cited in English/, and D. Fordes: Double filiation.

[562] reality. These names symbolize, after all, only the inferior status of the wife.

596 As a matter of fact, there are no special terms to be used by a
601 wife with regard to her parents-in-law or the uncles and aunts of the husband; one calls them all simply "father" and "mother," "uncle" and "aunt." These terms already imply respect, for everybody must venerate his father and mother, his uncle and aunt.

On the other hand, for the brothers and male cousins who are generally considered as equals and treated with familiarity, it was necessary to devise terms, to remind the wife that although she has become their sister or their female cousin through affinal ties, she nonetheless owes them respect since they are relatives of her husband.

Likewise, her obligation to respect other wives who have preceded her into the family is reflected in the fact that she must call them, too, "mistresses." The latter, in addressing her, call her "daughter-in-law."

596 Finally, as was the case with the men, the women also, are
561 required to respect those older than themselves, in accordance with the
554 same principle of seniority.

The hierarchy of the women in the extended family /166/ thus operates in terms of age, place in the system of kinship, and the date of their entry into the family circle.

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/For information on inter-personal relationships between various Sarakatsani kindreds, see category 612./

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PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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In its physical aspect as a complex of flocks, grazing lands, huts, and sheep-folds it was referred to as a stani (στάνη), or when the speaker was more concerned with the relations of dependence and co-operation between the tselingas and his followers, as the 'tselingato' (τὸ τσελιγκᾶτο); 50–150 men, women and children were the approximate human limits of the traditional stani. Although the co-operating families paid at the end of each period of six months for a share of the grazing land in proportion to the size of their flocks, the power of the tselingas was great. Since the lease was his own, a family unwilling to accept his authority could be expelled. The sale of milk, meat, and wool, the purchase of flour, salt, and other essential needs of the stani, were entirely in his hands. Through the six-month period the other families lived on his credit, and at its close his detailed calculations of profit and debt were necessarily taken on trust since he was often the only literate man in the group. 178 474 427 233 [452] [212]

The measures of 1930 concerning protected leases had already modified the power of the tselingas since not only he but all his associated shepherds were individually protected under the law. But the regulations of Metaxas radically reinforced this trend since now each shepherd citizen was firmly entitled to graze his sheep for six months on the communal grassland of his own village. Thus in the summer pastures of the Zagori villages where a majority of the community had claimed their rights of citizenship, the size of the stani became more narrowly related to the simple needs of sheep management. In general, it became smaller in numbers, seldom exceeding 30 men, women, and children, but sometimes including only the members of a single family; its members were now almost exclusively kinsmen and affinal relations; its structure was looser and more egalitarian. There were parallel changes in the size and form of the winter stani. The winter groups, however, remained somewhat larger (up to 50 persons of all ages and sometimes more), since with lambing and milking more hands are needed in winter than summer. Moreover, with the shortage of winter grazing any man with land at his disposal, which for one reason or another was not subject to a protected lease, was still able to hold in a position of dependence as many sheep and men as his land would carry. 178 474 233 [423] [802]

A further consequence was that the poorer shepherds. [556]

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[p. 36]

III

KINSMEN AND AFFINES

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSMEN

6/2 THE kindred (τὸ σόϊ) includes only those blood kinsmen of a man (or woman)[1] who are formally recognized for social purposes. The Sarakatsani recognize as members of the kindred all cognatic relatives as far as the degree of second cousin, whether these links are traced through the father's or mother's side of the family. In this system, all those persons descended from a man's four grandparents and their brothers and sisters are his kinsmen, except the children of his second cousins, the grandchildren of his first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of his own siblings, who are not members of his kindred. To express this in more general terms, the recognition for social purposes of collateral relations is relatively wide in a man's own generation and subsequently becomes, from his point of view, relatively less wide in each descendant generation. As a man passes through life, critical events, such as his [602] marriage and the birth of children, the marriages of these children and the birth of grandchildren, direct his obligations and interests to his own immediate descendants to the exclusion of collaterals.

6/2 59 Kindred relationships are considered by the Sarakatsani to be extensions from the family. Naturally, it is always a member of a man's elementary family who mediates his various relationships in the kindred, parents providing the links with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins; siblings those with nephews and nieces. And although the kindred is a system of personal relationships while the family is a corporate group,[2] the systematic character of the former, and the structure of the latter, are necessarily interdependent and consistent.

[1] Except where there is ambiguity I shall not repeat this cumbersome qualification.

[2] Perpetuity is a quality often premised of corporate kinship groups, whereas Sarakatsan families are limited to a life of some 40 years, i.e. the period which normally elapses between a man's marriage and the division

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility 602 and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no 619 general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd. 612 476 233

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals. 602 474 233

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen 612 [627]

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

59 [612] 59 581 602 [574]

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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59 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after
581 his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is
●602 unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son and brother.

593 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person
581 outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent; they have become differentiated by their marriages and young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals. There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and
[602] cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling 593
solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and 581
moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the [596]
risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small 612
extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a 611
feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal 602
principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.

602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the [554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended [553] in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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In a formal sense the elementary family is established on the
585 day of marriage when the groom and his retinue of kinsmen
602 and affines arrive to claim the bride at the huts of her father.
[584] After the celebration of the religious ceremony of betrothal in her own home the groom and his train escort the bride and her dowry back to the huts of the groom's family; there, after a short rest, for the journey is often long and rough, the wedding ceremony is performed by the priest on the afternoon of the same Sunday. None of the bride's family or kindred accompanies her to the home of the groom or witnesses the marriage service.[1] The physical severance from her family and kinsmen is complete and dramatic, the more so when it is remembered that since the day of her birth feelings of affection, co-operation at work, and even ordinary conversation, have only been possible for her inside the circle of the family and her kindred.

Many points of wedding custom reflect the character of her new status as a member of her husband's family of origin. When the groom arrives at the home of the bride and immediately before the religious ceremony of betrothal takes place, three gifts are presented to her by members of the groom's family. First the brother of the groom places at her feet a pair of new shoes; and in the right shoe he leaves a coin, preferably a gold sovereign. For now she enters a new pathway of her life, and it is hoped she will bring prosperity both to the family she is founding and to the family of her mother-in-law where she will live and work, at least for some years. Having placed the shoes at her feet the brother of the groom then greets her by taking her right hand in his. She returns his greeting with a demure and scarcely audible 'Thank you' and bending low over his outstretched hand carries it to her lips, then touches it to her forehead and once more to her lips. The other gift-bearers are sisters of the groom, or, if these are lacking, wives of his brothers. Their gifts are generally pieces of gold or silver jewellery, earrings, bracelets or necklaces with pendant crosses. The women greet the bride by kissing her first on the right cheek and then on the left and the bride responds by kissing their hands in the manner already described.

The moment comes when the bride must kiss the hands of her parents and leave them. Together with her brothers and

[1] However, where a family is related both to bride and groom, they will generally send a representative to support each side.

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sisters, her cousins and the wives of her brothers, she walks some two hundred yards to the place where the groom's party await her. As they walk they chant a song which with brevity [533] and unspoken inference expresses her grief.

> Mother, bless me on this my first journey away from you.
> Daughter, go with my blessing, may God bring you fortune.[3]

The bride is surrendered, and the eldest brother of the groom mounts her on a chosen animal. The horse is led by a sister of the groom while the other sisters, brothers, and brothers' wives surround and support her on all sides; for she is not only frightened and desolate but physically weak after long hours of standing, and the lack of food and sleep which she has endured since the beginning of the customary ceremonies on the Friday. At the end of the journey the bride is led to the door of the bridegroom's hut where his parents stand to receive her. The father assists her to dismount and she kisses his hand. She kisses the mother's hand, too, and is embraced by her. Then, as she enters the hut, crossing the threshold with her right foot forward, the mother of the groom passes over her wrists two bracelets of bread and gives her a cup of wine in either hand which she pours in her steps as she moves to the far side of the hut. There she is greeted by and kisses the hands of those kinsmen and affines of the groom who did not make the journey to escort her from her home. Finally, they bring to her all the children; and in the same way and with the same respect she kisses their hands also. In the presentation of the gifts, and later of bread and wine, which are the elements of communion and commensality; in the concern the groom's family show for her on the journey to her new home; and in the bride's first ceremonial, but simple, exchange of greetings with people to whom she has never spoken, but to whom she is now irrevocably bound, there is symbolized the initial pattern of their relations, submission and respect on her part, and acceptance and protection on theirs.

[3] Εὐχήσου με μανούλα μου στὸ πρῶτο κίνημά μου.
Μὲ τὴν εὐχή μου, τσούπρα μου, Θεὸς νὰ σὲ προκόψῃ.

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or 851
the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in 596
a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this [602]
problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live 596
together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. 528
This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often [539]
quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from 596
the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral 612
extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only [594]
corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with
their cousins.

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks. 596 578 159 [165] [257]

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin. [602]

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family. 596 578 159 732 [558]

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole, as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins. 474 602

The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'. 554 474 593 554 474 [571]

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474 602 571 Membership in a 'company' is in principle based on free association, although in particular cases a man without brothers may be so dependent upon the particular kinsmen who form the dominant nucleus of a 'company', that he has, in fact, little choice. But co-operating 'companies' are relatively stable associations only as long as the problems they help member families to overcome remain problems. They are a loose form of contractual association in which each family jealously guards its domestic autonomy and the right to secede at any time. Power to influence the association's decisions lies with the dominant group of brothers from whom the company takes its name, and it is the desire to escape from the position of dependence on this group which leads the more distantly related families in the association to detach themselves from it in the summer months.

474 602 578 Co-operation between kinsmen and affines has its difficulties. So imperative are the interests of a man's own family that sometimes he begins to suspect even the actions of a close kinsman if he co-operates with him: and he, himself, must sometimes fight against the temptation to defraud a kinsman or an affine. The Sarakatsani say that 'every stani has a pimp' (κάθε στάνη ἔχει τὸ ρουφιάνο της). Ρουφιάνος means a procurer and by extension a man without conscience or manliness. In this context it implies that in each co-operating group the cheese merchant is able to find at least one man who for the favour of more liberal credits is prepared to play the part of informer about the secrets of the group. As a statement of fact this is an exaggeration, but it testifies accurately to the strains and restraints that co-operation between related families involves, strains which are thought to be peculiarly inappropriate in the relations of kinsmen.

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aversion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked coolness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of sentiment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to

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582 581 In these manœuvres, the object of both the family and their negotiator is to establish a marriage contract with a group in which, by reason of some mediating link of kinship, they can place a measure of trust. Some hostility will still exist between the groups, but there is the hope that it will pass more rapidly from the overt to the latent phase than otherwise is the case. From 121 marriages in recent years, 52 were contracted between families connected by some mediating link of kinship or marriage; nine were marriages between third cousins.

2. THE ELEMENT OF HOSTILITY
MARRIAGE AND THE 'RETURN'

584 602 During the months which pass between the betrothal and the day of the marriage, the date of which is fixed at the betrothal, there is no communication between the two groups. If members of the two families or their close relatives meet by chance, they avoid one another. When Machoula Gogolos was approached by a sophisticated cousin of her betrothed after the Easter Sunday church service, she refused to exchange greetings with her, and turning her back, walked away. Each side in an atmosphere of mutual aversion separately attends to its wedding preparations.

585 602 The day of the wedding marks an important change in the relations between the two groups. On this day the two sides formally enter into affinal relations (συμπεθεριά), and a daughter leaves her home. The feelings of the girl's family, especially of her parents, are mixed. On the one hand there is relief and self-congratulation that they have succeeded in guarding her reputation unblemished and arranging an honourable marriage. [152] But there is also true grief at the loss of a daughter, a loss which is harder to bear because of their anxiety about how the strangers will use her. It is easy to observe the strained expressions on the faces of the bride's brothers as they watch the groom's people boasting in loud voices and strutting about the homestead. But self-restraint must be exercised in dealings with affines, if only for the sake of the bride. The exchanges between the two groups, when the groom arrives to take away the bride, vary between the openly expressed hostility which sometimes occurs and a formal display of amity which is, in fact, a controlled hostility cloaked with fair words. Midway between

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs 585
which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides 602
and its limitation within conventional bounds.

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγχαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [534] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [535] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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585 'She is ours, now', shout the groom's men, which only en-
602 courages the other side to delay the departure for another half an hour. These arguments are accepted moves in the game and do not cause permanent offence so long as they remain within the limits of what is convetionally permitted.

Finally, when the bride is prepared to leave, there is some byplay over the acceptance and loading of the bride's dowry. The trunks and sacks in which this is contained are stacked in the doorway of the bride's hut. The young kinsmen of the groom advance to take it, but at this moment a kinsman of the bride jumps astride the first sack and shouts, 'Don't interfere with it. The sack doesn't belong to you. This dowry has great worth' (Μὴ τὸ πειράζῃς, εἶναι ξένο τὸ σακκί. Ἔχουν ἄξια τὰ προικιά). He refuses to get off the sack until the groom's eldest brother pays over some token pieces of money. The groom's kinsmen now drag the bulky sacks and trunks outside, where they begin to load them on to pack mules. This is an awkward operation which gives much enjoyment to the bride's kinsmen who stand round in a close circle mocking at the efforts of the other side to balance and secure the difficult loads.

But fair words are also exchanged. These expressions of amity indicate the readiness of each side to co-operate in establishing the new relationship and in supporting the children of the new family, on the understanding that the other side will also play their part. For the contract which is entered into at the betrothal is not confined to co-operation in the arrangement of the marriage, it also foresees the future obligations which the two families must assume towards the new family group in which both will have a common and balanced interest.

[578] When the groom's party arrives at the bride's house, all the riders, including those unfortunates who may have been thrown from their horses, must exchange conventional greetings which express their common interest in the bridal couple. 'Good health to you, it is well that we have found you! May our bride and groom live long and prosper!' (Γειά σας! Καλῶς σᾶς ηὕραμε! Νὰ μᾶς ζήσουν! Νὰ μᾶς προκόψουν!). And a brother of the groom exchanges the wine and 'bread of the bride' (κουλούρα τῆς νύφης), baked by the women of the groom's family, for the same elements of communion and commensality prepared and presented by the bride's family.

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Half an hour later, as they drink the one glass of ouzo which, as we have seen, is the full extent of the hospitality shown to them, the bridegroom's kinsmen sing, 585 602

[539]

'We have not come for food or drink,
But because we love you,
We have come to see you.
I find tables fair and laden,
And glasses brimming over.
Three maidens with black eyes serve us.
Three maidens with the eyebrows of angels.'[2]

They could hardly sing more fairly. Thus during the two or three hours that the parties of the bride and the groom are in contact, marriage custom enjoins the expression of the opposed sentiments of friendship and enmity. It indicates the ambivalent character of the affinal relationship which demands co-operation between previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. Naturally this ambivalence of sentiment is more apparent in the early years, but it never wholly vanishes at any time.

The margins between antagonism permitted and instituted by convention and the display of excessive malice is narrow. Quarrels over the time and precise arrangements of the bride's departure frequently flare up into free violence. In one case, no sooner had the bride progressed some two hundred yards on her journey to the groom's home, than a fierce rain storm broke overhead drenching the bride and her white wedding dress. 585 602 578

[2] Δὲν ἤρθαμαν γιὰ φαΐ γιὰ πί
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα.
Μεῖς σᾶς ἀγαπήσαμεν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι' ἤρθαμαν νὰ σᾶς δοῦμε.
βρίσκω τραπέζια νάμορφα
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
γυαλιὰ παραγεμάτα.
Τρεῖς μαυρομάτες μᾶς κερνᾶν,
ροϊδούλα, ροϊδούλα,
ροϊδούλα, χαμαϊδούλα,
κι τρεῖς ἀγγελαφρύδες.

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585 602 578 [577] Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 602 581 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new marriage relationship has been established both by the secular contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 602 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

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the wine and the dance produce a mellowing effect on the assembly; the groom begins to smile, and even the bride, with the merest flutter of her lips, tries to follow the singing.

One effect of this reunion of the bride with her people is to establish the interest of the bride's family in the new family which will be formed at the birth of the first child. The knowledge that the unborn children of the married pair will be affiliated equally to both their maternal and paternal relatives forces both sets of affines to act towards each other in a calculatingly friendly manner. However, this attitude is dictated not only by their common interest in the new family, but for reasons of prestige. Other people are uncharitably amused when a family is having in-law trouble (πιάστηκαν οἱ συμπέθεροι). In general both sets of affines try hard to conciliate one another and it follows that the attitudes of affines act as a strong sanction on a spouse in his or her actions within the marriage relationship. Similarly, in a wider sense, the attitude of one set of affines is a sanction for the correct conduct of the other set.

But what is undoubtedly uppermost in the minds of the bride's kinsmen at the 'return', is an anxiety to find out how the girl has been treated in general and in particular a certain malicious hope that perhaps the bridegroom has encountered some sexual difficulty. Conversely, the object of the groom's people is to deny the bride the opportunity to transmit this kind of information. A sister or brother's wife of the bridegroom is always a member of the groom's party; she sits close to the bride, and attends her every movement so far as good manners will allow. However, the young wife generally succeeds in whispering a few of the desired details into the ear of her mother or a sister; and every Sarakatsan woman is a mistress of the art of conveying meaning with her eyes.

In the morning the affines say farewell. No sooner have the echoes of the piously uttered sentiments of goodwill died away than each side indulges in a critical appraisal of what was said and done by the other side at the 'return'. The bride's family, in particular, may have some very interesting material to discuss whether it is fact or simply conjecture. Invariably the criticism is very unfriendly and reveals the hostility of the affinal relationship, a hostility, however, which must no longer be openly expressed.

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585 Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages
602 in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal
[584] is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[8] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible
612 than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[8] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol I, Part A, p. ροε'.

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. 602 There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be 612 mentioned; that of co-bride (συνυφάδα), which is the link [607] between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is 607 once more apparent when we ask which are the significant 602 affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the 606 critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings 607 and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young [574] brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and
607 the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃ καὶ φιλοξενήσῃ
[574] τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her
607 husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's
602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθεροι is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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But even
within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not 602 578
mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage [593] and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the 602
extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were 578
discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, 666
Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection 602
of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, 578
however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 593 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties 602 [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 593 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 593 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-
[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the
[429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly
[828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness
[428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [884]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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582 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage
602 of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely
602 turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage
612 in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred
602 which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from
612 collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard un-
554 related families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been con-
[558] stantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, tends to unite them in another. 582 602 612 554

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community. 582 602 612 619 [578]

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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582 of the community and the constant proliferation, through
602 marriages, of new relationships between opposed families;
612 and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the
619 different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics
612 of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each
602 individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own
612 people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen
571 inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related
59 by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a
602 community where social relations are marked by such radical
577 discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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strength is simulated better by the heroic attitudes of self-assertion, pride, and even arrogance. Strength, individual prepotence, is what each man needs to be an effective protagonist for his family, and the protector of its public reputation and honour against the calumnies of those who are also its judges.

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
579 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[979] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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156 women do not go
159 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani
[831] point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[735] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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APPENDIX I

THE WINTER CO-OPERATIVE GROUPINGS OF SARAKATSANI GRAZING THE LANDS OF A ZAGORI VILLAGE (NEOCHORI) IN 1955

HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (if an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsiligas* or Leader of the east	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wives shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
†1.													
Constantine Tangas		Tsel.	3	2	1	—	1	7	2	325	40	365	Winter grazing: Grika. Pasture leased with protected rights
Vasili		Br.	4	1	—	—	0	5	4	282	40	322	
Demetrios		Br.	1	3	—	—	2	6	2	229	30	259	
Evangelos		Br.	2	5	—	—	2	9	1	171	30	201	The families of George Tangas, John Vangelis and George Makris each graze their sheep separately in summer
George		Br.	4	7	—	—	0	11	11	255	50	305	
John Vangelis		Sis.Hus.	4	4	—	—	1	9	5	298	40	338	
George Makris		Sis.Son	3	4	—	—	6	13	2	353	30	383	
Miltiades Kallis		Br.Wi.Sis.Hus.	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	40	15	55	
			22					66				2228	

* In this table I reserve the term Tsiligas for the leader of a group with more than 500 animals.
† The numbered groups of households represent sheep management units.

[# 357]
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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tyrkogiri or Leader of the stani	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage shepherds working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter grazing, etc.
2.													
George Zyoos	2	Tsel.	3	5	—	—	1	9	2	355	0	355	Winter grazing: Nea Kerasounda. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ Miltiades Loutsaris		Mo.Br.Son	2	2	—	—	1	5	1	100	10	110	
Costas Sultanos		Fa.Br.D.Hus.	1	2	—	2	2	7	1	45	0	45	
			6					21				510	
3.													
Grezgory Kapialis	3	Tsel.	5	7	2	—	6	20	12	405	70	475	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Own small property with olive trees. Have right to graze on village common land
‡ John		Fa.Br.Son	2	4	—	—	0	6	3	160	20	180	
			7					26				655	
4.													
Vasili Charbis		Tsel.	1	1	—	—	4	6	3	320	0	320	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Own property for grazing. The families of Kakos and Konakis remain with the stani winter and summer
Michael		Br.	1	1	—	—	2	4	3	200	30	230	
Spiros Kakos		Unrelated hired	3	1	—	—	5	9	1	40	10	50	
Costas Konakis		Shepherds	2	3	—	—	1	6	1	40	0	40	
			7					25				640	

‡ Indicates households in these winter groupings which do not graze at Neochori in the summer.

5.												
‡ Constr. Gogolos		Tsel.	2	2	—	—	4	8	3	160	20	180	Winter grazing: Skoupitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
‡ John		Br.	1	1	—	—	0	2	4	170	20	190	
‡ Thomas		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	3	6	2	150	10	160	
‡ Throcharis		Fa.Br.Son	1	2	—	—	2	5	3	170	25	195	
Michael Detsikas		Sis.Hus.	4	2	—	—	3	9	4	213	60	273	Detsikas and Chasekis graze their flocks separately in the summer
Alec Chasekis	2	§	2	3	—	—	5	10	3	100	30	130	
			11					40				1190	
6.													
Evangelos Karageorgis		Tsel.	3	2	—	—	0	5	2	220	30	250	Winter grazing: Spatharati. Temporary possession of abandoned Muslim pasture
Athanasios		Br.	2	2	—	—	3	7	2	177	20	197	
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	1	3	2	140	50	190	
Demetrios		Br.	1	1	—	—	3	5	2	167	30	197	
Sister of George's dead wife (Unmarried)			0	1	—	—	0	1	0	0	60	60	This woman lives alone under the stani's protection
			7					21				894	
7.													
Theodoros Myrsounis	5	Tsel.	5	5	—	—	7	17	6	396	80	476	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land now leased to them by the villagers after a compulsory Government order. Raftis grazes separately in the summer
‡ Sotiri		Fa.Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	90	110	
Pericles		Fa.Br.Son	2	3	—	—	3	8	2	155	15	170	
Theodoros Raftis		Hus. of Mo. first cousin	3	5	—	—	0	8	4	162	120	282	
			11					38				1038	
8.													
Demetrios Paparounas	4	Tsel.	5	4	—	—	10	19	9	530	60	590	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers
Photios Gogolos		Sis.Hus.	1	1	—	—	3	7	1	50	0	50	
			6					26				640	

§ (A cousin of Michael Detsikas married Chasekis' sister)

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HOUSEHOLDS	The No. of Brothers (If an extended household)	Relation of Head of household to Tsiliganis or Leader of the unit	Working males over 15 years of age	Working females over 15 years of age	Sons at secondary school	Wage-earners working away from family	Children and old people not able to work	Total	Horses and Mules	Sheep	Goats	Total of Sheep and Goats	Notes on Location of Winter pasture, etc.
9.													
Christos Arvanitis	3	Tsel.	4	4	—	—	5	13	7	430	60	490	Winter grazing: Karterion. Former Muslim land leased by villagers. Katris grazes his flocks separately in the summer
Evangelos Katris		Mo.Sis.Hus.	2	3	—	—	0	5	4	90	100	190	
			6					18				680	
10.													
Dionysios Barkas		Leader	4	1	—	—	0	5	5	190	70	260	Winter grazing: Mourton. Fallow land rented from villagers
Spiros Arvanitis		Fa.-in-law	0	2	—	—	3	5	0	5	60	65	
			4					10				325	
11.													
Demetrios Paschos		Leader	2	2	—	2	0	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: South of Gulf of Arta, fallow land rented from villagers
Lambros		Br.	1	3	—	—	1	5	1	20	25	45	Theodorakis grazes separately in the summer
Demetrios Theodorakis		Wi.Br.	1	2	—	1	0	4	7	98	30	128	
			4					15				313	
12.													
Evangelos Loutsaris		Leader	2	2	1	—	1	6	2	140	0	140	Winter grazing: Grammenitsa. Pasture leased with protected rights
George		Br.	1	1	—	—	4	6	2	140	0	140	
			3					12				280	

13. George Kapsalis	2	—	3	3	—	—	0	6	3	180	0	180	Winter grazing: Kanallaki. Shepherds to villagers
			3					6				180	
14. George Charisis	2	—	3	3	—	—	3	9	5	110	60	170	Winter grazing: Kamarina. Fallow land rented from villagers
			3					9				170	
15. Demetrios Dethikas		—	1	2	—	1	—	4	1	54	0	54	Winter grazing: Philippiada. Shepherd to villager
			1					4				54	
16. Theodoros Arvanitis		—	1	2	—	—	2	5	1	80	15	95	Winter grazing: Kamarina. In winter shepherd to villager. Summer, runs own sheep in one flock
			1					5				95	
17. Demetrios Ladias		—	2	4	—	—	1	7	1	30	10	40	Winter grazing: Preveza. Shepherd to Sarakatsan stani. In summer, shepherd to villager
			2					7				40	
18. Spiridon Carvounis		-	2	2	—	—	1	5	2	85	20	105	Winter grazing: Mazaraki. Temporary allotment of former Muslim land
			2					5				105	

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582 613 182 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 582 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 613 173 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont./

602 613 173 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and never beyond that. (3)

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

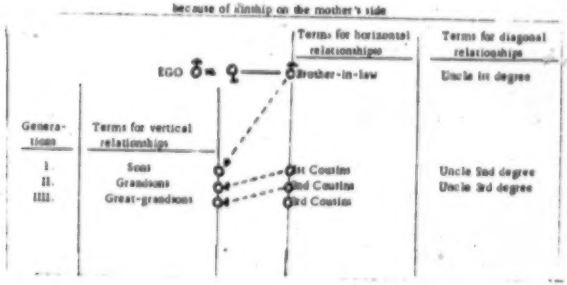
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and [602] his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates [613] for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

/128 cont./
582 system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses;
602 second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members
(213) of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:... reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 621 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [191] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

/134 cont./

586 solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that
587 divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established
182 alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise
[581] to hostilities and disorder.

586 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife,
182 an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the
578 estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can
602 scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective
587 grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives
602 of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the
858 children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If dis-
578 affections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only
[613] the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility
182 of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life
[586] together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the
[587] widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of
602 extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[474] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
[602] is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 583 585 602 261 [516] Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days, custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult to her new family.

583 585 602 593 562 [178] Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her. Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house. According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter, but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times. What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 562 594 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family, her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 824 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

[593] [152] [182]

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
855 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
593 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
868 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.
594

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/158 cont./

596 474 602 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Something more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 128 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [594] [613] [171] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

/174 cont./

596 If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the
613 Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal
591 and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship,
602 but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live
596 communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/
(421) men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative
494 and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and
233 rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been
422 obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.
(423)

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties.
422 For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate
571 themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

/205 cont./

671 We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation
[128] of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family
429 council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well
768 as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management
602 of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter
[474] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same
[596] Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 768 562 429 [602] However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian" of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protection, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 593 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes the form of strict law. (19)

> 19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 593 428 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 692 691 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [179] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 627 If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[602] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and [474] the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/217 cont./

682 627 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] [602] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 627 628 182 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Otherwise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 682 627 628 182 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies, that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members, the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 682 627 581 182 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals, by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively. They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

629 682 [602] [581] [182]

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

629 628 682 182

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

[562]

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

839 181 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
597 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

597 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(171) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
(848) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
597 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
(684) acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

/249 cont./

842
531
262
585

Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87). The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

, /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4) the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6) the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
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754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.
787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. 593 If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his 604 cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife [605] is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to 834 undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is [589] shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and [533] the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to [152] weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their [602] cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

[822] Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered [802] garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The [291] mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first [178] because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

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PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
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[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
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789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
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16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of
[602] causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat, and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
474 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[454] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
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/381 cont./

182 The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families,
602 small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with
571 the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical
594 grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The
554 statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by
[613] the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and
594 birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the
181 values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special
182 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach
361 of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space).
233 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it,
182 likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-
462 patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. Patterns in the use of clothing and food are
182 influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity),
291 resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values
261 (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality -
181 frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

/388 cont./

182 its cultural and ethnic character. The family, moreover, proves to be
596 a necessary condition for herding and business related to the livestock.
[233] In order that the latter be profitable it must be practiced on a large
[464] scale. It therefore requires considerable labor power that only the extended family is in a position to supply, in view of isolation and
[233] consequently the lack of paid labor. If the extended family makes herding possible, the latter gives the extended family the means to provide for the needs of its numerous members.

182 However, all this does not explain why the family tie, that is
602 to say kinship, determines the solutions mentioned. If the latter demand the presence of a certain number of individuals, would not a simple association suffice? Let us refer anew to what has already been said. Living isolated and in the mountain wilderness involves the necessity of struggling against hostile nature, wild animals, bandits and resistance fighters /maquisards/ against a surrounding society definitely unfavorable, ultimately against the conqueror or the occupier. This struggle cannot be carried on effectively unless one is certain of the absolute help of the others, a certainty that the simple contractual or associative bond is not in a position to create. On the other hand, the tie of kinship, with the values it comprises, favors a solidarity without reservation, extending even to self-sacrifice. The consequences make themselves felt in all aspects of family life, as we shall see presently. Let us add
[233] that even /389/ the care of the livestock is favored by kinship. But we shall come back to that.

182 With regard to the preponderance of men over women, it is explained
662 by the same motives. It seems natural that the strong sex should predominate over the weak sex in an environment where it is necessary to defend oneself constantly and to show great endurance, since the daily work is carried out in steep regions and makes it necessary to endure the worst weather.

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[14] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

59 [42] 59 581 602 [574]

[14] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
605 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[264] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

825 /282 cont./
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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant 605
quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers.

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern 604
which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom.

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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

612 474 605 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [429]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while constructing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders, not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact, later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple com- 612
panionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the community, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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605 612 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 521 576

605 836 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations cannot be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605 834
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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572 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friend-
605 ship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sym-
612 pathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability
572 itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust
605 tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or
612 has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same
476 flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [607]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [581]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.
[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant quarter of the scattered community, both because they seek to establish strategic alliances in neighbourhoods other than their own, and because of the fear of trouble with affines if the young bride is within easy tale-telling distance of her own family. What is decisive in these cousin relationships is whether regular visits are exchanged or whether contact between the cousins must rely on the chance meeting at a wedding or a village festival. On the other hand, where cross-cousins or maternal parallel cousins happen to live in the same neighbourhood, and more especially if they co-operate in sheep management, their relations are of the kind which generally exist between the sons of brothers. 605 [SPI]

In these distinctions it is not the kind of cousin relationship itself which is strictly relevant (for the norms of kinship behaviour towards cousins are the same whatever the mediating links in the relationship), but whether cousins live near to one another and possibly work together in daily co-operation, or whether they live at a distance and, if so, whether there are regular opportunities for exchanging visits or not. There are, then, two important classes of first cousins; those who live in the same summer neighbourhood and who co-operate or have at some time co-operated in sheep management; and those who live in other neighbourhoods in summer and winter. (The classification is not, of course, exhaustive.) The two classes of cousins give a man and his family different but complementary forms of support.

The attitude of friendly interest and affectionate concern which exists between cousins is also present in a man's relations with his uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. The differences which have been described between various types of first cousin relationships have their analogues in the ties which exist between uncles, aunts, nephews, and nieces. Uncles who are fathers' brothers are known better than brothers of the mother but they are not always loved better. The wicked uncle, though he is not a common figure, is generally a father's brother with whom the father has quarrelled. The favourite uncle is generally a mother's brother who was excessively indulgent to his nephews and nieces when they came on periodical visits. Aunts who are father's sisters are generally well known but mother's sisters may be seen very seldom. 604

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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

612 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion
474 which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where
605 preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612 and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605 inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474 he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 574 personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605 occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585 that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579 ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612 measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605 ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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612 parents, he may yet establish with him a relationship which is
605 closer and more significant than the relationships he has with other kinsmen genealogically less distant but living in places where his affairs do not lead him. Similarly, if a man is forced by circumstances to co-operate in sheep management with a distant uncle or second cousin this transforms a genealogically distant connexion into a close and very significant kinship bond. Naturally, a man normally prefers to co-operate and have intimate friendships with close relatives, but in their absence, or where there is an exceptionally strong personal preference for an individual kinsman who is not closely connected, a distant kinsman is, as it were, 'drawn in' so that what becomes significant is the fact of relationship and not the genealogical distance separating kinsmen. This potential efficiency of any kinship relation is perhaps reflected in the way a man refers to a cousin when he is in his presence. In explaining that a man is a first cousin he will say, 'He is my first cousin', but of his second cousin he will only say 'He is my cousin'. By omitting any reference to the distance of cousinship, the effect is to draw the distant kinsman nearer to the man who is speaking. It might be said that an individual has two kindreds; the first is the 'ideal' kindred in which conflicts of obligation and responsibility to kinsmen are measured by formal kinship distance; the second is the 'effective kindred' in which the frequency and character of kinship intercourse which actually takes place, and the practical needs of a man and his family, are also important considerations.

Genealogical connexion beyond the limits of the kindred is not normally of any significance. Men who are third or fourth cousins may possibly be aware of this fact but in general it does not make them behave towards one another differently than
612 they would if they were unrelated. But if a man possesses wealth
605 or influence in the community so that some advantage is to be
557 gained by claiming relationship with him, then he often finds that his 'effective kindred' extends beyond the conventional range of second cousinship and comes to include third and even fourth cousins. When Sotiri Achnoulas, who unlike most of the Sarakatsani in Zagori has more goats than sheep in his flock, was dismayed at the promulgation of a government order forbidding the pasturage of these animals in certain areas of the

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
528 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
~~477~~ management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
528 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his
[685] sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action
[684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

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Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῇς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

[582] [558]

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
105 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[214] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[241] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

* * *

In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation, which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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612 management, are the cousins least likely to form those impor-
● 605 tant links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who
[572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may
612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any
571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are
[558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of
[578] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who
[154] live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

/135 cont./

602 Nevertheless, before going further, we should emphasize that our
571 account would be incomplete if we did not mention particularly a com-
182 plementary but interesting aspect of all the practices that we have cited: once having entered the system of kinship and alliances, the individual as well as the group find themselves socially labeled and classified once and for all, and know from then on who are their friends or possible adversaries. Hence/comes/ a feeling of security and integration, constituting a solid basis for the development of their relationships and their social activity.

/136/ The Principles of Married Life.

585 The life of the two spouses complies with some principles of
602 extreme importance for the understanding of Sarakatsani society. The folklore of marriage, on the one hand, and some examples of the spouses' behavior, on the other, are very revealing in this respect.

[527] The day of the nuptials, which is always a Sunday, a procession
[494] made up of the fiance's male and female cousins, as well as his friends
[605] (namely, the young people of the Tseligato) forms at his house. All
[572] these people proceed on horseback to the dwelling of the fiancee, where
[492] they must take the latter and lead her to the abode of her future husband to celebrate the nuptials.

585 Having arrived at the home of the young girl and while the women step
602 aside, the men of the procession confront the men of the future wife's
536 family. The two sides are armed. A mock battle is then engaged in, the
[583] companions of the fiance pretending that they want to carry away the young girl by force. In the course of this battle a goodly number of shots are fired on both sides. Afterwards the men of the fiancee's party with-
[533] draw as though "beaten" and a song follows the battle, simulating a
[539] dialogue between the future spouses:

--Awake pretty girl with eyes of a young partridge
I have come to your dwelling...
--Since you are here, be welcome
There is a place for you...(etc.).

-/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

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585 her new surroundings. They can appreciate her feelings of
596 despair and loneliness; it is an ordeal which one day every Sarakatsan woman must face. But such sentiments can be
[604] afforded only a brief indulgence. From the Friday the bride undertakes the full routine of work allotted to her by her husband's mother.

The ceremonial induction into the family of the groom during and immediately after the wedding, the symbolic acts which she must perform, and the exchange of gifts with her close affines, all indicate the quality of her initial status within the extended family. The essential fact is that the new bride is subordinate to all other adults in the extended family. Even the five-year-olds try with varying success to boss the new 'bride'. As a worker her services belong to the whole group. She is, as they often say, 'our bride'. Not only does she care for the comfort of her own husband but she is responsible for washing, mending, and darning the clothes of all his unmarried brothers. In general, it can be said that any hard or unpleasant work will be delegated to her. A mule to be rounded up, water to be carried—the new bride is certain to be sent. 'She must learn our ways,' the other women explain, 'and must take root in her
[605] new family. Besides, she has no children to care for.' The bride takes most of her orders from her mother-in-law under whose critical and watchful direction she works. But she must be prepared to carry out requests from any brother, sister, or other more senior bride of the extended family. Yet despite her subordinate status she is accepted as a full member of the group. This is the implication of the exchange of gifts with members of the family; for in this community gifts are never exchanged with unrelated persons. 'She is one of us', they say. Membership carries with it the possibility of a growing comradeship, and the right to protection against insult and injury from outsiders.
585 Her behaviour is extremely modest. She speaks only if she is
596 addressed, and then her replies are made with the utmost show
576 of respect. She addresses her husband's brothers as ἀφέντη,
[601] 'master', and his sisters as κυρά, 'mistress'. She follows her husband in his modes of address to all senior relatives, father, mother, uncle, aunt, and so on. The family and kinsmen address the newcomer as simply νύφη, 'bride'. In the first months the bride will rise to her feet and remain standing when a man of the

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851 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work
596 very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, ἀρέντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she
[555] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is also significant that no member of the extended family, except
[606] the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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596 578 159 165 Vasilina the youngest wife has been married for about two years. She gave birth to a son, but the child was weak and died. Since she has scarcely advanced from the status of being a new bride, she does not assert herself. She is a willing worker but slow and without much intelligence. For these reasons the other women have little patience with her and criticize her freely.

596 578 The wives openly admit that they live in anticipation of the day when their husbands will separate the single household and each wife will become 'mistress' (νοικοκυρά) in her own home. Their imputation of various short-comings to the other wives is merely a way of demonstrating their fundamentally opposed interests in respect to their different families. Each wife/mother is in herself a symbol of the kinship distance which separates her children from their paternal cousins, and therefore her husband from his siblings. The worst quarrels between wives are about their children. And such quarrels are particularly dangerous to the unity of the brothers. Two married brothers frequently stand together and verbally or even physically chastise their wives who make trouble in the family by quarrels over personal differences; but when the issue between the wives concerns their children (however trivial its origin may be), the two sibling/fathers, out of loyalty to and identification with their children, are inevitably committed to the support of their wives.

Therefore a circumstantial factor of some importance in deciding the moment when brothers must separate is the increasing difficulty of maintaining discipline in a joint household without causing offence to the constituent elementary families. When Theodoros on occasions shook a worried head and said, 'We are eighteen individuals (νομάτοι) in this house', this was the cause of his anxiety. As head of the house he could directly discipline only his own wife and children. He would not verbally reprimand a brother's wife in her husband's presence, unless she was a newly married bride or without children; in his absence he would certainly scold her if she did not comply with some instruction which concerned the general running of the joint household; but he could not interfere in her relations with her children. No brother would ever strike another brother's wife.

[606] Even the control of the mother-in-law over her sons' wives, though it is still considerable, becomes less complete after three or four years of marriage. In this household there are eight young

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be mentioned; that of co-bride (συνυφάδα), which is the link between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is once more apparent when we ask which are the significant affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and
607 the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃ καὶ φιλοξενήσῃ
[574] τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her
609 husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's
602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

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Theodoros

602 578 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour. But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in some way he must maintain these relations. For some months 602 578 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers, who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife 593 ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an element of strain was introduced into the relations of the brothers which in other families might have led to blows and the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the elementary family from both the families of origin of the two parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how [596] the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is established immediately on the day of marriage. When a bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose. She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [371]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [429] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα από τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [884]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [762]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour 577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the 596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind [605] heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the 577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through 554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech- 754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed [755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and [774] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

/164 cont./

596 594 554 [584] Even when it is a question of the marriage of one of his descendants, he can influence the father of the future husband or give his blessing to the one concerned. He cannot oppose the choice of a wife for the latter. This does not contradict anything in the system of marriage arrangements set forth above; the principle of the societal group of individuals as sources of alliances remains unshakable. But this example shows that the agents of this control are ranked within the framework of the extended family and linked to it in the manner described.

This same fact is also a further illustration of the real existence of the conjugal family, since it shows that the latter is integrated in the extended family without losing the functions peculiar to it.

[584] [178] However, we have the feeling that this independence of the conjugal family in the matter of marriage, its area, carefully demarcated seems to correspond more to a relatively recent period in Sarakatsani life, whereas in a more distant epoch the head perhaps also had a right of "veto" in this domain.

[584] Be that as it may, it should be pointed out, for this is very significant, that in practice the father of the family never gives his children in marriage without consulting "the old man" whose opinion he respects.

* * * *

596 606 554 /165/ A strict hierarchy also exists among the women. Through the wife of the head /man/ is at the head of all the women of the extended family, each mother-in-law directs her daughters-in-law who for their part form a hierarchy among themselves, the wives of the more recently married brothers being expected to show deference to the wives of the brothers previously married.

596 554 On the other hand, the status of each wife entering the extended family is always inferior to that of the men and women born into this family. The names she must use to address the relatives of her husband

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aver- 605
sion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked cool- [578]
ness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example.

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally 605
mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are 593
almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to [607]
help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of senti- 605
ment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two [581]
unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the [602]
two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani.

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the 605
affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after 593
her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to 574

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. 602
There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be 612
mentioned; that of co-bride (συνυφάδα), which is the link [607]
between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is 607
once more apparent when we ask which are the significant 602
affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the 606
critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings 607
and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young [5 4]
brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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606 For their part, the family of the bride both for her sake and
607 the sake of her children try very hard to please the 'bridegroom'. 'The father-in-law must entertain the bridegroom and keep him content' (ὁ πεθερὸς πρέπει νὰ εὐχαριστήσῃ καὶ φιλοξενήσῃ
[574] τὸ γαμπρό), they say. When the bridegroom comes on a visit meat is always killed, an honour which is not automatically accorded to a blood kinsman however close. After the passage of some years and the establishment of the new family, relations between the husband and his wife's family of origin become less tense and formal, and if the bridegroom is an honourable man, his father and brothers-in-law may eventually trust him with some of their secrets. Yet even after the passage of years, close affinal relatives of the same generation must behave in a dignified and restrained manner in each other's presence. The easy familiarity between cousins of both sexes finds no parallel in the case of affinal relations. Affines do not laugh and joke together.

602 We need not discuss again the position of the bride in her
607 husband's extended family of origin; something has already been said about this in chapter four. The brothers and sisters of the married pair may see one another from time to time. The husband, or a young unmarried brother of the husband, always escorts the wife when she goes to her home to see her parents, and one of the wife's brothers brings her back to her husband's
602 home at the end of her visit. On these and other chance occasions, some at least of the members of the two families of origin come to know one another. But these relations never become easy and familiar. The link between co-parents-in-law (συμπέθεροι)[4] is formal. At the time of the marriage of their children, the fathers have already retired or are on the point of doing so, and since affines generally do not live in the same village, and the parents-in-law do not visit each other's homes, social contact between them is minimal.

In general, effective co-operation between affines does not usually occur beyond the limits of the two elementary families of origin of a married pair. The significance of affinal relations beyond this range is negative, that is to say a man avoids giving offence to or dealing deceitfully with such people. But even

[4] As we have seen, συμπέθερος is also used in a wider sense to mean affines in general.

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

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/Information on artificial kin relations (bridegroom-wedding sponsor, godchild-godparent) between the Greek villagers of the Zagori region and the Sarakatsani nomads will be found in 1: Campbell, EH14 Sarakatsani file, category 608./

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S G 621 648 S 186 571

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[2] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S [796]

S G [838]

[2] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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S G 648 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S G 648 G 829

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 571 648 608

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 796 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [774] [783]

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
563 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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608 generally not connected by kinship or marriage. It is therefore, despite the ritual sanction it contains, an inherently fragile bond which can only be sustained through the meticulous disciplining of attitudes and feelings on both sides. Two people formerly unrelated are drawn into a relationship of exacting ethical standards in which their mutual esteem and respect are profoundly committed.

[783] Just as the gift of God's grace which is implied in the rite of Baptism is a free gift, a gift without motive, and one which expects no reciprocity, so it is held that a godfather ought not to refuse any reasonable request of his godchild. In practice a godchild has little to do with his godfather, to whom, however, he must show a formal respect more punctilious than the respect he observes to his natural parents. While the ritual relation between the godfather and his godchild is more important than that between bridegroom and sponsor, the social relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent, persons of the same generation with common or complementary interests, is more important than that between the spiritual father and his godchild. Nevertheless, when a man seeks a favour from the godfather of his child, he asks for this help implicitly, or explicitly, in the name of the child; for it is understood that he has the right to make this request because of the ritual relation which exists between his child and its spiritual father. It follows that, in an important sense, the social relationship between the natural and the spiritual parent is dependent on the ritual link between godfather and godchild.

608 851 557 The wedding sponsor, in theory, has the right to baptize all the children of the marriage. The Sarakatsanos, however, seldom wastes these opportunities by allowing a single godfather to baptize all his sons. When the second son is born he tactfully asks the godfather of his first son if he would mind surrendering his right on this occasion because X has asked him if he might have that honour. He may add that as X is an important man he fears to give him offence. This, of course, is not true but the lie serves its purpose. In this way a man may establish almost as 608 851 many links of spiritual kinship as he has children. If the first child is a girl, the sponsor baptizes her but normally he must also become the godfather of the first son when he is born. However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακοριζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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S G 608 557 Naturally, merchants and others are well aware of the motives behind the naïve manœuvres of the Sarakatsani. But, as we have already said, they also gain various advantages. They do not, except in the unusual case of a very rich or powerful individual, become lavish patrons. Few of them give away anything for nothing. But they become helpful rather than hostile, they will exert their influence for their spiritual kinsmen and in doing so they themselves win prestige. A shared system of values regulates their mutual behaviour in which friendship and trust replace hostility and suspicion.

3. VILLAGE FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

G 623 666 [622] S [641] [666] In the villages authority rests in the hands of a council of five members. From its own number it elects a President and Vice-President while the choice of the council itself is the result of local elections which are held every four years. In these, all adult villagers of both sexes, and those shepherd families who possess citizenship rights in the village, are entitled to vote.

G 665 666 623 For electoral purposes any person may form a party providing he can present to the electorate a card with the names of seven candidates. In practice village elections seldom produce more than two parties, those who support the President in power because they are his friends, and those who want a change because they are not his friends. These parties are essentially personal followings, not corporate associations, and there is not necessarily any direct alignment with the parties of national politics. The citizens vote by handing in the party card of their choice with four crosses against those of the seven candidates who are preferred. The party which polls the greater number of cards wins the election. The four candidates of the successful party who record the largest aggregates of personal votes become members of the council. The person amongst the candidates of the defeated party or parties who claims the largest number of personal votes is also elected to the council as the representative of the defeated minority's interests. The five members of the new council then proceed to elect two of their number as President and Vice-President. These men hold office for two years, at the end of which period their authority may either be confirmed for the remaining two years of the council's term of office, or they may be replaced by the election of new officers.

G [622] [624]

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S G 648 S 662 G 693 661 wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S G 648 571 G 693 In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the [608] godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of S [431] their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his pro- G [557] fessional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

S G 648 571 G 693 662 It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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specific contexts, that is to saving a shepherd from eviction from his pastures and from the need to sell his stock because of his indebtedness to others. If a merchant has a firm hold over a man through the nexus of debt he does not want to assume unnecessary obligations which may limit the range and flexibility of his economic operations. Cheese merchants who are sometimes forced unwillingly into becoming godfathers to Sarakatsan children do not always make very satisfactory spiritual kinsmen. On the other hand, in certain cases where an influential Sarakatsan family is clear, or nearly clear, of debt a merchant may be very willing to enter into the diffuse obligations of friendship if this will enable him to hold it to his custom. There is a difference between the relationships which a shepherd establishes with his lawyer and his cheese merchant. The lawyer gives advice and support to a client over the whole range of his affairs; the more complete his patronage, the more obligated the client and the greater the lawyer's power over him. The merchant's interests in the shepherd are more specifically economic; his economic success depends upon a certain flexibility in his commitments so that, for example, he may wish to make smaller advances and grant fewer long-term credits when interest rates are abnormally high. This seems to be an example of a general difference between political and economic power; the former has a particularist and affective quality, the latter is characterized by its relative generality and impersonality.

But the relation of merchant and shepherd can never be merely specific to the act of purchase or without some affective content as in simple market exchanges. The merchant carries a dead weight of debt; this he can only recover by a legal action which would deprive the shepherd of the animals on which depend the family's physical subsistence and its social prestige. Both sides realize that the existence of the debt, whatever may have been the motives which encouraged it, has meant the possibility of the family continuing to live honourably in their traditional way of life. By the mere fact of having done a good thing, even if without that purpose, the merchant is morally obliged not to undo it. It is a remarkable fact that since 1945 the merchant 'X' appears to have called in only one debt by recourse to the law.

/129 cont./

582 Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 582 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7) two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

7. In the official law as well.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

[788] The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

[171]

/130 cont./
608 That is why the participants afterwards call each other stavradelphia, that is to say "brothers in the cross."

The stavradelphia owe each other fraternal love and a solidarity which sometimes exceeds that of natural brothers. As to their only sister, they owe her protection and support in all circumstances of her life.

The ethnic origin of the participants, or better still, their belonging to different cultural groups, does not constitute an obstacle to the fraternization. For this act may be carried out not only between Sarakatsani, but between Sarakatsani, peasants and even Koutsovalaques. We should keep this in mind because it will permit us to understand the multiple functions of marriage among our herders.

608 582 Be that as it may, marriage is, of course, prohibited between the stavradelphia and their sister.

It is likewise prohibited between one of the participants and the sisters, cousins and other natural kinsmen up to the sixth degree of another participant, for the latter occupies the place of a true brother in the family of the former.

Fraternization "in the cross," therefore, concerns not only the participants, but also their respective families. Thus there is created "a whole corporation with numerous ramifications." (10)

10. D. Loukopoulou: Ibid., p. 211.

* * * *

582 /131/ From all that has gone before we may conclude that the system of prohibitions examined above prescribes a negative behavior in the sense that the Sarakatsani knows perfectly well who the individuals are who cannot be considered as potential spouses; but he never knows who the individual is whom he will marry. The marriage rules of Sarakatsani society do not prescribe marriage of one of its members with a specific person.
[583] Consequently, it is certain that we are faced with a generalized system of exchange of women, (11) the existence of which plays a very important

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 62 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

608 /133 cont./
182 opinion, there remains no doubt about the function of fraternization.
[124] It could hardly be otherwise. At the time of Byzantium, as well as during the Turkish occupation, the Hellenic populations lived in an entire society in which the organized machinery of /134/ the state was miserably inefficient. (16)

16. For more details see the chapter on Sarakatsani law.

The various autochthonous groups thus felt a real need to form alliances and lend each other aid. This explains, moreover, the failure to abolish fraternization, despite the threats of the church, the pressure of present necessity prevailing over the fear of future punishment, even coming from God.

602 The social significance of this practice is thus the best demonstra-
608 tion of the general social function of kinship and this in turn also ex-
182 plains the obstacles to marriage as well as the societal control of the
582 choice of future spouses. If kinship by fraternization can play such a role, kinship by blood, kinship by affinity and even spiritual kinship should be all the more capable of assuming it with even greater success.

We are therefore now in a position to explain and understand several facts. We are able to explain the inclusion of the Koutsovalaque in fraternization, though afflicted by the prohibition of marriage. We can understand that fraternization as well spiritual kinship tends to compensate for the possible ineffect of the equation "kinsman = ally."

581 Finally, we see that marriage, insofar as it is the creator of kin-
602 ship, has the double function of assuring the perpetuation of the Sarakatsani socially as well as biologically.

586 There still remains two rules for us to examine which, though not
587 bearing on the preparations for marriage, must be included in this section
[128] because their social justification is ascribable to the same logic as the preceding rules:

First, divorce is unknown among the Sarakatsani. Next, a second marriage, in case of the death of one of the spouses is unthinkable.

[581] Now if we accept the fact that marriage is a way of establishing
[182]

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PREFACE

I THINK it is useful and necessary to explain at once the particular point of view from which I describe in this study the life of a community of Greek Sarakatsan shepherds. I begin with an analysis, in some detail, of kinship institutions and the structure of the family, which emphasizes how an individual's moral obligations are concentrated almost exclusively within family and kindred at the expense of his relations with people outside that relatively limited circle. Families not connected by kinship or marriage are related through institutions of mutual hostility and competition; and unrelated persons view one another at all times with intense distrust. A system of social values based on concepts of honour, strength, and pride is associated with these institutions and attitudes, and together they guide the conduct of Sarakatsani in the apparent anarchy of their communal life. Inevitably these institutions and values severely limit the possible forms of economic and civic co-operation. Further, they considerably affect the character of the relations between this community of mutually opposed family commonwealths and the rest of Greek society. Given a centralized administration, and parliamentary government with a universal franchise, an implication of the internal structure of the community is that these relations tend to take certain forms of political and social patronage. Honour, Family, and Patronage represent a pattern of interrelated institutions and values.

In this book I have attempted to abstract for the purposes of analysis a particular complex of institutions and values which are not peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Very similar formal elements are critical for the study of society anywhere in the Greek provinces, and even, in many respects, in the cities. Moreover, the social forms which are described here have many interesting parallels in other parts of the Mediterranean world, and it is principally as a contribution to the study of social structures in this area that I offer my study.

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children. 609 629 612 577

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy. 612

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει ἀντ(χαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has 571 577 626 609 578

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609 578 not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This, in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation without losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship. [558]

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not [554] lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 627 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go [682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
[593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
[426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
[582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
[609] young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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Moreover, the produce of the
619 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[973] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στὴ λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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which through common membership can commit him to any duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is established high in the mountains above the village so that the various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular merchant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanœuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing 571
point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not 609
generally found among those families using the grazing lands 578
of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within 685
the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the pre- [554]
caution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring
and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the [521]
number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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571 609 578 685 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft, which was less often attempted, partly because of the considerable danger and partly because it made even greater demands on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the [439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a [422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the [551] prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate 311
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield.
At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village 122
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion 423
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During 425
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the 288
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live 609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes 578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [579] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious [521] in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction. 571 609 221 233 578

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a 571 578 571 578 685

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.
685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
571 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
609 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
233 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
578 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
685 the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of
[554] spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[6] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[11-3] [6] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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S G 439 57 G 441

The Sarakatsanos does not deny the obligation to his merchant. Two heads of family went so far as to say that they would feel ashamed to leave, without just cause, a merchant who had supported them not only with credits but also, sometimes, with his political influence. But their feelings of obligation are ambivalent. In other contexts hostility is expressed. It is alleged that the merchant shamelessly exploits the shepherd and that all his actions are moved by entirely selfish motives. 'He, too, has a burn on his bottom' (ἔχει καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ καλοκάψιμό του), that is, he, too, has his own troubles and interests.

S 439 434 S [426] S [571]

Through the cheese merchant the Sarakatsanos is able to dispose of the most valuable part of the produce of his flock and to obtain the money he needs to pay for the pasturage of his animals and the needs of his family which are related to prestige as well as to bare subsistence. The system of credits provides the shepherd with the means to survive years when natural or political difficulties would otherwise force him to sell part of the flock to meet his commitments. It has also made it possible for the shepherds in recent years to raise slightly their material standard of living.

S G 426 439 571 S G [556]

The growth of debts has brought a certain stability and particularism to relations between merchants and shepherds. Debt provides a basis for a permanent balance of expectations between the two parties despite the asymmetrical character of the relationship. The merchant is assured of the supply of milk which is essential for his prosperity, the shepherd is relatively assured of credit and political support when his grazing rights are threatened. The powerful merchant's ability to support a wide system of credit brings him prestige and the right to move amongst the provincial *élite*; the credit which he gives to the shepherd provides the necessary material basis of the latter's social prestige in his own community. Debts maintain these relationships. They produce in creditors some sense of obligation coupled with a determination not to allow the relationship to become an affective and diffuse bond of patronage, in debtors a mixed attitude of gratefulness for the support and protection they receive and enmity because they cannot escape.

6. CONCLUSION

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It is evident that the form and function of patronage connexions are immediately related to the moral solidarity and isolation of

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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7. A SYSTEM OF VALUES

571 Sarakatsan society offers men only three important corporate
577 memberships: in the family, the local community, and the nation. Little conflict arises between the obligations created by these different commitments. The interests of the family are normally contained within the purposes of the community when it faces other communities, those of the community are contained within the aims of the nation opposed to the rest of the world. In war, the actions of a soldier reflect simultaneously on the honour of his family, his community, and his nation. And in each instance the honour and interests of the individual and of the group are mutually implicated.

Honour refers to an exclusive identification. The honour of a group is opposed to the honour of another if only for the reason that there is an implicit comparison between different honours in reference to a pattern of ideal attributes. But honour also reflects on the correct status relations between individuals or groups. When two groups are in communication the behaviour of the persons representing them implies, on either side, a certain evaluation of the other group. If a man suffers treatment that is less than his due, his honour, and the honour of the group he represents, are diminished. But in the experience of the Sarakatsani the interests and prestige of families, communities, and nations are inevitably in collision, and this must lead men to exploit others where they can. Thus relations between different groups always carry the threat of the depreciation of the honour of one for the benefit of the other. Although relations between families, communities, and nations refer, ideally, to an equality in honour, yet at each level those who represent these groups must struggle with all their resources of courage and self-discipline to maintain these ideal status relations. These struggles are intense. And in every significant context of action the world is necessarily divided with dramatic definition into own people and strangers, friends and enemies. Consequently relationship radically affects the forms of approved behaviour. It is a virtue generally [609] to cheat, deceive, and lie to non-kinsmen, but the same conduct towards kinsmen would be shameful and, often, sinful as well. The values of honour and prestige are exclusive and

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 725
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
771

585 being moved in and wedged among the company
262 as tightly as jigsaw pieces. Wicker-bound demi-
[273] johns of wine were beginning to travel from hand to hand overhead. Glasses clashed convivially together, miraculously filling up as soon as they were drained, and plates were returning again and again for second or third helpings. Outside the window, swarms of guests were feasting under the trees. Whole lambs were being flourished, sizzling and smoking on their spits, and we could hear the crash of cleaver on block and the crunch of hewn bones as a sinewy nomad toiled like a headsman to keep pace with two hundred mag-
[252] nificent appetites. Nothing accompanied this delicious roast except cross sections of dark and excellent bread sliced from loaves like small millstones and hot from the domed ovens outside.
● [609] It was, in a way, a Stone Age banquet. Strangers, on occasions like these, are the objects of eager solicitude: special morsels, forkfuls of liver or kidney and even more recondite appendages, are constantly being proffered, and helpings of brain are delved from heads which have been bisected lengthwise and opened like a casket, each half, sometimes, still equipped with a twisting horn. Avoidance of the sheep's eyes is a recurrent problem for outsiders. They are highly prized by mountaineers, but for all but the most assimilated travelers, the message they signal from the prongs is one of harrowing reproach.

585 After an hour or so the general hum of talk sank
533 to a single deep bourdon note which resolved itself into the opening phrases of a Klephtic song, the first stanza being sung by a group of two or three, and then repeated in a slow and long-drawn roar, starting with the vehemence of a lurch, by the rest of the shepherds. Rather surprisingly, so far from the Peloponnesus, it was about the great War of Independence leader, Kolokotrones. (I would have expected some more northern Klepht, and above all, Katsandónis, a Sarakatsán from the wild
[539] Agrapha Mountains.) "Kolokotrones shouted," sang the nomads' voices, "and all the world trembled: 'Where are you, poor Nikitara, you whose feet are winged? Go, go and seize the Turks, drive them like hares into a trap, slay some and capture some, and lock some up in the castle. . . . At Antikorpha and Trikorpha the blood is flowing like a brook.'" This gave rise to another deep melopoeia from the south: "They have blocked all the roads of the Morea, they have sealed up all the passes." When the massed voices died down, the steady and unchanging note of the smaller group continued in a wail, setting up its own curious vibration. This comparative lull was always followed by the long deep cry of conjuration, "*Oré!*" ("Oh, you!" or "Hark!"), which ushers in most Klephtic stanzas, and another act from the

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577 12 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [684] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [886] [684]

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

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128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

609 First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic"
789 everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells.
754 For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life,
755 does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and con-
124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/Information on the "stani" or "company," a group of several related families consisting of at least four adults and generally between fifteen to fifty persons of all ages, organized together as a means of best managing the flocks, will be found in category 474./

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Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen
612 but repayment after a reasonable interval is expected, and in
[426] almost all cases is met, even where it leads to the sale of sheep. It amounts to this, that a man will help his kinsman and indeed is morally obliged to do so, so long as this assistance does not conflict with the interests of his own family.

2. THE KINDRED

The kindred of the Sarakatsani has three important formal
[411] characteristics. It is bilateral, the limits of its extension are precisely defined, and within these limits a man may not marry.

There is a sense in which almost all kinship systems may be described as bilateral, or to speak more accurately, filiation is normally bilateral and complementary.[4] But in describing the Sarakatsan kindred as bilateral it is my intention also to suggest a certain, though not exact, symmetry in the relations of a man to the family of origin[5] of his father on the one hand, and to the family of origin of his mother on the other; and to indicate further that, in principle, a man has equivalent confidence in, and similar rights over and obligations towards, more distant collateral kinsmen such as first or second cousins, whether the relationships with these persons are traced through the father or through the mother.[6] There is always a very strong moral obligation to assist any collateral kinsman. For instance, it often

[113] [4] Meyer Fortes, 'Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1953, vol. 55, p. 33.

[5] This is Lloyd Warner's familiar distinction between the family of orientation and the family of procreation. I prefer the terms 'origin' and 'marriage'; in the family of origin the individual is a child and a sibling, in the family of marriage a spouse and a parent.

[101] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόι, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θεῖος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παππούλης, grandfather, γιάγια, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ἐξάδερφος, ἐξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνεψιός, ἀνεψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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its members.[9] It is only through the marriages of their grandparents and parents that a man and his siblings are related to the four component groups of collaterals in his kindred. Kindred relations are personal, not corporate, relations. And the Sarakatsan kindred in no way acts as a property-holding group since, besides the fact that it is relative to a particular sibling group, it has no continuity from generation to generation. 6/2

In drawing attention to this bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred I have been careful to avoid speaking of bilateral descent. In anthropological writings principles of descent normally refer to rules which determine membership in corporate lineal descent groups. Such groups are bodies of kinsmen whose members may be recruited through filiation to a line of descent exclusively through males (patrilineal), or exclusively through females (matrilineal).[10] Descent from a common ancestor or group of ancestors defines membership in the group and identifies the interests of its members, which may concern political and ritual rights and obligations as well as inheritance and succession. It is possible to talk of a corporate bilateral descent group where membership depends upon filiation through both parents but in such an instance the group would have to practise obligatory endogamous marriage. But the Sarakatsan kindred is not an endogamous group. Corporate descent groups imply a principle of perpetual succession, a feature which the kindred entirely lacks; and they also imply that individuals have categorical rights and obligations outside the elementary or extended family, whereas in the Sarakatsan kindred this is not so. Not descent, but filiation of a man or woman to his or her family of origin is the factor which 6/1 6/2

[9] Any two kinsmen other than siblings have kindreds which to a greater or lesser degree overlap. A man may find himself in a situation where two men, both related to him but unrelated to one another, are in some form of conflict in which both appeal to him for support. In this predicament the only solution is to remain neutral, since it would be sinful to act against a kinsman except under great provocation. But generally such a situation extends rather than restricts the range of kinship obligations; towards a person who, although not a kinsman himself, is closely related to a kinsman, a man ought to act with more consideration and less hostility than is usual between men who are unrelated.

[10] There are other possibilities, viz. bilineal or dual descent, parallel descent, and alternating descent.

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611 determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
612 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[29] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

612 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
[582] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.
602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the [554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended [553] in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[5]

Ντάμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of ντάμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of ντάμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[5] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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[For additional information on the Tséligato, an economic cooperative the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, see Category 474.]

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[p. 36]

III

KINSMEN AND AFFINES

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KINSMEN

6/2 THE kindred (τὸ σόϊ) includes only those blood kinsmen of a man (or woman)[1] who are formally recognized for social purposes. The Sarakatsani recognize as members of the kindred all cognatic relatives as far as the degree of second cousin, whether these links are traced through the father's or mother's side of the family. In this system, all those persons descended from a man's four grandparents and their brothers and sisters are his kinsmen, except the children of his second cousins, the grandchildren of his first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of his own siblings, who are not members of his kindred. To express this in more general terms, the recognition for social purposes of collateral relations is relatively wide in a man's own generation and subsequently becomes, from his point of view, relatively less wide in each descendant generation. As a man passes through life, critical events, such as his marriage and the birth of children, the marriages of these children and the birth of grandchildren, direct his obligations and interests to his own immediate descendants to the exclusion of collaterals.

[602]

6/2 59 Kindred relationships are considered by the Sarakatsani to be extensions from the family. Naturally, it is always a member of a man's elementary family who mediates his various relationships in the kindred, parents providing the links with grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins; siblings those with nephews and nieces. And although the kindred is a system of personal relationships while the family is a corporate group,[2] the systematic character of the former, and the structure of the latter, are necessarily interdependent and consistent.

[1] Except where there is ambiguity I shall not repeat this cumbersome qualification.

[2] Perpetuity is a quality often premised of corporate kinship groups, whereas Sarakatsan families are limited to a life of some 40 years, i.e. the period which normally elapses between a man's marriage and the division

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[3] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[3] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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59 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world.
612 Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the
571 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility
602 and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no
619 general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con-
[612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical
[578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile
[162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of
[203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing problem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very careful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of this fragmented community are related through competition for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sarakatsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 612 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is [426] not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shep- [426] herd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 612 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd.

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals.

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen

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[601] [6] The bilateral form of the kindred is plainly reflected in the terminology. The word σόι, kindred, applies, of course, to both maternal and paternal relations; and the words for kinsman συγγενής and relationship συγγένεια are both used in the same way. The terms which are used to describe kinship relationship outside the family do not differentiate between maternal and paternal kinsmen. Thus the term θείος, uncle, is used for both mother's brother and father's brother as well as for all male first cousins of both parents whether these are connected through male or female links. The same may be said about the other terms for παππούλης, grandfather, γιάγια, grandmother, θεία, aunt, ἐξάδερφος, ἐξαδέρφη, male and female cousin, ἀνεψιός, ἀνεψιά, nephew and niece, and ἐγγόνι, ἐγγονή, grandchild, grand-daughter.

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, νταμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[7] And if either the

[7] The more general meaning of νταμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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584 554 577 612 bride or the bridegroom is from a family of lower prestige than the other, it is said that he (or she) 'destroys' the νταμάρι of the other partner. For it is thought that in the family which results from a marriage both partners have contributed their blood 'to make one blood' which is unique and on whose purity the prestige and honour of the new family depends.

59 583 425 [422] In a similar manner both husband and wife contribute wealth to the elementary family which they establish. The corporate property of a family is a common stock of animals, money, and goods, from which sons and daughters must be endowed. Daughters receive their portion as dowry at the moment of marriage, but the married sons normally continue to live in an extended family group where family wealth is still held in common. In the eventual partition of this joint household and its property, which is delayed until all the daughters have been married, and generally occurs five to ten years after the marriage of the eldest son, equal shares of stock and other assets are received by each son; but in the case of the youngest son an extra half-share is provided for the maintenance of each surviving parent who by custom remains in the household of this son. When an elementary family leaves the joint household of married brothers, the husband's family has probably contributed about 100 sheep and goats and one or two mules while the wife's family has supplied in the form of her dowry (προικιό) the furnishings of the hut and sufficient clothes and finery for the bride to wear or display for a period of ten years or more. [435] The value of such a dowry is about £150, or the equivalent of [178] 50 sheep. Since 1945, however, the practice has grown up of demanding from the bride's family about forty sheep or their equivalent in gold sovereigns in addition to the traditional dowry. Thus approximately under the traditional convention, and more rigorously today, there exists a certain balance between the wealth that passes into a new family from the husband's family of origin and that which is contributed by the wife's family of origin. It would be wrong to think of the dowry merely as a payment made by a bride's family to obtain a husband for her. Certainly there have been cases where girls who had physical or moral deficiencies have had to pay large dowries to get any kind of husband at all. It is also true that calculations of family prestige are concerned in the size of the

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827 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour
828 is not approved, but in terms of χοόι it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

59 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and character pass into a family from both the families which enter
612 into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[8] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[113] [8] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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its members.[9] It is only through the marriages of their grandparents and parents that a man and his siblings are related to the four component groups of collaterals in his kindred. Kindred relations are personal, not corporate, relations. And the Sarakatsan kindred in no way acts as a property-holding group since, besides the fact that it is relative to a particular sibling group, it has no continuity from generation to generation. 6/2

In drawing attention to this bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred I have been careful to avoid speaking of bilateral descent. In anthropological writings principles of descent normally refer to rules which determine membership in corporate lineal descent groups. Such groups are bodies of kinsmen whose members may be recruited through filiation to a line of descent exclusively through males (patrilineal), or exclusively through females (matrilineal).[10] Descent from a common ancestor or group of ancestors defines membership in the group and identifies the interests of its members, which may concern political and ritual rights and obligations as well as inheritance and succession. It is possible to talk of a corporate bilateral descent group where membership depends upon filiation through both parents but in such an instance the group would have to practise obligatory endogamous marriage. But the Sarakatsan kindred is not an endogamous group. Corporate descent groups imply a principle of perpetual succession, a feature which the kindred entirely lacks; and they also imply that individuals have categorical rights and obligations outside the elementary or extended family, whereas in the Sarakatsan kindred this is not so. Not descent, but filiation of a man or woman to his or her family of origin is the factor which 6/1 6/2

[9] Any two kinsmen other than siblings have kindreds which to a greater or lesser degree overlap. A man may find himself in a situation where two men, both related to him but unrelated to one another, are in some form of conflict in which both appeal to him for support. In this predicament the only solution is to remain neutral, since it would be sinful to act against a kinsman except under great provocation. But generally such a situation extends rather than restricts the range of kinship obligations; towards a person who, although not a kinsman himself, is closely related to a kinsman, a man ought to act with more consideration and less hostility than is usual between men who are unrelated.

[10] There are other possibilities, viz. bilineal or dual descent, parallel descent, and alternating descent.

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611 determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
612 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[29] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

612 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
[582] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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may marry a kinswoman of this degree. In other words, the children of a marriage throw away, as it were, perhaps three-quarters[12] of those kinsmen who are recognized collateral relations of the parents. The father, when he identifies himself with the interests of his own children, at once creates a certain kinship distance between himself and any one of his own siblings, the kindred of whose children only partly coincides with the kindred of his own children. Since the descendants of the father's second cousins are no longer kinsmen of his children, they also cease to be significant for him and are not recognized as kinsmen; similarly in the case of the grandchildren of first cousins, and the great-grandchildren of siblings. And the same considerations apply in the case of the mother and her collateral kin. With the passage of time parents turn their loyalty and interest from the collateral kinsmen of their own generation to their direct descendants and to only those collateral descendants who remain relevant for their own descendants; these are necessarily fewer in each descendant generation. 612

From one point of view a man's kinsmen are the descendants of the four sibling groups of his two grandfathers and two grandmothers. Sarakatsan kinship finds its source in the unity of the sibling group born and nurtured within a legitimate family. Collateral kinsmen see themselves as the descendants of such a group and it is this sentiment which provides the basis of the personal moral solidarity with a kinsman. Thus the Greek word for cousins (ἐξάδερφοι) means literally 'from brothers'. But Sarakatsani are, also, conscious that it is through marriages in which the interests of siblings or cousins cannot be mutually identified that kinsmen become separated. For a man is related more closely to a particular kinsman than to the kinsman's child; thus, with the close identification of a father's interests with those of his children and the exclusive concentration of categorical obligations in the family of marriage, the marriages of collaterals inevitably lead to change and a measure of disintegration in the individual's kindred. In a phrase, marriage joins strangers while it separates those who are already kinsmen. The consequences for the children and grandchildren of siblings are that a man has approximately only half his kindred 612 58

[12] The exact size of this fraction depends upon the size of the various sibling groups in the kindreds.

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612 58 in common with his first cousin and only one quarter in common with his second cousin. It shows with what rapidity in this kinship system the common interests of the descendants of a sibling group disappear. With the passage of only three generations these descendants are formally unrelated and there is no restriction on the marriage of third cousins. A man says of this third cousin, 'The kindred has left the house' (βγῆκε τὸ σόϊ ἀπὸ τὸ σπίτι).

612 582 571 The third formal characteristic of the kindred is that a man may not marry within its limits. This means that the two families who form a marriage alliance are unrelated[13] and that the kindred of the groom will not considerably overlap with the kindred of the bride although they may claim some kinsmen in common. A kindred in which maternal and paternal kinsmen normally form mutually exclusive categories naturally has a wider span than a kindred in which these categories overlap; and to that extent, the marriage prohibition is consistent with the need to have many kinsmen in many places.

We have seen that the principle of equivalent bilateral extension together with the defined limits of the kindred acts over a period of time to force collaterals apart. A second consequence of the prohibition on marriage in the kindred is that it makes it impossible to counteract this process by confirming in a later generation a relationship which has already been established. Thus the practice of either first- or second-cousin marriage such as is reported from Spain by Pitt-Rivers,[14] where it is favoured as a means of conserving property within the family, is not possible among the Sarakatsani. This leads to a third consequence of the marriage prohibition. It forces a man who wishes to marry off his son or daughter to face, as it were, outwards from his kindred towards the total community. Thus while non-kinsmen are rivals and even enemies, they are also in a sense potential affines. This is peculiarly significant in a community where men unrelated by kinship are associated mainly through institutionalized forms of hostility and rivalry. A contract of marriage is normally the only instrument which may bring two unrelated families into positive association and co-operation. Indeed, a sense of the community's endogamy is an important

[13] Except in the cases of marriage between third cousins.

[113] [14] J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *The People of the Sierra*, London, 1954, pp. 103-6.

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element in their consciousness of being a community at all. Sarakatsani, when they wish to stress their solidarity in opposition to villagers or other outsiders, often claim that, if full records of their marriages had been preserved through the generations, it would be clear that they are all kinsmen, although they are quick to add the qualification that such kinship has long ago 'left the house'. The same principles of kinship extension and marriage prohibition which from the point of view of the individual tend towards the loosening of his relations with collaterals within the kindred, at the same time lead to a measure of cohesion within the community considered as a system of actual and potential kinship relations. Kin and non-kin, actual relations and potential relations, are opposed but also complementary categories.

Of these three formal features of the Sarakatsan kindred the dominant is, without doubt, equivalent bilateral extension. The distinctive consequence of this principle is that the only possible corporate group based upon kinship alone which can exist in such a system over a period of time as long as a generation is the elementary family. For since there is no unilineal principle of descent grouping, there can be no corporate kinship group of higher order, which either includes the elementary family, or cuts across it by including some of its members and excluding others. Nor are there non-unilineal corporate kin groups in which membership is based on optional or alternate filiation or on the choice of residence after marriage.[18] Such arrangements would conflict with the symmetrical affiliation of Sarakatsani to all kinsmen through all lines and the equivalence of obligation to all kinsmen of the same degree. Although the association of an elementary family, for the first five to ten years of its existence, with the husband's extended family of origin may obscure the situation, the newly established elementary family is influenced by both the families of origin of the husband and wife.

An interesting recognition of this occurs on the very day of marriage when in other respects the bride's family feel that they

[18] For a review of non-unilineal descent groups, see William Davenport, 'Nonunilinear Descent and Descent Groups', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. 61, pp. 557–72. Cf. also J. D. Freeman, 'The Family System of the Iban of Borneo', *Cambridge Papers in Social Anthropology No. 1*, Cambridge, 1958.

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612 have been defeated and plundered. The Greek Orthodox
594 marriage service is in two parts, the first being the rite of
585 Betrothal (ἀρραβῶνας), the second the rite of 'Crowning' (στεφάνωσις); and normally they are celebrated in church as one ceremony. The Sarakatsani, however, bring a priest to the huts of the bride's family to perform the religious betrothal ceremony which the shepherds name 'the half wedding' (ὁ μισὸς γάμος), and consider to be equal in importance to the office of 'Crowning'. The bride's kinsmen will not surrender her to the groom's retinue until this ceremony is performed, and equally the marriage ceremony cannot be completed until the bride is brought to the home of the bridegroom. In effect, each side celebrates half the marriage service.

594 This double attraction is eventually resolved by the new
612 family's relative emancipation from both the old families. Once the young family has parted from the husband's extended family of origin, it stands on its own without categorical rights over, or obligations towards, other related elementary families. It neither gives nor receives unconditional support of the kind that involves physical violence or economic assistance. In these important respects the family, even within the kindreds of its members, is, in a sense, isolated.

[601] This isolation of the elementary family is accurately reflected by the kinship terminology, although in this respect it does not differ from the general form of European kinship terminologies. It is significant that the terms for the kinship personalities in a man's elementary families of origin and marriage, that is in his inner circle of kinship, are not extended to more distant kinsmen as is the case in many societies with systems of unilineal descent. The family (οἰκογένεια) which may refer, according to context, to either or both elementary families in which the individual has or had corporate membership, and to any surviving grandparents, is part of the kindred, yet at the same time is clearly distinguished from it. In its widest connotation the 'family' is, of course, a class of relations and not a residential group. The principles which essentially relate members of the family are parental obligation and filiation, while the kindred is based on collateral extension. Between these two classes of kinsmen siblings are the bridge, since at the same time they are directly descended from the same parents and grandparents and

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occupy, before marriage, a socially equivalent status, but become, after their marriages, the points of departure of distinct collateral lines of descent. 594 612

At the beginning of this chapter I described the multiform character of the family. It is a domestic group, an economic and property-owning unit, a quasi-political association, a religious communion, and so on. It is now evident that the elementary family group is the only stable solidary unit associated with the kindred and that while it enjoys important support from collateral kinsmen, it is also, in a sense, isolated from them. The immense importance, then, of this social group on the one hand, and its lack of continuity through time on the other, mean that the institutionalized arrangements for its establishment or dissolution, for the transference of categorical rights and obligations from an old family to a new, are of critical importance. Underlying the nature of these arrangements is the simple fact that each individual during some part of his lifetime is almost always the member of two families: one of origin, the other of marriage.[16] A man is a son and brother in one family, a father and husband in the other; a woman is a daughter and sister in the family of origin, a mother and wife in the family of marriage. It is obviously important that the rights and duties of these different roles, when played by the same individual, should not conflict. This is a problem for all systems of kinship, but it is especially acute in this community because all the individual's significant rights and obligations inhere in the family and in no other group. The individual passes from his first family to his second through marriage. In the case of the woman the solution of the problem of conflicting roles is radical; she leaves the home of her father, who ceases to have any rights over her except the residual right of resuming his power over her if she becomes a widow before the birth of children. The protection of her honour is no longer the concern of her brothers, and her working services now belong exclusively to the husband's family. When later she pays one of her rare visits to her original home, she may not spin even a handful of her mother's wool. The husband does not shed the categorical obligations of his roles as son

59 [612] 59 581 602 [574]

[16] An individual may have membership in a third family; for the grandparents, after the division of the joint household, normally live as members of the family of marriage of their youngest son. [603]

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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●612 prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal
611 cousin as his most trusted friend.
602 When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the [554] families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

562 A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters
842 simply because they are males and not because they are specific-
[602] ally agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended [553] in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

181 This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent
562 with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or 851
the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in 596
a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be
some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his
family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family
of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this [602]
problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct
lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to
either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not mar-
riage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the
group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live 596
together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. 528
This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which
eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that
the differences between wives often provide the occasions for
separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often [539]
quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house
and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φκιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν).
'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ
σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that
wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each
wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot
come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of
brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed
in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing dis-
tance between brothers is due to the obligations and affec-
tions which they owe to their children and which replace their
former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives
are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or
some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because
wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their
children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from 596
the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral 612
extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only [594]
corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this
bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common
with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their
affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain
affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with
their cousins.

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children. 609 829 612 577

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy. 612

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has 571 577 626 609 578

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609 578 [558] not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This, in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation without losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of [554] age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 627 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go [682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may undertake this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future. 612 627

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated vengeance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction. 612 579 [579]

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε 612 476

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612 476 τὸ φίλι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human [431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still [675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near [409] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of [662] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, [426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica- [851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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pasture which he was willing to rent to Vasili for the weeks that 612
remained before the Sarakatsani began their journey to the 476
Zagori mountains. Spiros paid him twelve pounds for the use [429]
of the pasture and sent a message to Vasili to bring his surviving
animals as quickly as possible before they, too, contracted the
disease. He also told him to send his wife and children to
Spiros' own home, since it would not be worth while construct-
ing new huts for so short a time.

At the time, I suggested to Spiros that he had acted very
generously towards Vasili. But he could only shrug his shoulders,
not in modesty for this was entirely foreign to his nature, but
because he felt that his conduct was only natural and did not
call for any explanation. At the same time he made it quite 612
clear that Vasili would have to repay the twelve pounds. He 476
admitted without embarrassment that Vasili would be in great 426
difficulties for many years to come. Nevertheless each family
had its own responsibilities, for instance he himself was hoping
to set up one of his sons as a shopkeeper in Jannina. He did
not expect repayment this year or even next. And anyway, he
added, Vasili would not allow him to forget the debt. In fact,
later in the summer of the same year when Vasili had received
a much reduced sum of money for the sale of his milk, he at
once repaid the loan. Spiros' comment to me was simply, 'You
see how quickly he paid off the debt. We have trust in our
kinsmen.' The time and energy which Spiros gave to the [571]
arrangement of his kinsman's affairs, the use of his valuable
patronage relationships with a Ministry official and the mayor
of a local town, were favours freely given, mere incidents in the
personal relations of cousins. But the money, although not a
particularly large sum, was part of the wealth of the family and
under no circumstance could it be alienated.

2. COUSINS

Cousins are the most significant of a person's collateral kinsmen 605
both for purposes of practical co-operation and for simple com- 612
panionship. This is particularly true of the periods immediately
before and after marriage. For these are the years when the [554]
individual's social reputation and prestige are judged by the com-
munity, and when the problems and difficulties of establishing
a family require the practical assistance and moral support of

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605 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs
612 that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes
605 or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin
521 after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both
576 sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which
836 are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations can-
[684] not be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her
000 life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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The importance of virginity

is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605 834
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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572 man finds perhaps two or three cousins with whom his friend-
605 ship is particularly intimate; this is a relationship based on sym-
612 pathy and mutual concern for the other, it is the delight taken in the company of the other person for the quality of sociability
572 itself. But these relations of affection and uncalculating trust
605 tend not to be with cousins with whom a man co-operates, or
612 has co-operated, in the day-to-day management of the same
476 flocks. The goodwill of kinsmen is important both in those situations where purpose, aim, and practical interest are involved, and for its own sake where pleasure is taken in the quality of a friendly sympathetic relationship. In both instances a man finds in his kinsman what lack of trust and antipathy prevents him from seeking in an unrelated individual. But there is a difference between a relationship of co-operation and one of sympathetic friendship. Men who herd their sheep together in the same 'company', are concerned in co-operation between corporate family groups; the obligations of this co-operative activity are specific and quasi-contractual, requiring restraint, discipline, and calculated book-keeping. These are elements at odds with the free, unrestrained, attitudes of devoted personal friendship in which obligations are diffuse not specific in character. In principle one cannot deny a friend what he asks. Therefore, friendship between kinsmen flourishes better where the demands put upon it fall into the category of free favours. And this is more likely to be the case where cousins do not work together.

605 This last consideration raises the question whether there is any significant variation in the degree or quality of solidarity between the various categories of first cousins. Marriage is patrilocal and brothers live for a number of years after their marriage in a united extended family; afterwards they may continue to co-operate as a single sheep management group until their children are often in late adolescence. Although these cousins are unlikely to share a relationship of devoted personal friendship, there is the fact or the memory of common service to the same flocks and of essentially identified interests. The possession of the same surname and the value placed upon relationships which are mediated through male kinsmen, are further factors which encourage a formal preference for cousins who are father's brother's children. Equally, however, early childhood in a joint household and co-operative labour in early

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604 In general, uncles and aunts, as in our own society, are notoriously indulgent towards their nephews and nieces in their childhood days. Of the father's brothers who may be living for a time in the same extended household, it is the unmarried uncles who are the favourites of the children, dandling them on the knee and buying them sweets; between the married uncles and their young nephews and nieces there is, necessarily, more restraint. Uncles may attempt occasionally to lecture young nephews and nieces but the relationship at this age is essentially one of permissive familiarity. In his adolescence a nephew shows a more formal respect to his uncles who are by this time almost all married men at the height of their powers, yet even now the relationship is nearer to one of easy camaraderie than careful respect. But after his marriage and even for some years before it, the nephew in manner and conversation pays less and less attention to his uncle who is now generally an old man on the brink of retirement if he has not already been forced into it. There is often a touch of impatience in a nephew's attitude to his old uncle; almost, indeed, an air of patronage, though he does not generally show him public disrespect. Affection remains, but an old uncle is of little account in the affairs of the community except occasionally if it is necessary to find a precedent from the past for action in some puzzling situation. For the adult man or woman the practical significance of an uncle or aunt is their function as a mediating link with their children, the cousins of an individual's own age and generation who provide comradeship and support in facing the problems of life in a competitive and hostile community.

3. THE EFFECTIVE KINDRED

● 612 474 605 In many situations formal kinship distance must be the criterion which measures obligation and responsibility, especially where preference has to be given to one kinsman over another. The stani led by Theodoros Ferendinos includes, as well as his married brothers, two cousins; Pericles, a father's brother's son, and Demetrios, a second cousin whose mother and the mother of Theodoros are first cousins. In 1954, when this group could not find sufficient winter grazing, one cousin had to leave the 'company'. Inevitably this was Demetrios, even though he had

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a very intimate friendship with Theodoros' youngest brother; 612
and despite the fact that Pericles was idle, quarrelsome and 605
inefficient. Similarly, when a man visits another neighbourhood 474
he will always stay at the huts of his first cousin although, on 574
personal grounds, he might prefer to be entertained by a more congenial but more distant kinsman.

These facts are easily understood. A collateral kinship bond is a relationship derived from a pair of siblings. It makes a sensible difference whether this derivation is at one or two removes. And this is so not only on grounds of sentiment but also in relation to the limits of the kindred. The children of first cousins are members of the kindred but the children of second cousins are not kinsmen. The first is a growing relationship, the second is not. A man who is 35 years old will generally know all his first cousins, but sometimes there may be a number of his second cousins whom he has not met personally, although he will always know something about their families and their affairs. Second cousins are on the margin of kinship, people who are nearly 'strangers'. They remain kinsmen who must be guarded and cherished but there is some diminution of responsibility towards them. These facts are illustrated by the different behaviour of first and second cousins which may sometimes be observed at weddings. In the quarrels which flare up on these 605
occasions between unrelated guests, there is always the danger 585
that fighting may become so violent and general that the wed- 579
ding festivities have to be abandoned; this is a great disgrace for the family which is acting as host. It is noticeable that a bridegroom's first cousins feel it is their responsibility to prevent this both by the swiftness of their intervention, where their own kinship alignments allow this, and by the restraint they hold over their own feelings when they are themselves concerned in some incident. Second cousins on the other hand abandon themselves more easily to considerations of injured dignity and self-regard and, in the rush of blood to their heads, temporarily forget their duties to kinsmen.

Yet despite the general importance of kinship distance as a 612
measure of obligation and solidarity, a quality which is par- 605
ticularly characteristic of the kindred is its flexibility. If a man has interests in some part of the community where he can find only a second cousin, or an uncle who is a cousin of one of his

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612 605 parents, he may yet establish with him a relationship which is closer and more significant than the relationships he has with other kinsmen genealogically less distant but living in places where his affairs do not lead him. Similarly, if a man is forced by circumstances to co-operate in sheep management with a distant uncle or second cousin this transforms a genealogically distant connexion into a close and very significant kinship bond. Naturally, a man normally prefers to co-operate and have intimate friendships with close relatives, but in their absence, or where there is an exceptionally strong personal preference for an individual kinsman who is not closely connected, a distant kinsman is, as it were, 'drawn in' so that what becomes significant is the fact of relationship and not the genealogical distance separating kinsmen. This potential efficiency of any kinship relation is perhaps reflected in the way a man refers to a cousin when he is in his presence. In explaining that a man is a first cousin he will say, 'He is my first cousin', but of his second cousin he will only say 'He is my cousin'. By omitting any reference to the distance of cousinship, the effect is to draw the distant kinsman nearer to the man who is speaking. It might be said that an individual has two kindreds; the first is the 'ideal' kindred in which conflicts of obligation and responsibility to kinsmen are measured by formal kinship distance; the second is the 'effective kindred' in which the frequency and character of kinship intercourse which actually takes place, and the practical needs of a man and his family, are also important considerations.

Genealogical connexion beyond the limits of the kindred is not normally of any significance. Men who are third or fourth cousins may possibly be aware of this fact but in general it does not make them behave towards one another differently than 612 they would if they were unrelated. But if a man possesses wealth 605 or influence in the community so that some advantage is to be 557 gained by claiming relationship with him, then he often finds that his 'effective kindred' extends beyond the conventional range of second cousinship and comes to include third and even fourth cousins. When Sotiri Achnoulas, who unlike most of the Sarakatsani in Zagori has more goats than sheep in his flock, was dismayed at the promulgation of a government order forbidding the pasturage of these animals in certain areas of the

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakatsanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could help him through his influence over the local Member of Parliament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the importunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to collateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δυνός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
574 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his [685] sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action [684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

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Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

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It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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612 183 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 626 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct. [539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 612 627 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dis-
612 persed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal
[581] marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least
527 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the
612 few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kins-
571 men together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in
[183] fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kin-
585 ship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for
527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated
612 guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people
[570] are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his
574 huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main 612
purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some 574
business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy 612
one another's company and other considerations are secondary. 527
On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of [585]
July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number 796
of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast- 612
day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous [535]
dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or [556]
distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is [273]
drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these 585
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585 612 festivals. An invitation morally obliges a family to send a representative. It is not a question of whether a man can afford the time and expense to go and enjoy himself for three or four days, but rather that it is his duty to attend and support the family of the bride or groom simply because the members of that family are kinsmen. A man may pay a visit to a kinsman or assist him in some way out of motives which are in part practical and ulterior, but he goes to help a kinsman at his wedding without such utilitarian interest. The kinsman may live in a part of Zagori or the winter pastures where he is unlikely to be of any assistance. He may be poor while the wedding guest may be rich. It might perhaps be argued that a man stands by his kinsmen at their weddings so that in return they will support the [554] weddings in his own family. For it is true that if a large number of kinsmen come to a wedding the family gains prestige. But more important than this outward sanction is the inner concern for, and interest in, the personal affairs of a kinsman. In this matter as in the other moral obligations of kinship the Sarakatsani advance no explanation of why they must act in a particular way beyond the comment 'That's how we found it and that's [577] the way we keep it' (ἔτσι τὸ βρήκαμε καὶ ἔτσι τὸ κρατᾶμε). In other words, in discussing the solidarity of the kindred we are dealing with self-evident values which appear to a man to be sentiments innate in every Sarakatsanos.

The wedding customs of the Sarakatsani reflect in many ways the solidarity of kinsmen. And although it is not my purpose to give an exhaustive description of these customs it will be relevant to the present discussion if I indicate in a general way how kinsmen participate in these ceremonies.

The celebrations are held separately by the family of the bride and the family of the groom at their respective homes. The only point at which the activities of the two groups intersect is when the bridegroom arrives on Sunday morning with his bridal procession of kinsmen (ψίκι) to take away the bride. A man who is related to both the bride and the groom must be the guest of only one side. He is not permitted to spend part of the time with both groups.

585 612 261 [431] Each guest to a wedding brings an offering of food and wine. This consists of a round of bread (κουλούρα) with symbolical ornamentations on the crust; a wooden bottle (βουτσέλι) of wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep.

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wine; and a slaughtered lamb or sheep. For the Sarakatsani a 585
meal is a family communion to which unrelated shepherds are 612
never invited. The wedding-feast is the family meal writ large 261
with the family of the kindred sitting down to eat bread together. For all food is in a generic sense bread. 'Come, let us eat bread', cries the wedding master of ceremonies. As E. S. Drower[1] has [171]
said in discussing the symbolism of bread in Mediterranean cultures, 'It is not only the symbol of life. Bread, itself a union of many grains into a single substance, when broken into fragments and divided amongst many, becomes a symbol of life shared, of a society at peace with itself, of a family bound together by a common factor.'

Wine, too, is a life-fluid. It is drunk ritually by the bride and 585
groom during the religious wedding ceremony. From the 612
Saturday till the Tuesday afternoon, when the festivities end, it 273
is drunk to excess by the whole bibulous assembly. A glass of wine must be accompanied by a toast, and every man tries to drink to the health of each of his kinsmen present. Wine is the symbol of blood; and each toast affirms a relationship. 'To your [537]
health, John' (Γειά σου Γιάννη). 'To your marriages, boys' (Μωρὲ παιδιὰ στὶς χαρές σας), when drinking with unmarried youths or young men; or simply, 'To your wedding' (στὸ γάμο σου). 'To the marriages of your sons' (στῶν παιδιῶν σας), in a toast to married men. 'A happy old age' (καλὰ γεράματά σας), used in drinking to the old men. And so on.[2]

In the confined space of an arbour covered with thick woollen blankets, between one hundred and two hundred men and boys are gathered. In the centre of the floor space the dancing only stops when the company sits down to eat. Then the plates [261]
of roasted meat are devoured almost in silence. Afterwards the dance is on again. Those who are not dancing, sing in accompaniment. The gipsy band beat out strange and exciting [533]
rhythms in which the high-pitched clarinet is never silent. In 585
this intense atmosphere with men drinking steadily and shouting 612
their toasts across the heads of the squatting assembly to their 273
kinsmen, any link of kinship makes men like brothers, its 599
absence potential enemies. For it must not be forgotten that although the wedding guests are all related in some fashion to

[1] E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine*, London, 1956, p. 44. [113]
[2] See Höeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 50.

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585 their hosts, they are not necessarily related to one another. Men
612 whose pride is always sensitive become tense with nervous ex-
273 citement and excess of alcohol. An alleged word or act which is
579 interpreted as insulting, or the memory of a past grievance, may be the occasion of a quarrel; and this, if it is not controlled at once, may end in general violence by mobilizing support for the antagonists along the lines of kinship allegiance. As I have already suggested, these fights give very tangible expression to kinship bonds. But there are, also, less dramatic forms of communion. During the three days and nights of sustained revelry there are occasional breaks of an hour or two when musicians rest or the company observe some item of wedding custom such as the display of the bride's dowry. Then kinsmen sit apart and exchange their news of families and marriages, sheep and politics.

585 Guests come to a wedding to support their kinsmen. They do
612 this not only by their presence but also by lending practical
105 assistance. Among the men this applies particularly to the first
[252] cousins of the bride or groom. These relatives take a hand in preparing the carcasses of the animals for roasting by fixing them on spits. Later they supervise the fires over which the spits are turned and they baste the meat to prevent it from burning. They cut up the whole animal into individual por-
[264] tions. When the meal is ready it is the first cousins who assist the brothers of the family to lay cloths on the ground, pass round forks and spoons and finally hand to each guest his individual
[261] portion of meat. After the meal is over it is again first cousins who stand in the middle of the dancing, one with a bottle of ouzo and the other with a plate of cheese or olives to give refreshment to the sweating dancers. These are not considered to be menial tasks; on the contrary, it is a privilege of close kinship to be allowed to assist in this way.

585 The women hold their sombre, almost melancholy, celebra-
612 tions apart from the men in a nearby hut where they sing and
562 sometimes dance. Here, again, the close female relatives of the
[603] family assist in handing round the food. But of the women guests it is the old grandmothers who play the most important
[252] role. Outside in the open-air kitchen they preside over the huge cooking-pots of potatoes, stews, and soups, enlivening their labours with gossip and attended by dogs and children anticipating scraps.

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The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[3] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Τίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[3] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
●612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
585 605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demonstrate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive, intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

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In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children, whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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612 605 management, are the cousins least likely to form those important links of devoted friendship. Since marriage is patrilocal it is the fathers of these cousins who experienced the various constraints of life in an extended family. These considerations do not generally apply to the other categories of first cousin who [572] normally live in other neighbourhoods. It is among these relatives that a man finds his intimate friends. For these cousins are able to emphasize in their behaviour the altruistic qualities of collateral kinship, particularly in the performance of free favours. Various considerations, then, tend to identify the interests of collateral kinsmen, others to set them apart. We may 612 look at this from another point of view. The fact that for any 571 individual the community is divided into the opposed categories of kinsmen, 'own people', and non-kinsmen, 'strangers', is clearly a factor which unites people who can trust one another against the rest of the world who are not to be trusted. Generally, a man can only co-operate with a kinsman, find a true friend among his cousins, talk to an unmarried girl who is a kinswoman, and so on. However, the members of a man's kindred are not undifferentiated. Some are close kinsmen, others more distant. There is not quite the same measure of responsibility and obligation to a second cousin as there is to a first. Moreover, as children grow up their parents are more concerned with their own descendants and less with collateral kinsmen. But, quite apart from any considerations which relate specifically to the internal structure of the kindred, questions of prestige are [558] always a potential threat to the solidarity of kinsmen. Kinsmen are identified in the thoughts of outsiders and if one man loses prestige, whether it is due to moral error, poverty, or physical deformity, his kinsman suffers with him. In these circumstances his only defence is to withdraw temporarily or permanently from the relationship.

Sarakatsani are fully aware of the fragmented character of [578] their community. They realize that one man's hand is turned against another's. They continually lament the distrust which exists between unrelated men and the element of calculation which must exist even in the relations of kinsmen who co-operate at work. They value their relations with kinsmen who [559] live in other neighbourhoods not only for the various practical reasons we have elaborated, but because of the generally

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altruistic quality of these relationships. This is an end in itself. It balances the qualities of calculation and restraint which enter into all the other situations of social life, excepting only certain contexts of religious experience. This partly explains the immense pleasure which individuals experience when they take part with their kinsmen in festivals and weddings. There is a sense of release from the restrictions of daily life and local animosities which more articulate shepherds describe by the same phrase that is sometimes used after receiving the Eucharist at Easter, 'A weight has left me', μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος.

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585 602 [584] Betrothal, marriage, and the 'return' are the three stages in which affinal relations are fully established. The betrothal is the formal contract between the two hostile groups after which there is a period of separation while the two sides, like two opposed camps of war, prepare for the marriage. At the marriage the emphasis is still upon the distance which separates the two groups. Each family surrounded by its own kinsmen and affines celebrates the occasion apart. The two sides make contact only at the point where the groom comes to take away the bride. And this confrontation, although it is marked, as we have seen, by the expression of friendship as well as antagonism, is essentially characterized as a warlike descent.[8] The martial array of the groom's procession, the standard-bearer, the charge of the leading riders to the door of the bride's hut, and the deployment of the bride's supporters to repel this attack, all contribute to form this dramatic impression. After the marriage, until they meet generally two weeks later at the 'return', the two sides adjust themselves to the realities of a new situation. The groom's family try to help the bride overcome her loneliness and despair, while the bride's family, in a sense the defeated party, are anxious and sensitive about the treatment of the bride at her new home. The two groups, despite the inevitable undercurrents of animosity and suspicion, meet at the 'return' fully conscious of the necessity and the advantages of future co-operation.

3. THE OBLIGATIONS OF AFFINES

602 612 The recognition of affinal relationships is even more flexible than the recognition of cognatic kinship. Affinal relationship may be claimed not only with the elementary family of origin of a person's spouse, or the elementary family of origin of the wife or husband of any member in a person's kindred, but also with the entire kindred of the marriage partner. Consequently a man may, if it suits his convenience, describe himself as an affine of the second cousin of the spouse of his second cousin. Generally, however, a man limits his use of the term affine to the kindreds of his own wife, and of the marriage partners of his brothers and sisters, and to only the elementary families

[8] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol i, Part A, p. 90s'.

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of origin of the marriage partners of his collateral kinsmen. 602 There are also two quasi-affinal relationships which must be 612 mentioned; that of co-bride (συννυφάδα), which is the link [607] between a man's wife and the wife of his brother; and similarly that of co-bridegroom (μπατζανάκης), which describes the relationship of two men who are married to sisters.

The importance of the principle of parental obligation is 607 once more apparent when we ask which are the significant 602 affinal relationships. These are, in fact, the relationships between an individual and those affines who are, or will be, parents of the first cousins of his (or her) own children; more specifically relationships with the husbands or wives of siblings, and with the siblings of the individual's own marriage partner. Whatever a man's personal feelings may be, for the sake of his children he is almost compelled to co-operate with these affines. A brother tries hard to win the goodwill of his sister's husband. He is anxious that she should receive good treatment among the strangers to whom he and his family have given her. And it is noticeable that in the early years of marriage while the bride is still unsure of her position in the new family, her brothers often do more favours and good turns for the husband and his family than they receive in return.

But from the point of view of the husband, too, this is the 606 critical affinal relation. So long as his dealings with the siblings 607 and parents of his wife remain friendly his children are assured of adequate kinship support. In the early years of marriage, the nostalgia of the wife for her family of origin and her old home is not easily appeased. The physical separation of affines does not make visits to her parents very easy, and in any case, as we have seen, her husband and his brothers are not pleased if communication is too frequent. In practice, most young [574] brides manage to visit their homes about twice a year. It is an accepted custom that young brides accompanied by their husbands set out on the Tuesday after Easter to visit the bride's home for five or six days. In the early years, these occasions may be something of an ordeal for the bridegroom. He must show a careful and studied respect towards his father-in-law and mother-in-law (πεθερός, πεθερά). Even with the brother or sister of his wife (κουνιάδος, κουνιάδα) he cannot relax, but must appear at all times severe and grave.

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582 elsewhere,' the Sarakatsani say. The restriction on the marriage
602 of close affines, associated with the prohibition on marriage in the kindred, forces those who are searching for prospective brides always to look outside the circle of well established relationships.

582 Indeed this examination of affinal relationships has largely
602 turned on the various correlates of the prohibition on marriage
612 in the kindred. We have seen that a man must marry a person who, in effect, was formerly an enemy, and that the element of hostility never entirely vanishes from the affinal relationship although a common interest in the children of a marriage produces and sanctions a degree of co-operation between affines. The marriage prohibitions symbolize and divide off a category of social relations based on trust. Those people with whom marriage is permitted are, on the other hand, suspect. The prohibitions clearly set apart non-kinsmen, 'strangers', from kinsmen, 'own people', and the two opposed behaviour patterns which are proper to each of these categories of relations. Affinal connexions compose a third interstitial category of social relations with persons previously strangers to whom a man is related through the contract of marriage of himself or a kinsman. In the opposition between kin and non-kin they tend to be assimilated to the latter category when the practical consideration is one of trust or confidence, and to the former when it is a question of the possibility of co-operation.

582 The marriage prohibitions prevent alliances in the kindred
602 which would in some degree reverse the process of isolation from
612 collateral kinsmen. They also force each family to regard un-
554 related families as potential affines. In this analysis of Sarakatsan kinship the importance of prestige values has been con-
[558] stantly emphasized. If men of standing will not marry the daughters of a family or give their own in marriage to its sons, the prestige of this family must inevitably fall. The kind of marriage a man or woman makes is an index of prestige and at the same time is a very important element in the future reputation of the new family they are establishing. Therefore marriage prohibitions while they contribute inevitably to the relative isolation of a man from his collateral kin, not only have the consequence that marriages establish co-operative relationships between previously opposed family groups, but

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the 582
community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, 602
they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable 612
marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, 554
tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has 582
analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of 602
kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages 612
between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. 619
For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an [578]
example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπεθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 602 577 community where social relations are marked by such radical discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[5]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[5] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωισμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
624 of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
612 that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if

he did nothing.

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
22 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 621 474 612 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to the chief, and the whole to the Tsóligato.

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 [776] In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 233 474 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word, of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 233 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and

594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.

[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young

[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the

612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful

596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/126 cont./

582 613 182 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 582 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 613 173 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/ 151 cont./

596 421 share of the fortune from their father and move away.

Now, it is unquestionable that the sons have the right to the patrimony but not the right to ownership properly speaking. Even more specifically, their rights are not "actual" or "in rem" rights; they are rather expected rights, "hopes." Since such a possibility is foreseen and accepted by Sarakatsani society, it is therefore justifiable, even with regard to the extended family of the "vertical form," to speak of "co-ownership" which, although anticipatory and potential, does not cease to be real and objectively in existence.

596 421 428 The situation becomes much clearer in the case of the extended family in the "horizontal form." It seems to us that the strategic angle which permits a grasp of this problem is that of the system of rules relating to succession, since this system appears with the death of the common father-ancestors.

In fact, when the latter disappears, the sons succeed him ab intestat /without a will/, consequently they come under the jurisdiction of the specific co-ownership set forth in the preceding section. We might say that /152/ the rule of Roman law "morte patris continuator dominium" applies here. (26)

26. See I.J. 2,19,17.-D. 38, 16.14.

596 428 Thus, the sons do not have the right to accept or refuse the inheritance. The presence of sons of the ancestor excludes the other descendants from the inheritance. This rule does not apply to the individual sons in the strict sense, but chiefly to their present or future families. [612] It is thus fundamentally a question of inheritance by kindred. (27)

27. See Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 27 "The kindred includes all the descendants of a man and his wife according to uterine and agnatic descent."

If a son, father of a family, dies before his own father, his children come into his rights and inherit the share that their father would have [171] received were he living. Let us note that this rule was already known

/152 cont./

596 428 [171] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 421 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an [613] exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/126 cont./

582 613 182 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

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/127 cont.,/

602 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and
613 never beyond that. (3)
173

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
EGO ♂ = ♀		♂ Brother-in-law	Uncle 1st degree
I	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IIII.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	

/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

/128 cont./
582 602 (213) system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses; second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in <u>affinal kinship</u>, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:... reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: <u>Correspondances</u>, p. 97.

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 587 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

/149 cont./

121 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which
593 their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set
594 of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family
594 and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the
596 descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family
182 allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form,"
613 is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/150 cont./

596 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form"
613 (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4). A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596 421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distinguish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended
[613] family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

A, /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

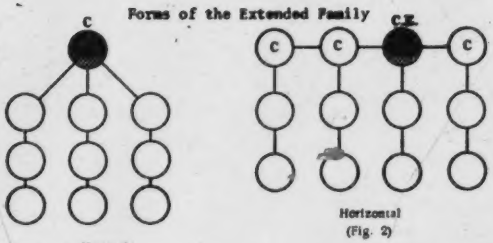
3: Kabbadias--168A E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/150 cont./

596
613

TABLE No. 4

Forms of the Extended Family



Vertical
(Fig. 1)

Horizontal
(Fig. 2)

C = head

C. E. = elected head

/152 cont./

596 428 [791] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 42 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is
[594] 34. The model of this type of living-together already
[613] existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The
[171] Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

The education of the children is also carried out collectively.
[861] They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
596 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
594 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization
[561] which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/174 cont./

596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 474 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agrotícha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 424 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 422 571 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/186 cont./
619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances.
[177] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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/189/

CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
682 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the
627 blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.
628

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important
628 lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted
613 several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which
[581] seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stérea Hellas) recently
627

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. 182 291 261 181 Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[14] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (σμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[14] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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59 612 The family is, indeed, the centre of the shepherd's world. Inside its limits he finds support, affection, and a sense of moral obligation. With certain qualifications these attitudes are extended to all the relations of the kindred. But outside the 571 family and the kindred a man meets and expects only hostility 602 and suspicion. There are conventions of conduct, but there is no 619 general conscience of obligation to others. From the point of view of each individual, the community is divided into those who are kinsmen, a man's own people (δικοί), and those who are not kinsmen, that is strangers (ξένοι). There is a third intermediate category of persons, the affines (συμπέθεροι), strangers with whom a man or his kinsman has become related through a contract of marriage. Confidence, trust, and an altruistic con- [612] cern about another individual's welfare can only exist between kinsmen, and it is only in a kinship relationship that a man is able to abandon the outlook of self-interest which normally guides him in relations outside the family.

612 It follows that a man looks towards his kinsmen for practical [578] support. As we have seen, unrelated families are mutually opposed. The family, with reference to which the individual must act in almost all contexts of behaviour, faces a hostile [162] community. Therefore this support is peculiarly important. Yet, in relation to the community's population of about 4,000 souls, the average size of an individual's kindred is small, seldom exceeding 250 men, women, and children of whom some 160 will be second cousins, a category of relations who are on the margin of kinship. Kinsmen are relatively few and correspondingly precious. In summer the kindred is scattered over 390 square miles of difficult and tortuous country, and a man does not, generally, live within an hour's walk of more than one-fifth of his kinsmen. This, in part, is the practical importance of kinship connexions; they offer a certain freedom of social manœuvre. Kinsmen established at strategic points through a community, which is numerically not small and geographically very dispersed, are able to offer hospitality and local information which pride and distrust prevent a man asking of [203] unrelated persons. The network of a man's kinship relations provides him with a system of information and intelligence without which he cannot conduct his affairs efficiently or profitably. The price that he should ask for his milk, his wool, and animals for

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4. EXPRESSIONS OF SOLIDARITY

619 612 [581] The Zagori community of Sarakatsani is geographically dispersed for reasons which are mainly ecological. Patrilocal marriage, suspicion of affines who live near the same village, yet the need for strategic alliances in other parts of Zagori, are factors which lead men to look for brides in a distant neighbourhood. Consequently the kindred of any individual tends to be more or less congruent with the boundaries of the community itself, in the sense that a shepherd generally has at least 527 612 591 a few relatives in any quarter of the Zagori. For these reasons the few festive occasions during the year which bring distant kinsmen together are looked forward to with some anticipation. This is so not only for the utilitarian consideration that it is valuable to renew associations with kinsmen whose practical help may be required in the future, but simply for the company of people who value a man and return his affections. It is an aspect of the constant yearning for unity in a society which is, in fact, fragmented by exclusive familial loyalties. It might be said [183] that these occasions when kinsmen meet are important because in the atmosphere of festival excitement the sentiments of kinship solidarity are strengthened and recreated. At weddings, for 585 527 example, quarrels almost always develop between unrelated guests, and the kinsmen who rush to the aid of their own people 612 are giving a dramatized expression to the ideal of kinship solidarity. But, if it is true that the gathering of dispersed kinsfolk is an occasion for the restatement of kinship values, it is also true that it is the sentiment of kinship which invokes the gathering at all. Thus, although wedding invitations are sent out to all consanguineal and to a large number of affinal relatives, not all of the more distantly related of these persons will attend, and it is always recognized that whether or not an invited kinsman comes to the wedding is an indication of the effective solidarity, or absence of solidarity, between the invited man's family and the family of the groom or bride. Naturally the whole of the kinsman's family cannot attend a wedding together. The demands of shepherding prevent this. But one member at least is expected to go as a representative.

612 574 A man, of course, may visit a kinsman at any time; in his huts he will always find shelter and hospitality for the night.

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they are also an important incidental factor in support of the community's values; because, if men do not conform to these, they and their close kinsmen will not make honourable marriages. What sets men apart in one set of circumstances, tends to unite them in another.

The characteristic ambivalence of affinal relations has analogous consequences in terms of the spatial distribution of kinsmen. The Sarakatsani do not approve of marriages between families who live in the same village neighbourhood. For instance, the marriage of Demetrios Ferendinos to the sister of George Balatsos is the only case in his summer village. It is significant that this alliance provides us with an example of friction between affines. The Sarakatsani tell one that 'affines quarrel easily' (πιάνονται εύκολα οἱ συμπέθεροι). It is particularly dangerous if the bride is able to run to her parents and brothers with tales of ill-treatment, and gossip about what goes on inside her husband's family. Not only is it safer to keep affines at a distance, but in another neighbourhood they may sometimes be of practical use. Marriages which are arranged between families in different neighbourhoods tend to produce individual kindreds which are dispersed and whose geographical 'boundaries' are roughly congruent with the boundaries of the community itself. A man through his scattered kindred and affinal relations participates vicariously in the life of the community of the Zagori Sarakatsani. If he has a kinsman or affine in a distant neighbourhood, he is interested in its local affairs, for these affect his relative whose interests are a matter of sympathetic concern to him and in certain circumstances may affect his own prestige. Therefore distrust of affines leads to the practice of taking a bride from another, preferably a distant, neighbourhood; this is one factor in the wide dispersion of individual kindreds in the community; and, in turn, this dispersion of recognized kinship ties increases the individual's consciousness of participation and membership in the total community.

These, then, are instances where marriage regulations or conventional attitudes about affines lead to a certain distance, between kinsmen in the first instance, between affines in the second, but in their further consequences encourage a wider synthesis; in the one case, in terms of conformity to the values

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582 602 612 619 of the community and the constant proliferation, through marriages, of new relationships between opposed families; and in the other, a moral participation in the affairs of the different local segments of the geographically dispersed community. In both cases these considerations depend ultimately on the simple fact that 'kinsmen' and 'strangers' represent opposed but complementary categories of persons.

* * *

602 612 This completes the discussion of the general characteristics of Sarakatsan kinship and marriage. Naturally the consequent system of personal relations has various implications beyond the field of kinship behaviour. Here I will indicate only one of these, but one that is peculiarly characteristic of Greek society and will continue to concern us in the chapters that follow.

59 602 612 571 As we have seen, the community from the viewpoint of each individual is divided into kinsmen and non-kinsmen, 'own people' and 'strangers'. The division is unequivocal; kinsmen inspire loyalty and obligation, strangers distrust and moral indifference. Yet within the category of kinsmen itself the only stable solidary group is the family. Plainly, the nature of the physical and social environment is such that it forces this small group, however it may value the ideal of autarky, to cultivate both intensively and extensively the support of kinsmen and affines. But for reasons inherent in the structure of the kindred, which it has been my purpose in this and the three preceding chapters to analyse, that support is contingent upon a kinsman's prior commitments to his own family. Thus the family emerges as a social isolate in two associated respects. In the first case, families unrelated by kinship admit virtually no moral obligation towards one another; in the second, families related by kinship nevertheless owe only conditional services. In a 59 community where social relations are marked by such radical 602 discontinuities it follows that the primary values are necessarily 577 particularistic. The mutual opposition of family groups is expressed through the concept of honour with its connotations of exclusiveness, not the morality of universal values such as honesty or fair dealing. And Christian virtues such as humility, meekness, and self-effacement suggest only weakness; whereas

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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618 Moreover, the produce of the
609 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
578 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[913] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στὴ λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

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master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakatsani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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On the other hand, any attempt to organize systematic co-operation between the families of the community faces almost insuperable obstacles. An 'Association of Nomad Pastoralists' was formed in 1950 to represent the interests of the community to the government and other agencies. But enthusiasm waned rapidly as soon as it was realized that it could not miraculously improve the situation without the moral and financial support of its members over a number of years. The members are almost exclusively Sarakatsani but significantly the salaried executive secretary is a villager; first, because no shepherd possesses the legal expertise to negotiate with officials; secondly, because, although few shepherds trust the secretary, it would be even more distasteful to discuss one's problems with another Sarakatsanos. Here we touch on the difficulty which faces any attempt at community organization beyond the competence of the co-operating 'company'. It necessarily involves the acceptance of some executive authority. But for reasons of pride and distrust a Sarakatsanos cannot surrender any fraction of the sovereignty of his family.

As we have seen, this does not mean that the community has no sense of its solidarity and opposition to villagers. On the contrary, when the honour of the community is publicly attacked, unrelated men will stand together in its defence. To do nothing would be to betray their manhood in one another's eyes. This is a relationship of identification. But the conflict of practical interests between Sarakatsani and the villagers, the merchants, or the government, is a different form of threat. And although these problems are similar in kind for all, the problems of one family are generally separated in time and space from those of another. When a man's own interests are not immediately endangered, he is secretly pleased about the misfortunes of other men who are not kinsmen or affines. To face these difficulties as a united community would require co-operative relationships between non-kinsmen. Since these are not possible, we must now consider how, in fact, each family attempts to protect itself from the external threats to its security and prosperity.

2. SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

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In his struggle to protect his family and live his own way of life the Sarakatsanos must come to terms with various persons

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X

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE[1]

1. THE HIERARCHY

A CONSIDERATION of the bilateral kindred and the marriage 594
prohibitions associated with it has shown that the only relatively enduring kin group in the Sarakatsan system of kinship and marriage is the elementary family. I have placed considerable emphasis on the concentration of most of the individual's significant obligations within this group; and these normally take precedence over any other moral commitments. It is a feature of evident importance that the community is [619]
fragmented into about six hundred of these exclusive corporate family groups.

Within the community these families are jurally autonomous. 594
It is true that they must often co-operate with kinsmen or 619
affines in the management of their sheep. And in particular 571
though rare circumstances when the honour of the community is in question, men who are unrelated may stand together against villagers and others. Nevertheless, in none of these situations is the sovereignty of the family compromised. More- 594
over, unrelated families see their different interests as being 619
in fundamental and inevitable opposition. We have already 578
examined various attitudes and institutions through which this mutual hostility is expressed, for instance attitudes of intense secrecy and distrust, and institutions of sheep-theft and mutual trespass. Hostility directed outwards is, of course, the counter- [154]
part of the immensely strong jural and affective solidarity of the family. And both are conditions consistent with the system

[1] In some respects there are obvious parallels with Homeric society, and 577
I have benefited by the work of Sir Maurice Bowra, *Tradition and Design* 171
in the Iliad, Oxford, 1930; Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind*, translated 113
by Rosenmeyer, Oxford, 1953; M. I. Finley, *The World of Odysseus*, London, 1956; and Arthur W. H. Adkins, *Merit and Responsibility*, Oxford, 1960.

Anybody considering the values of a Mediterranean culture is under an obligation to J. A. Pitt-Rivers, *People of the Sierra*, London, 1954. Bichr Farès, *L'Honneur chez les Arabes avant L'Islam*, Paris, 1932, is an interesting attempt to discuss a somewhat similar system of values on strict principles of Durkheimian sociology.

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.
578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but
[482] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions
579 between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find
578 a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[8] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [8] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

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It may be agreed (and, in general, correctly) that in a system where a number of groups compete for prestige, a strong group, if it is denied the social recognition it expects, may in frustration turn from competitive action to direct violence and attempt to establish its superiority by force; or it may attempt other forms of direct opposition, perhaps through the use of economic power. But in relation to the Sarakatsan community the family is small and weak. Its inability to make alliances outside the kindreds of its members and their affinal connexions, and the physical dispersion of the Sarakatsani which restricts the activities of any family to only a small area of the total community, are other factors which would tend to prevent a family group and its allies from dominating the remainder of the community; even if we leave aside the certainty of State intervention if violence were used or threatened. Economic or political control of the community by one family and its allies is equally unlikely. Unrelated families do not co-operate to market their produce and consequently there are no co-operative institutions whose officers might manœuvre themselves into positions of economic dominance. Similarly, the community has no institutions of local government which the members of a family and its kinsmen might infiltrate in the attempt to establish a form of political control. The pathetic showing of the Association of Nomad Pastoralists illustrates the concern of all families to prevent the delegation of any effective representative power to others. Each family faces the total community in a condition of dependence. The position it is able to occupy in public life, the quality of the marriage alliances it establishes, depend entirely on its social prestige, that is, they depend on the favourable response of enemies; or more accurately, on the inability of enemies effectively to denigrate a family's reputation.

Prestige (γόητρο) and 'name' concern the Sarakatsani in every context of public action. 'Better to lose your eye than your name', runs the common proverb. This intense competition of families to maintain their prestige against the permanent threat of denigration, and the continual evaluation of other people's conduct, which is fed by an insatiate and hostile curiosity, result in a certain hierarchical ordering of Sarakatsan family groups. In the local gathering of families which share the

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

In either case, there is more general agreement about the
594 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
551 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families
554 with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

/124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and
594 wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.
We prefer this term to that of "elementary family"
[114] proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young
[591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the
612 nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful
596 in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

/124 cont./

619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of [128] the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure: their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 127 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

/182 cont./

474 596 675 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 182 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113] 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made [474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

/183 cont./

619 it is a question of "grouping at a distance." (56)

56. Cf. G. Gurvitch Ibid p. 319-320.

The ties that unite its components are of two types.

[184] First, objective ties: the sameness of cultural armature and of the syle of social life which observed in any actual Sarakatsani group.

619 Next, ties which are subjective but can be objectively comprehended:
186 the feeling, the consciousness on the part of the Sarakatsani that they
184 are "Sarakatsani," that therefore they belong to a separate, social, cultural world in the intimacy of which they communicate through marriage (kinship) and the establishment of relationships of an economic order, through expectations and interchanges of solidarity and cooperation, through common signs, signals and symbols, finally through common group values and ideas.

619 In order to give a picture of this one might say that Sarakatsani
171 society very much resembles Greece in the classical era where, in spite of the existence of separate City-States, one could find "the commonality of Greeks" » (« τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων »), that is to say, the objective reality, Greece, which shaped all the inhabitants of the Cities in their ethnic and cultural affiliation.

619 The dominance of Sarakatsani society over its components manifests
184 itself on three levels: that of culture, it being the creative center
186 of culture the components of which are the bearers; that /184/ of
[582] cooperation and solidarity which the Sarakatsani owe each other; and that of choice of a spouse, who must always be a Sarakatsani.

619 For the rest, Sarakatsani society represents the theater of the social mobility of its members, the framework within which the Tséligatos are established and reestablished, the limits within which a Sarakatsani can move about socially in order to seek his fortune and fulfill his life. If he goes beyond this frontier he will find himself in a universe which is no longer his and which will not welcome him.

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619 186 [474] Sarakatsani society does not have any organized apparatus. One does not find in it any social hierarchy of Tséligatos, the latter being set apart merely by their size (hierarchy of prestige). Obviously, one cannot speak of an over-all structure of Sarakatsani society which, moreover, cannot be structured. From this point of view it resembles much more a form of group identity, a "we, the Sarakatsani," than a society strictly speaking. If one accepts this qualification one must also accept /the fact/ that it is a passive rather than an active "we," therefore it is not functional, or very slightly so.

619 474 596 Compared with the Tséligato and the extended family, Sarakatsani society as such takes on few functions. The latter are practically limited to providing the Tséligatos with the necessary participants and demanding of the Sarakatsani a behavior conforming to the accepted norms--as we have seen.

[128] Thus in all, or almost all, cases in the following analysis in which we speak of Sarakatsani society we will be referring to the most representative social groups, the extended family and the Tséligato.

* * * *

179 The surrounding society is, as a rule, Hellenic society. If we say "as a rule," it is because the Sarakatsani, being nomadic, often pass through areas inhabited by Greeks in order to reach adjacent lands.

On the other hand, Hellenic society itself has experienced profound changes throughout the ages--invasions, /185/ occupations, etc. Outsiders have become involved in it, with serious consequences resulting on all levels of life.

We must take into account these changes, having admitted at the outset the importance of the historical dimension of the phenomena we observe. We shall not dwell on this point, however since we shall treat it in detail in the chapter on law, to which we are purposely referring.

However, the term "surrounding society" always designates in our

/185 cont./

179 analysis the broader social environments, whatever their concrete forms, into which the Sarakatsani find themselves cast at a given moment.

The relations of Sarakatsani society with surrounding society are manifold. They vary according to the nature of the latter and according to circumstances. On the national level, the Sarakatsani are integrated with other Greeks, therefore absolutely opposed to every element foreign [171] to Hellenism. On the cultural level, there are affinities between Sarakatsani and Hellenic cultures. As for the organizational apparatus of surrounding society, namely its administration, the Sarakatsani submit to it whenever they cannot avoid it. On the economic level, finally, their transactions with the outside are limited to the few which we have already discussed.

In this respect the ruling principle of Sarakatsani life is isolation. The effects of this in practice manifest themselves on several levels which we shall not fail to emphasize.

Remarks on the Interrelations Between the Social Units of Sarakatsani Life

596 594 Some systematic remarks on the interrelations among the social units of Sarakatsani life are necessary before we conclude this chapter.

Placing ourselves in the perspective outlined by Durkheim, (57)

57. See La famille conjugale, p. 7.

we may say that the extended family embraces two zones: the narrower one, represented by the /186/ conjugal family, and the other, broader, consisting of the extended family.

474 596 594 The Tséligato includes several of them: one, the broadest of all, which coincides with itself; another made up of the extended families; a third in which are found the independent conjugal families, that are integrated in the Tséligatos; finally, and on occasion, a fourth represented by shepherds who join it on an individual basis.

[619] Sarakatsani society commands a zone less defined than those of the

/186 cont./
619 Tséligatos and the families and therefore fluctuating, which is
474 represented by itself. /It includes as well/ A second, embracing
596 all the Tséligatos; a third /embracing/ the extended families; a fourth,
594 the conjugal families, and a fifth, the independent shepherds.

177 Surrounding society, finally, encompasses, on the one hand, the
619 non-Sarakatsani zone which is its own, and, on the otner hand, the zone of Sarakatsani society which is divided into the zones already enumerated.

619 This arrangement into zones of the components in question leads
182 us to the dynamic aspect of their interrelations. In fact, the zones
184 we have distinguished are neither turned in upon themselves and isolated from the others in water-tight compartments, nor always internally homogeneous, since their compositionn varies. As a result, multiple relationships of every sort, oriented in all directions can be observed among the units, the zones and the components of the latter--relationships that end up by weaving an inextricable web linking together or setting up opposites between a whole and a whole, the components among themselves, the components and their units, the units among themselves, creating, moreover passages from one unit to the other, from one zone to the other or to the components of another, and so on.

However, these relationships may be grouped into certain categories according to their nature. One may distinguish direct, indirect, or mediated relationships; others based on equality or subordination; still others based on cooperation, of opposition or of domination. Of course, each specific relationship may be differently qualified depending on the angle from which it is observed, in other words, according to the frame of reference that one adopts.

619 Thus, the conjugal family has direct relations with the extended
182 family, the latter with the Tséligato, the three with Sarakatsani society.
184 The conjugal family within the extended family has mediated relations with
596 the Tséligato through the intermediary of the extended family. The
594
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/186 cont./

619 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside.
182 The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one
184 proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage),
596 and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over
594 the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central
474 core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of
[613] the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society
[177] and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain
182 possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage
184 the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group
596 consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements
594 functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified
474 individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
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As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
596 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his
594 responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tséligato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

[177] The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally, constitutes the organization of this society.

[494] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tséligato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
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This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[577] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tséligato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

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787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

Fig. 102
Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: [illegible]

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : [illegible]

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΗΛΟΣ

[For additional information on the Tséligato as an economic cooperative community, see Categories 474 and 596.]

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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relieved from the various pressures that the tselingas had previously been able to apply, and now entitled to secure grazing rights, were able gradually to increase their flocks or, if they were wage shepherds, to build up a small flock that had not previously existed. At the same time the impossibility of finding considerable tracts of winter grazing forced the rich tselingas to reduce the size of his flocks below the formerly modest limit of a thousand. The conjunction of these trends has led to a more even distribution of wealth in the community.

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I have indicated some of the geographical and historical conditions that help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in Zagori. And I have referred to more recent developments that have introduced important changes in the internal structure of the community and in its relation to the outside world. But these general considerations also emphasize the inherent vulnerability of a transhumant shepherd community in a society of settled villages. Historically, and still today, the village is the important political and social unit in rural Greece. Its elected officials are used by the Greek Government in many matters (as they were by the Ottomans) as the final link in the bureaucratic hierarchy. They are a channel of government and a channel of patronage. Yet many of the Sarakatsani of Zagori still have no secure political rights in the plains where their difficulties are greatest. There, many stand outside the political body of the village, membership of which would grant them each year the right on which their survival as a community depends, the right to graze.

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who are grouped together in a co-operative 'company' in the 474
winter do not have their summer grazing rights at the same 233
village. But, apart from this contingency, two factors which 221
lead to a modification in co-operative arrangements for the [621]
summer are first, that most families have secure grazing rights in the Zagori villages where their members are enrolled as citizens, and secondly, that in the summer a group which owns more than 200 sheep disposes them in two flocks instead of three through the amalgamation of the 'zigouria' with the 'sterpha'. In summer the sheep do not require the same attention that they do in winter; and at the end of July when the ewes cease to give any considerable quantity of milk a single shepherd is sufficient for the care of these animals. A family which would be unable to care for its own animals in winter and spring, under summer conditions is able to manage on its own. Whereas the 42 Sarakatsan households which spend the summer at Neochori form 18 sheep management units of one kind or another in the winter (including 4 families working as single households which are not extended families), in the summer when they return to the mountains there are 25 groups, of which no less than 11 are single households. Indeed, one reason [571]
why Sarakatsani look forward to the summer is that, apart from the festivities it promises, many families enjoy the release of attending to their own affairs and their own animals after the restrictions, tensions, and self-discipline, which inevitably accompany arrangements in the co-operating 'company'. In general, only married brothers continue to work together in the summer when there is no practical necessity to do so.

But whatever the size of a co-operating group, the nature and 474
method of its operations are the same. The sheep and goats are 233
divided into flocks in the manner I have already described. It is generally considered that a flock of more than 250 sheep is not grazed with ease and efficiency. Therefore if a group has five or six hundred milking ewes, there will be two or even three separate flocks in this category. In these instances care is taken that every family in the stani has some of its animals in each flock. A flock of milking ewes is tended by two shepherds when this is possible, and these men are not normally members of the same family, an arrangement that is partly due to the division of labour within the family, but which also checks the possibility

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S 4 554 master. In contrast the Sarakatsan model is the anarchic pallikari hero whose ideal is personal freedom and aggressive pride, the patriot of the klephtic ballads, trussed with bandoliers, S 181 physically hard and morally self-disciplined. By implication such men are shepherds, not villagers; the latter, whether they live by agriculture or not, are despised as 'bent men' (σκυμμένοι ἄνθρωποι), men who servilely dig in the earth.

S 619 The community is a closed group: individuals are members because they were born into it. On the other hand, some people leave it through marriage to villagers; and through education S 619 or wealth where these lead to a change in occupation or the material conditions of living. In one respect, then, the Sarakat- 582 sani of Zagori are an occupational group sharing a homogeneous style of life: in another, a community practising preferential endogamy. For probably not more than 5 per cent of all Sarakatsan marriages are to persons outside the community. Significantly such marriages meet with some disapproval; and even where a man who has taken a village wife continues to live from his flocks, he is no longer considered to be a full member of the community without some qualification.

S 619 The Sarakatsani of Zagori, while they have this clear sense 621 of their solidarity in opposition to the villagers, are nevertheless 221 a widely dispersed community in which the only group able to act together on the basis of local community, rather than kinship ties, is the local gathering of shepherds who in summer live on the grazing lands of the same village. This gathering of families has little group consciousness and no formal organization. There are various reasons for this. A family may sometimes have ties of kinship and marriage with as many as half the families in the local gathering, but never with all. Distrust between unrelated families does not prevent the momentary upsurge of feelings of identification against villagers, but it completely cripples the co-operation that is necessary for systematic opposition. In difficulties men turn for practical help to kinsmen and affines, not to unrelated neighbours. A further reason is that the local group is dissolved in the autumn when each co-operating group moves down to its winter pastures which are seldom in the same neighbourhood. Since a family has one set of Sarakatsan neighbours in the summer and generally an entirely different set in the winter, the feeling emerges that there

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[1] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S A [776]

[1] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

S G [838]

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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S G 571 596 621 more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (εὐεργεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

S G [183] G [622]

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

S 648 662 The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

G 647 [756] Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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S G 571 554 [558] [559]

If a patron cannot effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571

We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621

Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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594 In the local gathering of families which share the
597 pastures of the same summer village the hierarchy of prestige
571 is based upon a fairly precise knowledge of the genealogy,
554 wealth, moral character, and conduct of each family; but, in
[621] the wider ordering of social reputations in the total community,
[619] elements of prejudice and speculation play a greater part.

594 In either case, there is more general agreement about the
551 ordering of families at the two extremes, which define the
554 hierarchy, than in its middle reaches. A number of families with the surname of Tsoumanis by their wealth and descent from a few dominating personalities of the past three generations are generally recognized to be the leading families of the community; these are the families of 'first lineage'. And certain of the families who bear such names as Tangas, Myriounis, and Ferendinos might be associated with them. On the other hand, families with the names of Sultanos or Pistiolis are assigned by general opinion to the lowest grade of social reputation; for them, indeed, social prestige does not properly exist. For the most part these families are economically poor and their genealogies lack any mark of distinction.

The positions at either end of the hierachy are not only more clearly defined, they also possess a fixity that is absent elsewhere. A family with the surname Pistiolis possesses large flocks yet it remains a family of the 'lowest lineage'. Its daughters are virtuous but their hands have not yet been sought in marriage even by men of indifferent social standing. However closely such families may live in the spirit of the community's values others do not give them the just recognition of their merits, so that certain of their number lose heart and are no longer concerned to act honourably; for in their case virtue is not its own reward. And the evidence of this reaction supports the original evaluation of the community.

594 If it is scarcely possible for such a family to gain prestige,
558 it is at least difficult for the leading families of the community to lose theirs. There are few instances where a member of a family of the highest lineage has failed in a 'question of honour'. If a man is naturally timid he finds it all the more difficult to resist the immense moral pressure of family and community to act as he is expected to act. At the same time membership of a leading family in itself protects the individual from gratuitous slights. It is true that if a family of wealth and high lineage

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
22 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
621 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tsóligate.
612

This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

[113] 17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[716] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions
233 relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
177 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/132 cont./

621 602 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 62 602 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 182 [171] In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice, which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

529 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] [789] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 593 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[627] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community [627] which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 627 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/354 cont./

829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
562 the heads of families and of the Tseligato, ensures the cohesion of
[596] the group and its good functioning.
[494]
[621]

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
[811] reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
[562] guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
[197] benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
[361] tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

/379 cont./

182 it to the level of mainspring for the whole of social life. If the
596 Sarakatsani have no larger group it is because these same ideas are
182 combined with nomadism. The Tséligato does not represent an exception:
596 it is basically only a family, "reinforced" by several co-workers. And
471 what we call "Sarakatsani society" is not a group properly speaking, but a "we" of groups, families and Tséligatos, distributed in space and mutually bound together by socio-cultural affinities.

However, certain aspects of the functioning and the life of this group must be clarified here.

182 Rules pertaining to the creation of a new family, the choice of
581 spouse and the obstacles to marriage aim above all to enlarge the kin group,
582 to procure allies and co-workers for the family group. In the final
602 analysis, they serve kinship and its functions, while taking their inspiration from them.

/380/ It is the same with the introduction of different kinds of kinship not based on the blood tie.

182 Since kinship is burdened with many functions, nothing must risk
602 vitiating it, hence the control over legitimacy of descent and the sexual
562 prohibitions imposed on women. The primacy of the men explains why
[596] masculine kinship is valued more and why the family is patriarchal.

182 The community upheld by kinship imposes communal family life
621 (living together, shared education of children, etc.), common defense, the
602 vendetta.

[571] Economic cooperation, the result of herding and likewise sustained
[471] by kinship, leads to co-ownership, sharing of the business, working together
[434] (the division of labor does not annul this principle), the control of
[494] profit by the group (enjoyed communally), common investment of surpluses.
182 Since the frame of reference of the economy is the family dominated by the
596 men, we understand why the women are excluded from inheritance and do not
562 even have the right to a dowry.
428
583

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
773 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

1: Campbell EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

622

/Information on the "tselinges" or leader of the "stani" or "company" will be found in categories 474/612./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [422]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [423]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [425]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [688]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

/23 cont./

361 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the
621 isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to
474 the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.
612

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The
[776] Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word,
233 of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense
474 that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates
233 again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

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/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[784]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[555] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 612 858 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is [626] not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 476 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shep- [426] herd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 612 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [581]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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And even if his

582 physique remains unimpaired he cannot delay the marriage of
596 his first son beyond his thirty-first year without suffering con-
[626] siderable and growing criticism in the community. He must, then, bow to the inevitable, arrange the marriage of his son and in a short time (at the birth of the first grandchild) hand over control; for, as we have stressed, it is not compatible with the values of this community for a married man with a child to be still under parental control and not master in his own house. But fathers do not normally hand over control until they have to. An elder brother, who has no sisters to guard or provide for, may marry a year or two sooner, but the difference is not marked.

[626] Old age, then, and the fear of public criticism and ridicule generally force a man to arrange the eldest son's marriage before his thirty-second birthday. No consideration of the needs of sisters will normally delay this event. And the marriage of other brothers in the middle of the birth order of the sibling group are arranged with the same upper limit in mind. On the other hand, the youngest brother will almost certainly not marry until all the sisters have found husbands. Through the social equivalence of brothers, the duty of watching over and, if need be, avenging the honour of the sisters, is delegated to the unmarried member of the group of brothers. This arrangement recognizes the conflict between the roles of father/husband and brother when they are played simultaneously by the same person; a conflict which, according to Sarakatsan kinship values, can only be resolved in favour of the father/husband. It is an arrangement which, on occasion, may delay considerably the marriage of the youngest brother.

TABLE III

CHILDREN OF EUTHYMIOS CARVOUNIS

Group of Siblings		*Age at marriage*	*Age in 1955*
Demetrios	(M)	31	42
George	(M)	30	38
Michael	(M)	32	36
Elias	(M)	Unmarried	35
Amalia	(F)	24	32
Evangelike	(F)	28	28

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children. 609 829 612 577

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he m[illegible] not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to hi[illegible] and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy. 612

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has 571 577 626 609 578

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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.
[539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
629 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co-
593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience
839 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery.
558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [577] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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596 for these arrangements[1] The sanction is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
621 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] [i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son --- Analyst]

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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593 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a [431] father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [426] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.

593 But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 554 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 578 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, understanding, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains [624] they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφό μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδειάζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain astringency.

The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[624] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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596 identification of their interests and affections are the members of the family that they cannot tolerate a permanent minority opinion. To dissent is a kind of treason. In a qualified sense, it may be said that authority over the affairs of the corporate family, in the later years of its existence, is corporately exercised. In practice, there are naturally many matters in which the head of the family through his experience in bargaining and negotiation has more expert judgement; and here the family will be guided by his recommendations. But, similarly, he in turn will take the advice of his sons or brothers when difficulties arise over the grazing and condition of the animals.

596 626 No outside person or group has the right to interfere in the internal affairs of a family. The family has an unfettered jurisdiction over its own concerns. Public opinion exerts an immense moral pressure on a family, if the conduct of its members falls appreciably short of the ideals of family life; but it has no means of legitimately and forcibly restraining an unrepentant father 596 or brother. One day, together with a Sarakatsan friend, I was 861 passing the home of a man from whose courtyard we heard a 626 confusion of shouts and cries. Looking carefully over the high wall, we saw the father lashing his thirteen-year-old daughter with a leather belt; it seemed that the girl's only fault was that she was too frail to lift and secure some heavy sacks on to a waiting mule. My friend's fury was evident. Sarakatsani cannot tolerate any form of cruelty to children. Yet he insisted that he could not interfere with the father's action even if he were on the point of killing her. But, lifting a heavy stone, he tossed it over the wall. The man, realizing that somebody had been watching him, at once ceased his blows on the child.

596 Within this autonomous family group there is a certain equivalence of rights and obligations between the members. It must be said, however, that this abstraction and separation of rights and obligations only emerges somewhat artificially in our analysis. Because of their very diffuseness it would not normally occur to an individual to balance his rights and privileges against those of another member of the family. There is no conscious accountancy in this solidarity. In general terms everybody has the right to expect material, moral and affective support from the family, as well as assistance in the event of physical assault. We have already stressed that a person will never admit

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
558 the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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596 577 627 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to 596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two 577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's 627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then 684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot [621] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[591] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [625]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[559] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[559] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακορίζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [587]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS

577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes 626
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

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577 935 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
591 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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always known in the neighbourhood when a family has had guests (μουσαφίρηδες); their quality, relationship, and the possible reasons for their visit are debated in detail by the other families. Comment is often caustic, but the very interest which is aroused is a recognition of the importance of the event. If a family of numbers and wealth entertains a patron from the town, this is a triumph which it enjoys to the full. Meat is killed and wine is bought. Largesse is demanded of the family which entertains many guests. And in some mysterious way neighbouring families discover the measure of generosity, or meanness, which a host has shown to his visitors; and criticism, encouraged by envy, will not spare him. In hospitality (φιλοξενία), a virtue in which the Sarakatsani believe they are naturally pre-eminent, there is always a strong element of competition.

(c) LINEAGE[8]

Νταμάρι, lineage, refers to the quality of the kindred relationships which a man inherits from both his father and mother; and the importance of this for prestige has already been discussed in chapter three. If he possesses the surname of one of the leading families, or is directly descended, preferably in the male line, from a famous tselingas of the last century, this also is a significant element in a man's reputation. It might appear to indicate that for the highest and the lowest families, at least, reputation of lineage is patrilineally inherited. There is, indeed, a bias in favour of relationships traced through the father (particularly agnatic relationships) in the evaluation of νταμάρι in all families, and this is certainly accentuated at either extreme of the hierarchy of prestige, where certain family names are associated with the idea of high or low reputation, but the inheritance of νταμάρι remains fundamentally bilateral. In general, as we shall see in a discussion of marriage, men are careful to marry their sons or daughters into families of equal reputation. Where a member of a leading family takes a bride of markedly lower lineage, the community withdraws from the new family the recognition of the prestige associated with the husband's surname by the simple procedure of refusing to call

[8] Lineage, here, does not, of course, refer to a unilineal descent group but to the quality of pedigree through all lines of descent.

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ σύμπεθερό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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156 in the eyes of others, and how their evaluation of himself relates to the ideal image of how he would wish to appear. Clearly, the more the publicity that surrounds any particular area of social life, the greater is the efficacy of the sentiment of self-regard as a sanction of approved qualities and conduct.

156 A man's self-regard is typically molested where he is in-
577 sulted or defamed or believes himself to be so treated. When
578 another person suggests by even indirect allusion that a man is dishonourable or weak he molests his self-regard (προσβάλλει τὸν ἐγωισμό του). Or when a man by deed, or word, behaves towards another in such a way as to suggest that he is not worthy of consideration and recognition, he again molests his self-regard; for a man only acts in this way towards another when he considers him to be of lesser reputation and, by inference, less honourable. In such circumstances the core of a man's social personality is touched, his manliness and prepotence are questioned. Then, the only remedy is to attack his detractors with knife or stick.

There are many instances of such a situation. The stoning of a sheep by another shepherd when it has strayed across a boundary. An unguarded public remark which the recipient judges others will consider to be an unanswered insult if he
156 does not retaliate. It is, in part, self-regard which urges the
577 abduction of a girl when a candidate bridegroom has been
583 refused by the girl's father. Christos Kazoukas was refused the hand of the daughter of Paschos. She was too young, the girl's father said, and as she was, indeed, only twenty-two, Christos was prepared to accept this explanation rather than undertake the dangerous business of abduction. But George Carvounis, a second cousin to Christos, heard a different tale that the girl's family had refused Christos because it was said that he was sexually impotent and inadequate. In fact, the girl's mother had dubbed him by a nickname, 'Lame penis' (κουτσοπούτσα), which referred literally to these supposed short-comings. Christos had a smooth skin, fine features and a strikingly high-pitched voice. Simply, he did not look the part
● 624 of a pallikari. There was, therefore, all the greater urgency
612 that he should reply to these damning allegations; for the alternative was ridicule and shame. His kinsmen offered united moral support and the unspoken threat of abandonment if

he did nothing.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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156 women do not go
157 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is
[831] said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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The laughter of other people is invited in all situations where a man, or a group, has failed. 'The world laughs' (ὁ κόσμος γελάει) at a man when he fails to defend his honour; for instance, when he does not reply to an affront. Equally, it laughs at him when he makes some slip in conventional behaviour, or when he is made to look ridiculous. It laughs at him if he does not adequately fulfil his social role. Conversely, the need to conform to social morality and etiquette is often supported by the statement that, if a man does not act in a particular way, 'the world will laugh at him'. To be ridiculous (γελοῖος) is to lack the recognition essential for social reputation. 156 626

The ridicule or laughter which a man suffers, or imagines he is suffering, is seldom crudely inflicted to his face. The sanction is more subtle. But he is not slow to sense that he is being ridiculed. A man who is insensitive to the attitudes of others (and among the Sarakatsani such men are rare) will speedily be informed of the situation through some kinsman who, because of their association, is anxious that the ridiculed man should reassert his position, if that is possible, or, in a case of moral delinquency, should mend his ways.

There are, however, certain situations where open ridicule may occur. A man of very low prestige who is 'lost' may sometimes be ridiculed to his face. On the rare occasions when Costas Pistiolis is in any social gathering he is invariably asked to sing, since this ability is one of the many social graces he does not possess. Everybody laughs. Mild as such mockery may seem, no honourable member of this community would accept it passively. Open ridicule may also happen at weddings when men lose their sense of caution. At one wedding a guest who was addled and aggressive from his drinking called for more ouzo. A bottle was brought to him. He poured a glass and drank it, only to discover it was water. A roar of laughter went up, a pointed comment on the weakness of a man unable to drink and retain a measure of self-control. At once his knife was out, but it was quickly wrenched from his hand and the man was thrown bodily from the arbour. 626

Although the community is dispersed, news travels with rapidity. Any interesting event is widely known throughout the community within two or three days. Weddings and festivals are centres of news exchange, but heads of families, and some 203 626

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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203 626 [485] older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of [183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.

626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more [683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 533 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The songs are not, in fact, particularly daring or insulting in themselves: therein, perhaps, lies their effect. Of Nasios Karapheris the woman chaser it is sung, 'Up at Kouphos where they used to grow corn, Nasios is making a place to lie down. Hidden away in the long grasses, he makes secret eyes. Mitsos draws out his knife to kill Nasios Karapheris.'

A song may be composed about a man who, although he has not erred morally, has been made to look ridiculous. For this, too, is failure. Theodoros Kallis is a physically strong man with a bullying character. He is wealthy and many people fear his violent nature. They were not sorry, therefore, when he suffered the following misfortune.

'On the twenty-first of January went Theodoros, the poor devil, to see his little mother-in-law. But when he arose in the morning, "Oh dear oh dear, they have cut the tail of my horse, dear mother-in-law!" Then cursed the mother-in-law, "May two unmarried boys never live to set up their wedding standards!"'

A man's failure in any respect may also be prolonged in the community's memory by giving him a nickname (παρατσούκλι). Flattering nicknames are sometimes given to members of the leading families. Costas Katsanos in his younger days was known as 'the flyer' (φεύγας) because of his great speed of movement up or down hill. But more often nicknames ridicule a man. Thus a man who was caught in the act of stealing maize from a villager's garden, was named καλαμπόκιος, an adjective fabricated from the Greek word for this grain. The name was not a comment on the morality of theft but the indignity of discovery and failure.

I have said enough to indicate how public opinion functioning through gossip and ridicule acts to sanction the community's prestige values. Gossip and its outcome, ridicule, are in a certain manner the external sanctions which support the internal sanctions of individual action, self-regard and the sense of shame. The subtlety of gossip and ridicule as sanctions is that, since they do not generally operate in his presence, they offer a man no excuse for violent response. He may respond to the insult of an individual, but not to the laughter of the community which he senses, but seldom hears.

/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

/168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by
596 comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
598 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
B24 moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to
[128] it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

594 /168 cont./
596 family, they can, should the case arise, withdraw from the extended family.

596 Though the women have transferred their independence, their initia-
562 tive and the free disposal of themselves to the men, their female responsibilities in common economic activities and in magico-religious manifestations, their role in the succession and in the creation of alliances give them considerable satisfactions.

The same is true of the hierarchy within their group and the resulting transfer /of rights and privileges/: first, all the women to the wife of the head, the wives to their mothers-in-law, the recently married women to their sisters-in-law married before them, /169/ and so on, /transfers/ which are compensated for by their authority over the women and children in their own family, by the hope of one day becoming wives or heads, mothers-in-law or older sisters-in-law, and thus exerting in the future a sort of sovereignty over other women.

Social Functions and Social Control of the Extended Family.

596 The entire analysis of the way of life of the extended family chearly shows that this group is an omni-functional group in the sense that the Sarakatsani expects from it the gratification of all his needs,
596 both material and moral. The Tséligato is a supra-functional group.
474 But its functions imitate those of the extended family in a great many respects. If it is, in certain respects, more efficient than the latter, this is due to the fact that it has at its disposal a larger number of means of action. However, from the functional point of view, the priority over all the Sarakatsani groups belongs indisputably to the
(594) extended family. The proof resides in the established fact that neither the conjugal family nor the Tséligato can dispense with it, whereas it can carry on its life outside the Tséligato.

596 We have not dwelt upon the concrete functions of the extended family,
626 for we have treated them all in connection with its life except one that we have not examined sufficiently: this is the social control (39)

/169 cont./

596 626 [113] exercised by the family.

39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XXe siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the [867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/211 cont./

121 696 692 629 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to the good will of those concerned.

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing. 696 692 629 626 (686) [494] We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his cocperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis) --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[494] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tsélígato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recourse to justice is the state, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

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627 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological
692 influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality,
626 on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external
696 causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this
(113) concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

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626 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this
627 mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it
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/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12. Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
691 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/216 cont./

decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
584 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
624 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(171) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
(548) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
(684) acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
572 Rape and abduction of a young girl.
684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[594] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[613] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/222 cont./

685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 Calumny and defamation.

626 Those who commit this misdeseanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

(113) 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
671 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
681 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
671 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/240 cont./

577 [182] Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

* * * *

/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, [867] first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to [626] morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

/242 cont./

577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. (626) Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

/336 cont./

765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
157 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
764 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/368 cont./

with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the present time.

/369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

182 /382 cont./
291 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
26 women).
181

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
671 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
671 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
599 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

/398 cont./

578 nature an impurity that is incompatible with the norms it proclaims
121 and that expresses itself concretely in a certain amount of injustice, insensitivity, cruelty..." (1)

1. C. Lévi-Strauss: Tristes Tropiques /Sad Tropics/, p. 417.

578 This assertion, equally valid for Sarakatsani society, opens the way
571 to the study of its imperfections, that is, the asymmetries of social relations which are peculiar to it and which arise from the total social phenomenon and from its structure. These asymmetries ceaselessly threaten the structure.

Now, in studying the internal hierarchy of the family group we see that the subjugation of small lineages and conjugal families to the extended family, of junior age groups /399/ to the senior ones, women to men, families of participants in the Tséligato and the participants themselves to the Tséligas and to his family carries with it the potential germs of revolt. If the revolt becomes reality it will completely change the life of our herders.

578 However, such a development seems excluded and this thanks to the dynamics of many factors.

578 The first of these factors is indisputably the socially guided
182 preparation of the Sarakatsani as individuals to accept in advance the
155 norms governing the subjugation and the hierarchization, with everything
626 oppressive and unjust that they include. The preparation in question
183 presupposes a molding of character and the implanting in the collective, as well as the individual, mentality of a certain number of ideas, notions, and principles in terms of which individuals and groups are made to see their lives, or, not to be able to imagine a different life - which amounts to the same thing.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[494] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/401 cont./

society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

/402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/409 cont./

121 829 462

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge.....	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs.....	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes.....	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

121 181

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the [182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in- [626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their [829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

/410 cont./

12 18 They show that the latitude offered the Sarakatsani to give free rein to their originality, namely to their temperament, their talents, their imagination, is not very great. The latitude is provided in advance and obeys predictable models. This formula does not mean that our herders are automatons whose strings are pulled by their society and their culture, but merely that they are not supposed to go beyond certain norms. The fact that they are honored when they distinguish themselves in accomplishing certain tasks perfectly shows that Sarakatsani society knows how to appreciate talent and originality. However, it does not permit the non-observance of the "prescribed."

12 18 This means that the Sarakatsani become "typical" individuals. (2)

2. See M. Mead's distinction between "typical" and "atypical": Ibid., p. 268.

Those who are atypical are not tolerated. They are, in fact threatened with social banishment. Sarakatsani social molding is therefore total. And, to express this statement on another level, we might say that among them traditional cultural works /411/ flow into their psyches; in other words, their total social and psychological phenomena overlap almost completely. (3)

12 18

3. Inspired by G. Gurvitch.

Nevertheless, Sarakatsani society is interested not only in the molding of its members, but also in their destiny. It provides for them socially, it puts at their disposal its organization and its means. All the solutions of their vital problems that it has adopted converge toward "a primitive, socio-economic planning," according to a formula by Radin, (4)

4. See P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, pp. 99 and 201.

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place to place and from year to year. Therefore, if a kinsman has some grass which is good for fattening lambs or restoring weakened ewes, a man may ask him to take some of his weaker animals which are in difficulties. For this service he will have to pay, but he would not in any circumstances trust his sheep to the care of an unrelated shepherd. 612 476 233

But the most intimate form of economic association between kinsmen occurs where a number of autonomous but related families join together for the co-management of their flocks and, in particular, to discover and negotiate for winter pastures. The solution of this problem requires that the group should reach an understanding, whether direct or through an intermediary, with persons of influence in villages and government departments. The leader of such a 'company' is known as the tselingas (ὁ τσέλιγγας). In a majority of cases the nucleus of the group he leads may be descibed as a simple fraternal association, that is a number of married brothers with families, each of whom maintains his own household, his own purse, and has his own animals clearly marked. But, in addition, such groups often include uncles, nephews, brothers-in-law, paternal and maternal cousins, and it would be possible to produce many examples of different combinations of kinsmen and affinal relatives. At this point, it is sufficient to stress that they are founded upon ties of kinship and marriage, that they are voluntary and often unstable associations in which each family retains its own independent social personality, its own budget, and its own animals. 602 474 233

In these ways kinsmen give each other moral and practical support in facing a hostile and competitive world where one man delights openly and with little inhibition in the misfortunes of another. A man co-operates with his kinsmen because he trusts them. There is a sense of security within the kindred which is significantly absent outside its limits. One may not steal from a kinsman's flock, nor cheat him in monetary settlements, nor seduce his sister, nor gossip about his private affairs. But it is necessary to stress that there are definite limits to what may be expected from kinsmen. When honour demands a vengeance killing, kinsmen outside the family will lend moral support but none of them is obliged to pull the trigger or thrust home the knife. Again, money may be loaned between kinsmen 612 [627]

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For instance, it often
happens at weddings that quarrels develop between unrelated 612
guests. Insults, curses, and blows are exchanged, and sometimes 578
knives are drawn. These events have a certain pattern. A man 627
is insulted, or imagines that he has been insulted, by another. At once all the relatives of either man range themselves alongside their kinsman; and those who are unrelated to either party, as well as others embarrassed by an equal allegiance to both sides, throw themselves between the two antagonists. But the paternal or maternal origin of relationship neither increases nor diminishes the obligation to support a kinsman in this or any other situation.

Property and prestige are passed from one generation to the 612
next according to customary rules of inheritance in the one 554
case, and canons of popular judgement in the other, which re- 577
flect the symmetry of an individual's relations to the families of origin of his father and mother. Property is itself an element in prestige, while wealth without prestige loses its significance. Individual and family reputation, as I have already indicated, is a self-evident value; without it social life has no meaning. This prestige is inherited both from the father's family and the mother's. It is true that the prestige of paternal connexions is greater; but the quality of the mother's family of origin is also critical, for criticism of the mother, who contributes important moral qualities to the characters of her children, is a peculiarly effective method of denigrating a family. The individual, of course, may increase or diminish his reputation by his own acts but it is on the basis of a reputation inherited from both parents that he at first faces the judgements of the community. And if this inherited reputation is unsatisfactory, it will be exceedingly difficult for the individual by his own efforts to redeem it. It is 584
partly for these reasons that the choice of a wife is a matter 554
which is approached with delicacy and deliberation. Many per- 577
sonal qualities of a prospective bride are taken into considera- 612
tion but invariably the crucial question to be debated is the quality and prestige of the girl's family and close kin. The Sarakatsani use a Turkish word, ντεμάρι, of which the primary meaning is a vein, to indicate the general quality of a man's immediate maternal and paternal ancestors.[7] And if either the

[7] The more general meaning of ντεμάρι in modern Greek is 'stone quarry'.

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609 578 [558] not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This, in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation without losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the superordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of [554] age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 627 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go [682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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honour is very closely identified with the blood of the murdered 612
man is it possible that a cousin, uncle, or nephew may under- 627
take this duty; and there have been no such cases in recent years. In any case such a situation would only arise where the murdered man had no family relative, a brother or even an infant son, who could balance the debt of blood at that time or in the future.

It is quite a different matter when a man is physically attacked 612
in the presence of a kinsman. The latter cannot stand by and 579
do nothing; indeed, it is a personal insult to a man that another should dare to strike his kinsman before his eyes. Fights and brawls are not infrequent; they may happen in coffee-shops when a man is winning too successfully at cards, in a dispute over the boundaries of grazing land, or at a wedding when men drink to excess and see a veiled insult in each word or gesture. Yet these fights seldom lead to a killing. The Sarakatsani are very aware of the consequences of murder and vengeance killing; and even when they seem to be in the grip of ungovernable rage they do not draw a knife unless they see, or sense, that there are witnesses uncommitted by kinship obligation who will prevent them from using it. It is noticeable that in boundary disputes, where two shepherds may sometimes find themselves alone, quarrels are more often decided with iron-hooked shepherds' crooks, capable of ugly but generally not mortal wounds. In a brawl, as distinct from a calculated ven- [579]
geance killing, a shepherd relies on the active support of a kinsman, for this does no injury to the interests of his family; on the contrary, the family gains honour by action, but loses it by inaction.

We must distinguish between two kinds of favour and service 612
which may be exchanged between collateral kin; and it is, 476
again, the question of responsibility to the family which marks the form of this distinction. In the first instance a man is able to assist his kinsman in a manner which cannot possibly conflict with the interests of his own family or become a charge on its limited resources. Shelter and hospitality, information about the affairs of other people and their gossip, physical support in a brawl, are examples of this kind of assistance. These services are true favours (χάρες) which in a relationship of personal kinship a man is bound to perform. 'We hold to our kindred' (κρατᾶμε

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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.
[539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
627 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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584 will be said that a man would not lightly or without reason change his mind on so serious a matter if he had not discovered some grave moral or physical deficiency in the girl. No man of worth is likely to choose a girl whom another has previously rejected. She can only hope to marry a widower or a poor man
[627] from a despised family. Therefore to break an engagement is a violent affront to the honour of all the members of the bride's family, and as such it carries the ultimate sanction of vengeance killing, which the girl's brothers, if they are men of honour, ought to carry through against the person of the bridegroom. It follows that both for the sake of his honour and prestige in the community, and for very life itself, a man is unlikely to break a betrothal contract. On the other hand, a bridegroom, if he finds out between the betrothal and the marriage (a period of between three months to a year) that he is being tricked into marriage with a particularly ugly or unhealthy girl, may consider himself released from his pledge of honour.
[664] It is generally in connexion with incurable diseases such as advanced pulmonary tuberculosis that betrothals are sometimes broken off. It cannot, however, be said that the danger of a broken betrothal deters the girl's family from every kind of trickery or concealment when there is the possibility of marrying off an ugly or unhealthy daughter or sister. The disgrace of a girl remaining unmarried is feared more than the bridegroom's reluctance and its possible consequences.

584 It is mainly to avoid these risks and difficulties that, today, a
178 bridegroom often will not allow the formal approach to be made to a girl's family until he, or a trusted brother, has had an opportunity of secretly appraising the appearance and bearing of a prospective bride. For the same reasons, families with daughters of marriageable age try to display the more attractive girls and prevent their ugly or sick sisters from being seen at wells or in other public places. When a man wants to view a possible bride, he generally goes to stay at a kinsman's home near to the huts of the girl's family. From the women of his kinsman's family he learns of the girl's daily movements and arranges to be near the well or stream when she goes to draw water or wash clothes. He may watch her secretly from behind cover or may saunter casually past and say 'Good day', to which she will not reply. These antics are unnecessary if the man has

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the [123] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison 583 for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower. [127] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which, 577 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [604] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [550]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [513]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [955]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [831]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family, 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[559] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[836] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[578] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts
[582] which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[4]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

[4] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathed his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

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596 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the
577 original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive
● 627 solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boun-
dary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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reputation for manliness of the victim's group which has driven him there. 596 577

But if all the dead man's brothers are married, he is unlikely to be avenged. A married brother's obligations to his own family take precedence. If he were to kill the murderer he would be removed to prison, and afterwards would face exile or possible counter-vengeance. In either event his family would be deprived of its head at a time when the sons were almost certainly still children or adolescents. Yet the consciences of married men with an unavenged brother are never altogether easy. If the dead man has a son, however young, they feel less troubled. For this son will be expected to revenge his father before he marries. However, by the time the son is mature enough to act, the killer is probably an old man and removed from the public scene. In this situation a son tends to put off the execution of his duty in the hope that the murderer will soon die naturally without his assistance. 627

If the dead man has an unmarried brother, ideally the latter may not marry until the murderer has been killed or driven into exile. But if the dead man has also a son, even though it is still in the cradle, he will probably take a wife; particularly if the killer has a long sentence to serve. If the dead man has no son, an unmarried brother will certainly wait until the murderer emerges from prison, but if the latter does not then return to the community the brother will probably consider himself free to marry a year or two afterwards.

Yet despite the dearth of reciprocal vengeance killings, the idea of this obligation is very real, and it remains a potent sanction against light-hearted killings in a community with a taste for violence. Of five Sarakatsan murderers released from prison in recent years, three moved to other parts of Greece, and the two who returned to the community only did so because their victims had left no ready avenger on the scene.

The details of a vengeance killing which occurred in 1950 illustrate some aspects of the problem. During the civil war of 1947–9 the Sarakatsani were unable to reach their summer grazing in the mountains and remained in the plains of Thesprotia under conditions of extreme heat and absence of grass. There was a boundary dispute between the extended family group of Achnoulas and a 'company' of families led by John Strates. [221] [578]

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596 John Stratos. Accused of stealing the grass of the other group, a
577 young shepherd of the Achnoulas family insulted a brother of
● 627 John Stratos, who struck him with his crook. Both families heard the shouts and rushed to the aid of their kinsmen. In the scuffle that followed the old father of John Stratos was wounded by the knife of one of his own sons which had fallen to the ground and was then picked up by one of the Achnoulas brothers. He died from the wound. The fight was so confused, with six men grappling in a body, that the Stratos family never discovered which Achnoulas brother killed the old man. Nor did the police. After a lengthy inquiry, nobody was charged with the killing since much of the evidence appeared to suggest that it had been accidental. The Achnoulas family felt reasonably secure from direct attack because of the anonymity of the killer and nothing happened for nine months, until one day George Achnoulas, drunkenly quarrelling at a wedding, told an adversary to take care, hinting darkly that he was not afraid of spilling blood since it would not be the first time. The Stratos family, informed of this incident, necessarily accepted the evidence as sufficient, and an unmarried brother, Charalambos, waited in ambush for George and shot him dead as he walked along a path.

What we are faced with in these seeming evasions, or half evasions, of a duty which is declared to be sacred, is generally not any real weakness in the solidarity of the family of origin, but the conflict of roles between the duty of the brother or son on the one hand, and, on the other, the obligations of a father to his own family, or the right of a brother or son to marry and found his own elementary family at about the age of thirty. This conflict is, of course, related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the isolated corporate family which is associated with it. It places an inherent limit on vendetta. Clearly, a community fragmented into family commonwealths, where the individual's categorical rights and obligations are contained exclusively in this small group, where the help a man can claim from his collateral kin is severely limited, and where a family to exist in any real sense must have at least one adult male to support and lead it, is peculiarly ill contrived to prosecute blood vengeance.

It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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596 of opinion is likely to be favourable to a policy of inaction but
577 mutual avoidance. There is, inevitably, some loss of prestige
627 but this may be the lesser of two evils. But mutual avoidance
626 (which is possible in this dispersed community) is essential. If
[558] the killer were to appear before the victim's brothers on a public occasion, such as a wedding or a festival, the humiliating confrontation would force the brothers to kill him or forfeit their honour. Generally, both sides have strong motives to keep out of each other's way. In the case of the vengeance killing between the Achnoulas and Stratos families, after some months the Stratos family may have felt relief that they did not know the identity of the killer. But the incident at the wedding was generally interpreted as a display of public boasting by George Achnoulas, and this made retaliation almost inevitable.

596 The loss of a life in a killing is seen as a loss of blood, and for
577 this outrage the violator ought to pay with his own blood. We have
627 shown that there is no passive solidarity in vengeance killing; a man does not generally suffer for a killing committed by his brother. This is a convention which plainly restricts the possible extensions of a vengeance killing and prevents a number of families from losing their 'protectors'. It is the analogue of those qualifications of active solidarity that we have already discussed. However, this does not detract from the importance of active and passive solidarity in other situations nor the significance of the shedding of the common blood. This is very evident in fights which do not involve homicide.

596 An evenly contested fight in which no blood is spilled is an
577 episode complete in itself; a fight of similar character and pro-
578 portions in which one side physically loses blood but the other
629 does not, inevitably provokes its own sequel in the attempt at some later time to draw blood from the opponent. But a man does not himself revenge the outrage which has been committed on him. This is the task of a brother or son. Also, the object of vengeance need not be the original opponent; any male member of this man's family is appropriate. In a typical dispute over the boundaries of grazing areas, Aristoteles was cut about the head by the other shepherd's crook. Some weeks later, Christos, the brother of Aristoteles, found himself at a wedding feast opposite the brother of the man who had recently quarrelled with his own brother. In his own words, 'I suddenly saw

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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596 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this
577 terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.
627

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to
596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two
577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's
627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then
684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot
[121] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant, and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[381] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [625]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[557] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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less effective is the response. To some extent this is so even where the reasons for delay are physical: for instance, the killer is in prison, or the avenger is not yet adult. But it is said that if an affront to honour remained unanswered over a period of years after an adult unmarried avenger was available and the killer physically present in the community, then the quality of the dishonour ascribed to the family would be such that an eventual vengeance killing would not reinstate the reputation of the victim's family. For, on grounds of damaging conjectures about the personal motives for this delay, other families would be able to continue asserting the relative integrity of their own honour by denying it to the family of the victim. The case is hypothetical since there has been no instance of this kind in recent years, but it is indicative of Sarakatsan thinking on this matter.

The defence of family honour is at once an indication of family solidarity and a process which recreates it. The honour of the family, the solidarity of this group, and the mutual responsibility of its members, are correlated notions. It is true that passive solidarity does not extend to questions of vengeance where a life is demanded, but in other respects it is complete. A man may suffer physical assault for the offence of his father, brother, or son. Further, if one member of a family acts dishonourably, all the other members of the family lose honour in the eyes of the community. If a man is killed or a sister's betrothal is broken, and the family remains inactive, all its members are equally dishonoured. Since all are responsible for the actions of any one, every member is accountable to every other member. All the members of the family necessarily form a single solidary group for the protection of their common honour.

2. HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES

In the preceding chapters we have seen that for each individual this community is divided into the two opposite but complementary categories of kinsmen and strangers; trust marking relations in the one category, distrust in the other. Distrust prevents co-operation between shepherds who are not kinsmen or affines, and the four or five men that are necessary to manage a flock are either father and sons or a co-operative 'company' of kinsmen and relatives by marriage. Moreover, the produce of the

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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already been examined: homicide, the drawing of blood, verbal insult, seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. 577 571

Honour, then, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its equality (at least) of status is recognized when others take care not to give offence in these particular ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, they make it clear that they consider its social existence of no account. In that case, whether the violation is accidental or not, the outraged family must answer at once, and with violence, if its reputation is to survive. [627]

But honour is not only to be considered in terms of the various external situations where it may be lost. The intrinsic principles of honour refer to two sex-linked qualities that distinguish the ideal moral characters of men and women: these are the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of women. With the exception only of persons of the lowest lineage, all Sarakatsani are assumed to possess these qualities 'by nature', although in the fallen condition of this world a reputation for manliness or shame is easily lost. In this sense it is not difficult for a man to move in a direction opposite to the true inclinations of his nature. One aspect of honour, then, is a struggle of self-discipline over cowardice and sensuality, flaws of animal nature that continually threaten to limit the natural nobility of man. 577

In general, the qualities of manliness are obvious and familiar. 'To be a man' the individual must show himself to be courageous and fearless. He must be strong in body and spirit. But there is also a nuance of meaning peculiar to a community where values are agonistic and social reputation is frequently at risk. In these circumstances a man must have boundless self-confidence in his own powers. Where few men owe him more than conditional support, and the great majority none at all, he must rely on himself. Manliness implies not only the condition of being courageous but the ability of a man to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him. For in this complex of values results count for almost everything and intentions for very little.

The physical characteristics of manliness are important. A man must be βαρβᾶτος, that is, well endowed with testicles [P31] and the strength that is drawn from them.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos[8] who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

[8] Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
169 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

3: Kabbadias EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

627

[For additional information on the role of "arbiters" in the settlement of disputes, see Category 692.]

/132 cont./

621 One should not lose sight of a fact which we have already repeated
602 many times, namely that the Sarakatsani generally live /133/ in small isolated groups in the mountains or on the plains in the midst of a society they are unwilling to accept. It is therefore not astonishing that they seek to establish a system of security based on internal solidarity and collaboration among themselves and that these two forms of social integration depend, in turn, on kinship through affinity. However, it is necessary to demonstrate this.

627 Kinship imposes obligation. The study of vendetta among the
62 Sarakatsani will show us that this form of punishment cannot be applied
602 among kin. It will show us also that when a vendetta starts it often ends only when two members of the rival families marry. Another observation should be added in connection with an expression the Sarakatsani use to designate those who do not belong to their family, the symbolic significance of which is unmistakable: "people" enter into the circle of kinship, hostility is liable to change to a certain amity. The "people" become "we."

602 However, both the number of blood relatives and that of affinal relatives is limited. Moreover, the creation of kinship by affinity is not always possible.

608 In response to the overwhelming necessity of insuring loyal allies
182 and collaborators, they resort to fraternization. That this practice,
[171] which is, moreover, not uniquely Sarakatsani but common to all the shepherds all over Greece, aims at such an effect the ethnographer D. Loucopoulos affirms without reservation. (15)

15. Ibid., p. 211

According to him, "this custom was practiced chiefly during village fairs. The religious ritual concluded, the stavradelphia left the church, and publicly, with songs, drinking bouts and banquets made known to all that they had become brothers. This encouraged friends and intimidated enemies."

[124] Our Sarakatsani informants, having always expressed an identical

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [596] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

[629] To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter dévoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Théir interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community [621] which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.

177 Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a

[688] very relative influence on our herders.

Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,

671 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple

627 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse

692 to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic

199 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every

[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/208 cont./

474 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani
675 society and its cultural system.
671

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the
691 questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.
627 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always
692 obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who
691 are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[448] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society
[179] is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between
692 members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties
625 concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).
[608]

If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and
[474] the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/208 cont./

691 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other,
692 according to circumstances and the case at hand.
627

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their
627 opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already con-
696 stituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

627 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may
696 make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

694 First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one
695 of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter
627 has not properly fulfilled his obligations, In return, the participant
692 expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the
[686] "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabida: Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.

596 Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

121 /210 cont./
692 in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there
692 will no longer be any doubt about their nature.
629 We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

(124) Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/211 cont./

121 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or
676 a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to
692 the good will of those concerned.
629

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing.
696 We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence
692 is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his
629 cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by
626 all the participants and labelled "destroyer of shoepfolds" (Chalassostanis)
(686) --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.
(474)

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[494] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tsélligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
629 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
692 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
626 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual
696 recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/213 cont./

Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality, on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

* * * *

But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it

/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12.

Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
691 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and /one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

673 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
674 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
682 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the
627 blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.
628

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important
628 lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted
613 several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which
[581] seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stéréa Hellas) recently
627

/217 cont./

682 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of
627 Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

628 It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the
602 vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is
627 not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Other-
628 wise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be
182 ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed
682 out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies,
627 that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by
628 enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members,
182 the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta
682 mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave
627 one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals,
581 by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively.
182 They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

627 687 [602] [681] [182] 627 628 682 182

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers. [562]

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

839 181 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
579 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
579 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
837 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
684 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
629 punished.
602

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
(191) it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
(848) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
579 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
(684) acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[594] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[613] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/235 cont./

671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[627] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/397 cont./

578 It is possible that conjugal families or small lineages will one day find themselves in competition or in conflict with each other or with the extended family of which they are a part or with both at the same time.

The many causes of competition may be classified into two categories:

Occasional causes reflecting conflicts /398/ arising from a specific combination of circumstances, as for example, personal discord between heads or other members of the sub-groups of the family unit (dislikes, jealousies, disputes, rancor, hatred, etc.), disagreements about the managament or because of the managament of the common enterprise, ambitions of a sub-group's head who aspires to become an independent head, etc.

578 627 182 The means at the disposal of Sarakatsani society to cope with this are both manifold and effective: in case of discord or personal ambitions, the individuals concerned may demand their "share" of the common goods and leave, or else join another Tsiligato. Likewise, economic disagreements may be solved either by arbitration or by the dismissal of an incapable head-manager, or finally by splitting up and dispersing. At worst, the original family group may find itself lessened in strength or even split up. But in general the means of bypassing differences, true safety values, channel the pressures in directions provided for, and avoid a challenge to the adopted way of life, as would be the case if the explosive situations did not have another outlet.

578 Causes inherent in the very system of Sarakatsani life, reflecting social conflicts that derive from its inherent characteristics. It is chiefly this second category of rivalries which, as constant dangers to the equilibrium, merit our attention.

[121] As a matter of fact, according to a correct but very much disputed formula by C. Lévi-Strauss, "no society is perfect. Each one has by

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
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A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

S G 571 554 [558] [559] If a patron cannot effectively protect his clients his prestige is diminished; and in his own community the client, too, suffers for the incapacity of his patron, since the potential of his strength from this source is seen to be less than was supposed. But when the protection is effective, both patron and client gain prestige from the relationship. The colleagues of the patron envy him the power which his control of a body of clients assures for him, other families in the client's community envy him his cleverness in winning powerful patrons. But the Sarakatsan client will not share with others the vicarious influence which patronage brings him, unless they are kinsmen or affines. For he believes that if he shares his advantage, he loses it. And this is a further reason why relationships across the boundaries of the community with persons of influence are exclusive and particular connexions established by the individual family.

G 647 S G 571 We see that while the organization of administration stretches down, as it were, from the central Government towards the village community but loses power and the ability to take decisions the farther it extends from its point of origin, the structure of the system of patronage, which is based on social relationships between clients seeking for a man with the ability and friendship connexions to protect them and a patron who accepts these duties in return for political allegiance, grows upwards and through lawyers, other persons of influence, and Members of Parliament, is linked to the legislative assembly. Thus the organization of government and the structure of patronage are parallel hierarchies. At any particular level the two hierarchies are related through ties of friendship. The shepherd or villager is excluded from the Government hierarchy, but through the structure of patronage he may be able vicariously to submit his case before a senior official in the public service.

S G 571 631 621 Patronage is the means through which the local community is linked to the wider national society. And it is significant that the group which seeks this connexion is the individual family and not the community. This is clearly the case amongst the Sarakatsani, but even villagers do not co-operate in seeking Government favour except where the interests of the whole village as such are attacked. If the President of a village is able to help a village friend by his influence in the town, he does so

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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plains and reduced the size of their flocks. Others found small pastures in the area around Paramythia and until 1930 some families, at least, were able to cross the Albanian frontier for their winter grass. In 1944 the flight into Albania of the Muslim villagers of Thesprotia opened new areas of grazing to the Sarakatsani of Zagori, but these, too, are now less extensive after the settlement of refugees from Northern Epirus and the claims of Christian villagers who live in the district. Generally since 1927, when the division of chiftlik lands was substantially effected, the difficulties over winter grazing have grown more acute each year. By 1955 it was seldom possible to find winter grazing for a flock of more than 1,000 sheep in one area. One consequence has been the reduction in the size of the flocks of leading Sarakatsan families. Before 1922 it was not exceptional for a man to own 2,000 sheep; today a flock of 500 is considerable.

The disappearance of winter grassland threatened the basis of transhumant pastoralism not only in Epirus but also in the other provinces of continental Greece. Although they could do little to alter fundamentally the new conditions they had created by the distribution of winter grassland for cultivation, the Government attempted in 1930 to protect the position of the shepherds by a law[22] establishing rights of protected lease (δικαιώματα ἐνοικιοστασίου), so that a shepherd who had enjoyed a grazing lease on a pasture during one winter had the right to return to it in the following autumn (and at a price determined by the Government). There remained, however, various conditions under which such leases might lapse, and the area of available grazing continued to decrease, although now at a less disastrous pace.

After 1922 grazing conditions did not change radically in the Zagori. The temporary emigration of Zagori men to other parts of the Ottoman Empire was replaced by the permanent emigration of whole families of Zagori villagers to the towns and cities of the Greek kingdom. But the grasslands remained to be exploited by the Sarakatsani. In 1938, however, a law[23] was passed by the Government of Metaxas that was to have important

[22] Law 4818 of 14/16 July 1930, 'Concerning the lease of grazing lands'.
[23] Decree 1223 of 3/4 May 1938, 'Concerning the settlement of Pastoralists'.

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consequences. It instructed that the names of semi-nomad shepherds should be added to the citizenship roll of either the summer or the winter village of their grazing grounds. A majority of the Sarakatsani with grazing in the western and central Zagori elected to write their names on the roll of their summer village.[24] The purpose of the central government was to control an untidy and potentially disorderly element in a state based on the village community of settled peasantry. However, the proud villagers of Zagori with their inherited pretensions were deeply dismayed at this act of arbitrary legislation. While their own youth left for the town and city, rights of citizenship in the villages were by law extended to uncivilized and uneducated shepherds. Traditionally the Sarakatsani had built their summer huts on the grazing land they leased. But now possessing the rights of village citizenship, some bought houses in the depopulated village and others began to build their groups of huts on its outskirts. Daily contact between the two communities in these circumstances intensified their traditional antipathy. Yet at the same time the newly acquired local voting rights necessarily integrated the Sarakatsani into the village patronage system, and the villagers' attitude of open contempt forced them slowly but certainly to a growing conformity with village habits at least in their more outward and material aspects.

There were also important changes in the forms of co-operation between families within the community. Previously the grazing of areas carrying two or three thousand sheep had been sold each year by Zagori villages to the leading families of Sarakatsani. For these alone had the wealth and experience to carry through the negotiation. Through the lease of this grazing, the head of such a family, the tselingas (τσέλιγγας), also controlled a number of other families who contracted to work with him for the summer or winter period. The nucleus of the group was co-operating families (συμίχτες) often related by kinship or marriage; but a number of unrelated men with few or no animals of their own were also associated as wage shepherds.

[24] However, a village could resist the application if it was able to show that grazing land was not available. Since the pressure on grazing land was greater in the plains, Sarakatsani often had no other choice but to apply for citizenship in a mountain village.

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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S G 608 557 Naturally, merchants and others are well aware of the motives behind the naïve manœuvres of the Sarakatsani. But, as we have already said, they also gain various advantages. They do not, except in the unusual case of a very rich or powerful individual, become lavish patrons. Few of them give away anything for nothing. But they become helpful rather than hostile, they will exert their influence for their spiritual kinsmen and in doing so they themselves win prestige. A shared system of values regulates their mutual behaviour in which friendship and trust replace hostility and suspicion.

3. VILLAGE FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

G 623 666 [622] In the villages authority rests in the hands of a council of five members. From its own number it elects a President and Vice-President while the choice of the council itself is the result of local elections which are held every four years. In these, S [641] [666] all adult villagers of both sexes, and those shepherd families who possess citizenship rights in the village, are entitled to vote.

G 665 666 623 For electoral purposes any person may form a party providing he can present to the electorate a card with the names of seven candidates. In practice village elections seldom produce more than two parties, those who support the President in power because they are his friends, and those who want a change because they are not his friends. These parties are essentially personal followings, not corporate associations, and there is not necessarily any direct alignment with the parties of national politics. The citizens vote by handing in the party card of their choice with four crosses against those of the seven candidates who are preferred. The party which polls the greater number of cards wins the election. The four candidates of the successful party who record the largest aggregates of personal votes become members of the council. The person amongst the candidates of the defeated party or parties who claims the largest number of personal votes is also elected to the council as the representative of G the defeated minority's interests. The five members of the new [622] council then proceed to elect two of their number as President [624] and Vice-President. These men hold office for two years, at the end of which period their authority may either be confirmed for the remaining two years of the council's term of office, or they may be replaced by the election of new officers.

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S G 648 S 662 G 647 554 [558]

of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

S G 648 571 G 693 554

Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

S G 648 656 S 641

Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

G 647 661

However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

/405 cont./

179 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of [452] raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[446] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

179 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [233] [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani [641] are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tsiligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [594] [425] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

● 648

/Information on artificial kin relations (bridegroom-wedding sponsors, godchild-godparent) between the Sarakatsani and Greek villages of the Zagori region will be found in category 608./

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Sarakatsani, and they believe that in blood and heroism their own contribution to the freedom of Greece was incomparable. At the same time they explicitly question the loyalty of the Koutsovlachs[4] or Albanian Vlachs, accusing them in the recent wars of collaboration or communist affiliations. Although they share a similar type of economy there is no sympathy between Sarakatsani and these other shepherds. They envy the Koutsovlachs for their relative affluence and their established villages. And they are hostile to the Albanian Vlachs, because it is particularly with these groups that many Sarakatsani must compete for the limited areas of winter grazing land. Even the flesh of an Albanian Vlach, they say, does not smell like that of a Christian.[5] Intermarriage with these people is unknown and between the more traditional Sarakatsani and Koutsovlachs it is, at least, very rare.

In recent decades the problem of the origin of the Sarakatsan communities has provoked a considerable amount of writing. Interest was aroused more particularly after the publication in 1925 of a brilliant linguistic study of the Sarakatsan dialect by the Danish scholar, Carsten Höeg.[6] In the opening chapters of this work Höeg gives some ethnographic details of the communities he visited and presents a theory that these shepherds are the descendants of primitive pastoral tribes, which he believes must always have existed in this part of Greece from preclassical times.[7] This view was naturally well received by Greek folklorists and historians. For equally obvious reasons it was strongly disputed by a number of Rumanian writers and publicists, of whom perhaps Theodor Capidan is the best known. Before the 1939–45 war these writers, continuing in a long tradition of Rumanian nationalist propaganda, were eager to stress the relationship between Rumanians and Koutsovlachs. (Indeed, even before the beginning of this century schools had been subsidized by Rumanian funds in the larger Koutsovlach

[4] In fact, from the period of the Revolution the contribution of the Koutsovlachs to the Greek State both in wealth and talent has been very considerable.

[5] Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. νη'.

[6] Carsten Höeg, *Les Sarakatsans*. Étude linguistique, 2 vols., Paris and Copenhagen, 1925 and 1926.

[7] P. Aravandinos had already made this claim in 1903. Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Μονογραφία περὶ Κουτσοβλάχων*, Athens, 1903, p. 38.

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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winter, but there is neither enough hay nor sufficient steading to attempt this on any considerable scale. Similarly, villagers in the plains may keep some sheep through the summer despite a smothering heat and parched grazing. But the condition of these animals is meagre.

Yet it was the Sarakatsani rather than the people of Zagori who exploited, and continue to exploit, these pastoral resources of grass and water; and this is a fact that has to be explained on historical grounds.

The Turks under Sinan Pasha captured Jannina in 1430, and that part of Epirus which now lies between the Albanian frontier and the town of Arta remained an Ottoman possession until its cession to Greece as recently as 1913. From the earliest period of the occupation a majority of these lands were divided into military fiefs. The fief-holders, tenants-in-chief, in exchange for certain military commitments enjoyed the revenue from a number of taxes including the tithe of one-tenth, but the cultivators, mainly Christians, possessed a right of secure tenure in their land which lapsed only if they did not cultivate it over a period of three years. From time to time, however, and by various methods (often through the expropriation of the rights of peasants who had fallen into debt), fiefs were converted into private properties, chiftliks, on which the villagers became métayers, conceding half the produce of their cultivations to the landowner and possessing no certain rights of tenure which the latter did not choose to recognize.

The villages of Zagori, however, succeeded not only in defending their limited rights as Christian villagers in military fiefs but also in persuading the Turks to grant them other and more important privileges. By the eighteenth century the forty-six villages had developed a confederate alliance. Each village elected a representative to a council which in turn appointed a general intendant for Zagori who was established in Jannina as administrator of the confederation's affairs in liaison with the Ottoman authorities. There were three essential privileges which it was the task of this representative to defend; the right of the confederation to collect and deliver to the imperial government taxes owed by the member villages (other than the dues payable to the fief-holders); the right of Zagori villages to administer their own affairs, to hear cases of civil law between

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[754] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[789] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[648] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 474 233 [235]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thesprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the 474 233 423 648

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474 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the
233 village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned
423 not to return in the autumn.
648

The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential
474 lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-
233 General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients
423 had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily
662 tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or
648 Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter
233 and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those
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IX

PATRONAGE

1. COMMUNITY

THE Sarakatsani of Zagori are profoundly conscious of their identity as a community in relation to villagers or townspeople. Hostility to villagers is not only a question of a conflict of interests but also a difference of values. The Sarakatsani believe that if the material conditions of their life are indeed regrettable, yet the moral life of their community upholds Greek traditional values which villagers, especially in Zagori, have debased and betrayed. Specifically they claim that the men may be cursed or the women seduced with little fear of provoking the reaction expected of honourable men. These claims are spiced with illustrations. The classic instance is the case of the postman who surprised another villager in the act of intercourse with his wife. He took no action, however, except to observe that this did not seem to him to be the conduct of a good neighbour. Other tales inform of homosexual practices with gipsies, and of ugly widows and unmarried spinsters who satisfy their lusts with dogs. The evidence is rather more convincing for the accusation that they are mean and inhospitable. The common purpose of these allegations is, simply, to deny that the villagers of Zagori have honour. The men are lacking in manliness, courage, and generosity: the women are shameless and given to sexual lust. Criticism is sharpened by the knowledge that the shepherds themselves are despised by the villagers as people unfit to live in civilized society, physically unclean barbarians who put their trust in violence and self-help rather than the processes of law.

In these attitudes two ideal types are opposed. For the villagers of Zagori, actions must be judged against the image of the clever, astute, educated merchant and patriot who may travel abroad but continues to support the village by his benefactions. His activities, however, require an orderly social environment, a respect for the minimum of law and order, an absence of physical violence, and (although this would not be admitted) it required in the past a qualified understanding with the Turkish master.

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[2] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

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Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

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[2] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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On the other hand, any attempt to organize systematic co-operation between the families of the community faces almost insuperable obstacles. An 'Association of Nomad Pastoralists' was formed in 1950 to represent the interests of the community to the government and other agencies. But enthusiasm waned rapidly as soon as it was realized that it could not miraculously improve the situation without the moral and financial support of its members over a number of years. The members are almost exclusively Sarakatsani but significantly the salaried executive secretary is a villager; first, because no shepherd possesses the legal expertise to negotiate with officials; secondly, because, although few shepherds trust the secretary, it would be even more distasteful to discuss one's problems with another Sarakatsanos. Here we touch on the difficulty which faces any attempt at community organization beyond the competence of the co-operating 'company'. It necessarily involves the acceptance of some executive authority. But for reasons of pride and distrust a Sarakatsanos cannot surrender any fraction of the sovereignty of his family.

As we have seen, this does not mean that the community has no sense of its solidarity and opposition to villagers. On the contrary, when the honour of the community is publicly attacked, unrelated men will stand together in its defence. To do nothing would be to betray their manhood in one another's eyes. This is a relationship of identification. But the conflict of practical interests between Sarakatsani and the villagers, the merchants, or the government, is a different form of threat. And although these problems are similar in kind for all, the problems of one family are generally separated in time and space from those of another. When a man's own interests are not immediately endangered, he is secretly pleased about the misfortunes of other men who are not kinsmen or affines. To face these difficulties as a united community would require co-operative relationships between non-kinsmen. Since these are not possible, we must now consider how, in fact, each family attempts to protect itself from the external threats to its security and prosperity.

2. SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

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In his struggle to protect his family and live his own way of life the Sarakatsanos must come to terms with various persons

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S G 648 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they S G 648 stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a S G 829 man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these S 571 648 608 ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (χουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (χουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[3] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[3] The minimum charge is 4½*d.* a head.

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S G 648 651 S 233 426 large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

S G 648 S 662 G 622 661 The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

S G 423 648 S 233 G 622 661 It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

S G 648 S 233 685 G 622 661 625 The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

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can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

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After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

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But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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him a drink, he stands him a drink in return. Meeting him in the village square, the shepherd stops to talk for a few minutes about this and that. Were they not patron and client, a curt 'Good day' from each side would be the extent of their social intercourse. However, it is not a relationship of equals. The shepherd belongs not only to a different community, but to a qualitatively inferior one. While the President will say of a villager who is similarly his client that this man is his friend, he will not say this of a shepherd. If an explanation in his presence is necessary, he may say, 'George is a good lad, I help him', but behind his back he will simply say, 'He is my man'. Yet, although they are his social inferiors, the President gains prestige by being seen publicly with his shepherd clients. If he drinks with other villagers who are his supporters, this is no cause for comment. He merely keeps company with those who are his social equals and natural companions. When he drinks with four or five shepherds it draws attention to his possession of power, to his ability to hold men who do not waste their time drinking with ordinary villagers whom as a class of persons they detest and despise. The Sarakatsanos accepts his position of inferiority in the relationship because he must. He does not, as most villagers would, address the President by his Christian name; but he is not subservient in his manner. He speaks to him courteously as 'President'. When another person of importance comes to speak to the President, and it is clear that he is dismissed, he moves to another table, or with a 'Good health, President', to which the latter replies, he leaves the shop. These are the conventional terms on which these unequal friendships are founded. What is important to the Sarakatsanos in these situations is that other shepherds who do not possess this valued link should see and envy him.

In asymmetrical friendship relations, since it is assumed that the patron has more favours to offer than the client can return, or that reciprocal favours are so dissimilar in quality that accountancy is difficult, there is often greater stability than in friendships between equals, which are very frequently bedevilled by accusations of ingratitude. Yet, even here, there are many complaints, the patron asserting that the client should be more vocal in his gratitude, the client complaining that the patron does very little in relation to the client's worth and needs, and

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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patron-client relationship of some stability over time, and the range of favours which may be demanded is almost as extensive as that between spiritual kinsmen, but the atmosphere of calculation is more pronounced. Confidence which is ritually sanctioned in spiritual kinship is more easily destroyed in the relations of patron and client. Gifts given by a shepherd to the President generally have a specific object in view and each gift is effective for only a short period of time if, indeed, it is effective at all.

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The President is not the only man with power or influence in a village; the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, other villagers of wealth or reputation may have these qualities in varying degree. When the President is particularly severe towards them, the shepherds attempt, by the same methods we have just considered, to attach themselves to other persons in the village who are known to have influence on the council, or personally over the President himself.

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When the sheep of Theodoros were despatched by the President to the poorest area of grazing for the second year because of his active opposition during the elections, Theodoros did not appeal to the Nomarch against this injustice. He went instead to Vlachopoulos. Vlachopoulos is the Vice-President of the village, and the President's closest friend. He also owns the older of the two village coffee-shops which is the one more generally patronized by the Sarakatsani both for social gatherings and for the many small purchases which they make. After the bitter feelings aroused by the autumn elections there was a spontaneous boycott of the Vlachopoulos shop by the Sarakatsani and at the time when Theodoros approached him two or three weeks after the shepherds had returned to the summer pasture, only a few Sarakatsan men were to be seen drinking in the old shop. For a week Theodoros assiduously made small purchases in the shop. Finding Vlachopoulos alone one day, he took the next step by remarking that he was not a man to dwell on old scores and that he thought his return to the shop proved this point. It seemed, however, that the President was still governed by his rage and spite. This was surely unjust, and he asked Vlachopoulos if he would not intercede with the President on his behalf. Vlachopoulos agreed to do this. It is a fair assumption that he was especially pleased to see Theodoros who leads

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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S more important social obligations are particular to the indivi-
K dual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker
571 and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The
596 notion of service to the community (εὐεργεσία) exists, and is
621 honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for
S instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services
K are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of
[623] the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public
G servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obliga-
[622] tion, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

S The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village
648 authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and
662 regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

G Some State regulations are administered through the struc-
647 ture of village authority which has been examined. In other
[656] instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[8] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[8] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

S [687]

S G 648 S 233 662

But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

S G 648 S 431 662 G 647 S G 648 S 625 S 662 [431] [687]

Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

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S G 648 S 662 G 647 554 [558]

of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

S G 648 571 G 693 554

Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

S G 648 656 S 641

Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

G 647 661

However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

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he attaches junior officials to his own will since they cannot move without his approval, and he enhances his prestige because he is seen to be indispensable. At the same time, he secures his power and nourishes his self-regard. But the convergence of so many cases awaiting decision upon a limited number of senior officials in Jannina and Athens who cannot personally know the detailed circumstances of a case except through the exiguous details set out on printed forms, creates interminable delays and inhibits the equitable administration of government laws and regulations. In the Epirus, where many villagers and shepherds live on the margin of bare subsistence, these limitations of administration might prove disastrous for many families, were they not able to put their affairs into the hands of a lawyer or some other patron. For if, in the example we have chosen, a man cannot graze his goats in the one area where he has the right to do this, he must sell the animals which provide him with his living. The lawyer is able to bring a case to the direct notice of a senior official, to frame it to the best advantage; and sometimes, if he has considerable influence, to gain concessions for his client which are not strictly within the relevant law's terms of reference.

The significance of the lawyer's position is his ability to face in two directions. Because of the prestige and status of a successful lawyer in Greek society he may be able in a provincial town to number amongst his friends, judges, army officers, doctors, the Nomarch, and other senior officials of the Government bureaucracy. With these men he sits and drinks at the tables of the town's more fashionable coffee-shops and in the lounge of the best hotel. As a member of this professional *élite* he is able to recommend the affairs of his clients to the attention of various friends who may be able to help. They give this help because of their friendship for the lawyer; they are relatively indifferent to the worth of the client and the justice of his case. In return, a lawyer is able during local and national elections to promise the political support of his clients. He also assists his friends by legal advice in their own affairs and in the affairs of their kinsmen many of whom, often, are themselves villagers.

The Sarakatsani because of their many political difficulties and disabilities are critical assessors of the personal abilities of different lawyers. The profession is over-crowded and there is a

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S G 648 S 662 G 693 661 wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S G 648 571 G 693 J K [608] S [431] In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his professional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

G [557]

S G 648 571 G 693 662 It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in G 646 662 Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 647 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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friendship to the second. In this manner the shepherd, because he is useful and necessary to his patron through the power and prestige which his political allegiance and social attentions confer on him, is never entirely powerless to resist those administrative actions of Government which threaten his way of life. The system of patronage introduces a flexibility into administrative machinery whose workings are very often directed by persons remote from the people whose fortunes they are affecting.

5. MERCHANTS

A further system of relationships, which cross the boundaries of the community and relate it to the world outside, results from the shepherds' need to market the produce of their flocks.

They must sell this produce to provide the money required for the flour used in their bread, for the payment of their grazing dues, and for the growing list of luxuries which since 1938 through close observation of village life they have discovered to be essential to a family's self-esteem. These luxuries are for the most part articles of manufactured clothing, cotton summer dresses for the girls at school, European as against traditional shoes for men and women, tailored shirts for the men. Ten years ago the homespun cloth for men's jackets was cut by the women; it is now sent to a professional tailor. Pieces of cheap earthenware crockery and glassware begin to replace the heavy pewter plates and drinking mugs. There is increasing pressure to conform to village standards in these matters and each year more money is spent on the clothes and other things that have become prestige symbols. Each year, as the available winter grazing tends to decrease in area, its cost rises. While twenty years ago the whole community ate the yellow maize bread, today almost all the families make their bread from a more expensive brown flour which is largely wheaten in content. Only a few very poor families continue to eat yellow bread, and for this economy they suffer much ridicule. On all counts, the minimum money income required by a family to live in a style that will secure its prestige has greatly increased.

In the memory of living people the community has always exchanged some of its produce for money, and like many other pastoral and agricultural communities elsewhere it has always lived on credit for part of the year, paying off the greater part

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παραντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos* who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

* Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

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XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices /21
of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex 771
of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious 577
beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the 794
Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil- [648]
lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so 796
with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he 794
ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as 779
the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

192 233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 221 103 [494] Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle George over there, with only one eye — he's one of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it — [648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right. [173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said 101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro 186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze [582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 262 THE reiterated song of welcome, after gradually swelling in volume as the room filled with guests, had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid [252] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted [263] steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

585 292 531 ancient Greek vases of the geometric period, for every design was made up of straight lines and triangles, with here and there an inchoate beginning of those patterns of white crosses on a black ground, and black on white, that cover the vestments of frescoed prelates on the wall of a narthex. All was angular: triangles mounting in pyramids or shooting diagonally in zigzags and sawteeth and staircases with, very seldom, here and there, a small and subtly placed triangle or chevron, among the dominating black and white, of pale ocher, or terra-cotta, or a deadened blue. "Geometric" and "neolithic" were the epithets which began to float to the surface of the mind, bringing with them the excitement of the thought that these clothes and these designs might not have changed for three thousand years or more. One knows that these thoughts must be suppressed until they can be confirmed by research. But such dalliance is always stimulating. It was backed here by the certainty that nothing like these clothes exists in Greece or in the Balkan Peninsula or in Europe.

142 [302] The bride's face, with the blue cross on her forehead under black hair as coarse and lustrous as a stallion's tail and the stiff linen coif with its load of baubles and flowers, was burned a deep bronze. It had the metallic, wide-browed, heavy-lidded beauty, the slightly sad mouth, the clear line of jaw from chin to ear, and, springing from its flattened ruff and its stomacher of coins, the strong columnar neck which I admired so much, a few years ago, among the Mayas of the Honduranean and Guatemaltecan jungles. Obsidian, chalcedony, and basalt would have been the stones in which to carve those features and that still and melancholy posture. It is a type of looks which has an arresting distinction, a Gauguin-limbed strength at variance with the slender Tanagra delicacy that seems to have left an indelible stamp on Western ideas of grace and style.

585 [534] THERE was no time for more of these cogitations. The deep reedy blast of a clarinet sounded under the window; then, after a few twiddles, a violin and the twanging of a lute and a tentative fluttering tinkle of hammers over the wires of a zither. "Ah, the instruments," Uncle Petro said, "at last!"

[533] [648] I asked Petro if the musicians were Sarakatsáns. He looked at me in surprise. "Sarakatsáns? We only play the flute. They are Gypsies." And so they were, very dark ones, lined up outside under a tree in blue suits, wearing pointed black shoes and ties, the only ties for miles, and looking sleek and urban among these other nomads. There was a crunch of hobnails up the stairs as the

/208 cont./

474 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani
675 society and its cultural system.
671

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the
691 questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always
692 obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who
691 are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society
[648] is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)
[179]

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between
692 members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties
629 concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).
[602]

If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and
[474] the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/212 cont./
696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627 Mauss. (27)
626

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
[17] It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
[114] in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tsóligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recourse to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/366 cont./

789 company sings in her name and addresses the companions
533 of the fiance:
586
(539) --My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the
53 peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of
789 magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation,
53 amusement, pleasure. However, though "free," they must conform to the
198 general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to
533 give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

<u>Table songs</u> sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and
(548) the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
Sara Katsani EH14

35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly possessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstantin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in
[582] relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[186] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[1] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[1] The minimum charge is 4½d. a head.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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S G 648 426 G 622 661 can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

S G 648 426 G 652 622 The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved [647] by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

S G 648 651 486 G 622 Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally S [686] moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met G when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many [661] cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

S G 648 G 622 661 A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[8] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[8] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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S 178 439 426 511 of its debt in the early summer when it has reaped the harvest of milk, meat, and wool. The last twenty years, and especially the years since the war, have seen a new situation in which the shepherds have sold an increasing proportion of their annual produce, have themselves spent more money (not solely on the needs of physical subsistence), and have become, generally speaking, deeply and permanently indebted to merchants.

S 426 434 Only three of the 42 Sarakatsan households at Neochori have assets, which suggest that each summer they are virtually clear of debt. Speaking very generally, for these details are hard to collect and even harder to check, the average weight of debt carried by each elementary family is about £100. Only when a family of man, wife, and small children, has at least 200 sheep is there generally the possibility of it being relatively free of debt. But it is impossible to express the matter in a simple numerical statement, much depends on the price a family is forced to pay for its winter grazing. This may vary between such wide limits as half a crown and ten shillings per head of stock.

S 234 439 F 441 439 S [426] The need of the many semi-nomad pastoralists in the Epirus, not only Sarakatsani, to find a market for their produce is the merchant's opportunity. The most valuable of these products is the milk of the ewes. The constituent families of co-operating 'companies' of shepherds are generally so deeply in debt that they are discouraged from the further heavy borrowings which would be necessary for the rent or purchase of equipment to turn their own milk into marketable cheese. And since there are no large urban populations in the Epirus, the large quantities of butter, cheese, and meat must find their principal outlet in the Athenian market; but for the distribution of their products in the metropolitan area the shepherds have neither the facilities nor the knowledge.

S 234 439 221 The ewe gives substantial quantities of milk for six or seven months in the year, between the time when it drops its lamb in January and the establishment of its pregnancy once more in July or August. The spring milk is sold in the winter pastures between 1st of February and the 20th of May. After the ten-day migration to the summer pastures the milk is again sold in the Zagori between the 1st of June and a date within a few days of the end of July. The milk which is taken during the move into

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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[p.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

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[238]
[162]

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

[204]
[434]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

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these extremes is the ambivalence of certain marriage customs 585
which express the mutual antagonism between the two sides 602
and its limitation within conventional bounds.

When the groom's bridal procession arrives at a point about a quarter of a mile from the bride's home it halts. Five of the younger, braver, and better mounted men (συγγαριάτες) ride on ahead to bear the tidings of the groom's approach to the bride's people. Their object is to ride up to the door of the bride's hut at a full gallop, where they attempt to scatter and terrify the kinsmen of the bride. The aim of the bride's people, on the other hand, is to dismount and thereby ridicule as many of the riders as possible. Traditionally, this was done by firing blank charges at the feet of the oncoming horses, so that they reared in terror and threw their riders. Nowadays, if the [254] bride lives near a village, this method of attack is not attempted because the possession of firearms is illegal, but with the help of barking dogs and the banging of tin cans it is still possible to give the riders an unpleasant reception. Because convention permits this cut and thrust, no offence may be taken, unless it is pursued with an excess of malice. As each man reaches the door of the bride's hut, he claims from an appointed kinsman of the bride the coloured handkerchief which is the prerogative of these riders.

When the entire party of the groom has assembled, they are offered Turkish delight and a glass of ouzo by the bride's family, but this is the limit of the hospitality which is offered. Before the arrival of the groom, the bride's people have [271] prepared a shady picnic site, by spreading blankets on the ground and providing a barrel of fresh water. Thus while the bride's kinsmen eat and dance inside the huts, the groom's party take their midday meal outside under a tree, eating the food they have brought with them. They invariably eat this meal in a mood of impatient ill-humour, with many complaints that the water is tepid and the place unsuitable. By this formal denial of commensality the bride's family express their opposition to those who support the bridegroom.

After the religious betrothal ceremony has been completed, the groom's party are eager to leave. The bride's family, on the [335] contrary, insist that she goes through the lengthy ritual of dancing for the last time with each member of her family.

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of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

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Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

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Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

G 647 661

However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

[233] --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept [964] work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

[256] --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are [286] occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

[654] --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/403 cont./

region, numbering 1,200,000, fled from the atrocities of the Turkish army, left their homes and settled in Greece. Within the context of the measures taken to facilitate their repatriation, the Hellenic government decided upon the expropriation of large landed properties and the distribution of unoccupied land among the refugees. Pastures were thus given over to agriculture and herding was deprived of the means of feeding large flocks. A certain number of Tsóligatos were thus made to disappear.

The last World War and the political evolution of the Balkans.

The Tsóligatos that survived the parcelling out of pastureland found as a solution the leasing of pastures in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. But this solution proved impracticable during the second world war and especially after the erection of the "iron curtain." This was the death blow for them. From then on large-scale nomadic sheep herding started to decline very rapidly. At the present writing the number of Tsóligatos having "3000 head" of sheep cannot be more than 20 for all of Greece. The participants of the dissolved Tsóligatos have been obliged to seek individual solutions.

The administrative reorganization of the Hellenic State.

In 1938 the Government passed a law requiring all nomads of the country who had not done so until then, to be listed in the civil registers of the various municipalities. This measure had several consequences:

a) Subject to compulsory military service, the Sarakatsani came into contact with models and values other /404/ than theirs and, willy-nilly became impregnated with them. You saw Sarakatsani become technicians or car drivers, etc. The illiterates were given rudimentary education in schools for army illiterates. And everybody became acquainted with big

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
461 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

/405 cont./

177 24 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[476] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This emmeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tsóligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [544] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

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2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

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474 233 423 648 Sarakatsani no longer had any rights to grazing which the village council did not choose to recognize. They were warned not to return in the autumn.

474 233 423 662 648 The stani commissioned two patrons, who are influential lawyers in Jannina, to present their case to the Governor-General of the Epirus. Their plea was simply that their clients had nowhere to go; that they were simple men but easily tempted to violence in a crisis. In October the Nomarch (or Prefect) of Thesprotia was ordered to arrange for the compulsory admission of the shepherds to the same winter grazing. But the Nomarch (it was alleged) had received gifts from the villagers and did not wish to comply. He replied that the size of the villagers' own flocks made the administration of the order very difficult. Delay in correspondence and the endless discussion of practical difficulties are the time-honoured methods by which a junior officer in the hierarchy may evade the instruction of a senior official without becoming guilty of direct disobedience. But by late October the sheep were already on the road. The tselingas now appealed to his cheese merchant who suggested a present of fifty pounds to be passed by himself to his friend the Nomarch's Chief of Staff. It is impossible to say how this money was used, or if indeed it ever left the pocket of the merchant. But early in November, when the sheep had almost reached the village, an order was sent by the Nomarch to the President of the village that he must again receive the sheep of the Sarakatsani into the pastures.

It seems very probable that the relative success of this stani in facing these threats owes something to its size. If the stani had been smaller it is possible that the villagers would have resisted its initial lodgement in 1944 or that the later attempt to drive it out by force would have been more effective. It is certain that in 1954 the most impressive argument which their patrons were able to advance to the authorities was the simple fact that this large body of persons and animals had to be accommodated somewhere to avoid violence and political embarrassment. Furthermore, no stani of moderate size and resources could have easily afforded the expenses of these struggles in fees and bribes.

474 233 221 The composition of co-operating 'companies' in the winter and summer pastures is not necessarily the same. Often those

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612 476 τὸ σόι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of [431] money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still [675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near [409] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of [662] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, [426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica- [851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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The powers of this council are wide. By a simple majority vote it may institute any local by-law it pleases, providing this does not conflict with the letter or spirit of national legislation. Within statutory limits, it determines the local grazing charges to be levied on the flocks of pastoralists. And it draws up its own budget of future communal expenditure. These privileges are balanced by the discretionary power of veto over budgetary and taxation decisions which is possessed by the Nomarch, who is the provincial administrator appointed by the central Government.

The day-to-day administration of village affairs is the task of the President, who receives an allowance in compensation for the time he spends on community affairs. He is assisted in this work by a permanent salaried village secretary who keeps the registers up to date, deals with correspondence, and draws up a variety of returns which are required by different Government Ministries. Indeed, both these village officials act, not infrequently, for the central Government in matters of routine administration, instruction, and in the collection of information. Although in the decisions of the council the President's vote, of itself, carries no greater weight than that of any other member, his control over the administration of parochial affairs and his intimate relations with the Government bureaucracy, whether he is acting as a negotiator representing the interests of the villagers, or as an agent of the bureaucracy, give him in fact substantially greater power than other members of his council.

For these reasons it is generally with the President that the Sarakatsani must negotiate their affairs. In a number of important matters he has the power to affect their interests collectively or individually. In the first place, the council decides the scale of grazing charges. The village is permitted by law to charge, for summer grazing, up to two shillings a head for the first 150 animals and up to four shillings for the remainder of the flock. It may, however, charge less.[8] And it is noticeable that in those villages where the shepherd families are in a politically strategic position grazing charges tend to be lower than in other villages where this is not the case. Threepence or sixpence a head difference in a grazing charge does not represent a very

[8] The minimum charge is 4½d. a head.

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large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

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After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

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But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

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the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

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the mules had had to be released so far from the scene of operations. He managed also to mention that he would like to help the President in the current rebuilding of his house. It so happened that he had two loads of timber which he did not require. The next day, the President saw the agricultural guard and warned him that, in his opinion, it would only be reasonable to take into consideration the one night when he had actually seen the mules. For the rest, who could say? There had been high winds recently which often damaged trees, and he added that he had noticed one of the agricultural guard's own goats straying one evening in the direction of the orchards. Accordingly, the President received his wood, Stratos and his kinsmen escaped with a small fine, and the agricultural guard's dream of a triumphant case came to nothing.

Two points must be stressed about this method of influencing the President. Gifts must be presented with finesse. A man of honour is not to be crudely bought by social inferiors if he does not wish to lose prestige in the community. The shepherd must give the lamb, butter, or cheese to the President as if it were merely an expression of friendly respect, and in no way tied to the favour he is about to request. Secondly, whether in relation to these gifts of produce, or to other perquisites of his office, the limited dishonesty and corruptibility of a President is not dishonourable. 'He eats money' (τρώει παράδες), others say with envy. But they concede that this is the right of his office. His allowance is not large, he too must live, he also has a family to support. If a favour, even where it is entirely legal, involves trouble beyond the ordinary routine duties of his office, why should he weary himself for a man to whom he is not related in any way, unless that man by a gift, or in some other way, demonstrates the esteem in which he holds him.

We have now discussed in the order of their effectiveness three ways in which the Sarakatsani attempt to influence the President of their summer village—spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. In principle, spiritual kinship binds a President to help the shepherd in all situations. Ideally it is a diffuse relation, there is nothing reasonable that cannot be requested, and the right to expect this assistance is sanctioned by the ritual link between godfather and godchild. Friendship of the kind established between a village President and a Sarakatsanos, is a

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patron-client relationship of some stability over time, and the range of favours which may be demanded is almost as extensive as that between spiritual kinsmen, but the atmosphere of calculation is more pronounced. Confidence which is ritually sanctioned in spiritual kinship is more easily destroyed in the relations of patron and client. Gifts given by a shepherd to the President generally have a specific object in view and each gift is effective for only a short period of time if, indeed, it is effective at all.

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The President is not the only man with power or influence in a village; the other members of the council, the schoolmaster, the priest, other villagers of wealth or reputation may have these qualities in varying degree. When the President is particularly severe towards them, the shepherds attempt, by the same methods we have just considered, to attach themselves to other persons in the village who are known to have influence on the council, or personally over the President himself.

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When the sheep of Theodoros were despatched by the President to the poorest area of grazing for the second year because of his active opposition during the elections, Theodoros did not appeal to the Nomarch against this injustice. He went instead to Vlachopoulos. Vlachopoulos is the Vice-President of the village, and the President's closest friend. He also owns the older of the two village coffee-shops which is the one more generally patronized by the Sarakatsani both for social gatherings and for the many small purchases which they make. After the bitter feelings aroused by the autumn elections there was a spontaneous boycott of the Vlachopoulos shop by the Sarakatsani and at the time when Theodoros approached him two or three weeks after the shepherds had returned to the summer pasture, only a few Sarakatsan men were to be seen drinking in the old shop. For a week Theodoros assiduously made small purchases in the shop. Finding Vlachopoulos alone one day, he took the next step by remarking that he was not a man to dwell on old scores and that he thought his return to the shop proved this point. It seemed, however, that the President was still governed by his rage and spite. This was surely unjust, and he asked Vlachopoulos if he would not intercede with the President on his behalf. Vlachopoulos agreed to do this. It is a fair assumption that he was especially pleased to see Theodoros who leads

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a substantial co-operating 'company' and has many other kinsmen in the local group of shepherds. It was very probable that if Theodoros returned to his shop to drink, as well as to buy, the boycott would be over. This proved to be the case. Vlachopoulos persuaded the President to rearrange the grazing areas, and after a week or two of further delay to impress upon Theodoros the misguided nature of his opposition in the previous autumn, the President eventually effected the necessary changes.

A Zagori village and the local group of Sarakatsani that is linked to it through rights of citizenship, form a network of friendship relations, some of which are symmetrical and others of the patron-client variety. This network enables a man in many situations to obtain a measure of satisfaction from a person with whom he is in direct opposition. He achieves this by indirect pressure because he is a client, or friend, of the friend of his enemy. Villagers and shepherds are careful to maintain friendship links with opposed political factions and personages whenever this is possible. The implication is that there are often inherent limits on the way in which the President or other influential villagers may use their power against most individuals, since, very probably, in any particular act of victimization they are attacking the friend, or client, of one of their own friends. Only very poor villagers, or Sarakatsani with small flocks who are not attached to the co-operating 'company' of more powerful kinsmen, may be treated unjustly without encountering some responding pressure through the system of friendships; for these persons, having little to offer in return, may not have patrons. But in other cases to ignore the pressures received through the system of friendships may endanger important relationships on which a man's influence and prestige largely depend. It is not suggested, however, that a man with strategically aligned friendships is secure from all injustice. On the contrary, Theodoros suffered a considerable financial loss until his friendship with Vlachopoulos rescued him from further punishment.

In the Zagori villages, as in the Sarakatsan community, a dominant feature of the social system is the isolation of the family and its struggle against other families, whether in terms of the possibility of bare subsistence or of social prestige. The

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more important social obligations are particular to the individual's family, and these stand in direct conflict with the weaker and more general responsibilities of good neighbourliness. The notion of service to the community (εὐεργεσία) exists, and is honoured. But the service takes a form which honours the individual, his family and the community in equal degree as, for instance, in the foundation of a church or school. Such services are never anonymous. The idea of service to fellow citizens of the same community exists also, but it remains an ideal value which is not realized in a society where familial obligations have an absolute priority. The President and councillors of the village are firstly heads of households and only secondly public servants. A President does not feel under the same moral obligation, even within the sphere of his formal duties, to help equally a close kinsman, a spiritual kinsman, a friend, and a man to whom he is linked only by common citizenship. It is suggested that in this absence, for the most part, of universally applicable values the system of village friendship and patronage in fact achieves a distribution of various facilities which, although it is never equitable, guards most families, even those of the hard-pressed Sarakatsani of Zagori, against complete exclusion. The system of friendship and patronage achieves this, not by upholding any general rights of citizenship, but, in a sense paradoxically, by an appeal to the individual and family interests of a person in authority. For without friends a man loses all power, influence, and social prestige.

4. LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

The Sarakatsani not only need to come to terms with the village authorities, they must also adapt themselves to the laws and regulations of the State, and attempt in their own interests to influence the administration of Government regulations so far as these affect their own affairs. This involves relations with civil servants at various levels in the hierarchy.

Some State regulations are administered through the structure of village authority which has been examined. In other instances the impact of State administration is direct. In the Zagori, as in other local districts, an agricultural officer of the Ministry of Agriculture has an office in the capital village of the district. Such matters as loans from the Agricultural Bank,

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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generally, to poor families of low prestige, and in the Zagori they are often villagers of gipsy origin. Such persons are despised by the Sarakatsani, and they themselves are generally prepared to accept money bribes without the least embarrassment.

To conduct business with minor public servants in the administrative offices at Jannina, Sarakatsani use small bribes. Often at the doorways of these buildings there is a desk staffed by two or three ushers. These men examine with a brusque lack of sympathy the forms which the shepherd has in his hand, or they demand to know his business, if only to ignore his explanation. He may wish to see a particular official to whom he has been recommended. He believes that a gratuity of five to ten shillings is essential if he is to find the right man. If he wishes to submit an application form in the general office of the same building, he hands it over the counter to the clerk with the equivalent of a ten shilling note on the underside. The shepherd hopes that this will at least ensure that the form is filed; and perhaps nearer the top than the bottom of the pile. Here, the relationship between the shepherd and the junior official is temporary and anonymous. The reputation of the man of higher status, in the eyes of the man in the lower position, is not at stake. The bribe is small, not necessarily effective, and it is not discussed. It is passed secretly. And this saves each clerk from losing the esteem of his colleagues who are themselves engaged in the same practice.

But in affairs of great importance, which must reach the desk of senior officials, the shepherd leader generally feels unable to conduct his own affairs. It is difficult, in any case, for a humble shepherd to penetrate to the offices of senior officials. If he does reach this point, his rough clothes and awkward manners, alternating between obsequiousness and effrontery, make progress difficult. Sarakatsani say, with good reason, that in offices nobody pays the least attention to a man without a collar and tie. And they have little confidence in their own forensic abilities in this kind of situation. As one Sarakatsanos said of himself and his people, 'Shepherds hesitate. If I can make five points in a conversation, he (the official) can return twenty.'

Moreover, even the director of an office does not conduct business privately. His secretary and aides have desks in the same room. By the public transaction of affairs, and the display

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S G 648 S 662 G 647 554 [558] of his power, he emphasizes his status before the eyes of his subordinates and stresses their dependence on himself. To listen patiently to the incoherent ramblings of a Sarakatsanos, the name of whose very profession, shepherd (βλάχος), is a synonym for stupidity, much less to take trouble and thought over assisting him, would be to lose prestige and betray the status of his position, the validation of which lies in pride, not humility. Generally such officials are curt, rude, and unhelpful, or to indulge their attendants, use the shepherd for a show of witty mockery. Direct bribery is out of the question in the absence of secrecy, and it is also dangerous, since the corruptibility of officials grows less certain as the hierarchy is ascended.

S G 648 571 G 693 554 Where he cannot reach or influence a high State official, the shepherd turns to his patron or, if he is a man without influence, to the patron of a more powerful kinsman. The patron may be a man of any profession with political influence in Jannina, a doctor, engineer, or merchant; but most frequently he is a lawyer. The lawyer in Greek rural society is not only the man who gives legal advice and attends a client in court, but he also acts as an intermediary between the peasant or shepherd and the State authorities. He acts in the general role of a professional 'fixer'.

S G 648 656 S 641 Some of the difficulties which arise between the State and the Sarakatsan community have their origin in the necessarily general character of government legislation. Perhaps it is decided to protect the nation's forests. A law is passed which forbids the grazing of goats in forested areas. Incorporated within the general law are a number of conditional clauses relating to the definition of various kinds of forest, the priority for their protection, and the question of hardship to pastoralists which may lead to a relaxation of the restrictions in certain circumstances and in certain categories of forest. But the law-making assembly cannot legislate for all possible local contingencies. The administration and interpretation of the law lie in the hands of the public servants.

G 647 661 However, within the public service there exists a certain inertia and reluctance to delegate power. A senior official defines the unequivocal superiority of his status in the hierarchy by forcing his junior officers to refer to himself every case which involves the initiative of judgement and decision. In this manner

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he attaches junior officials to his own will since they cannot move without his approval, and he enhances his prestige because he is seen to be indispensable. At the same time, he secures his power and nourishes his self-regard. But the convergence of so many cases awaiting decision upon a limited number of senior officials in Jannina and Athens who cannot personally know the detailed circumstances of a case except through the exiguous details set out on printed forms, creates interminable delays and inhibits the equitable administration of government laws and regulations. In the Epirus, where many villagers and shepherds live on the margin of bare subsistence, these limitations of administration might prove disastrous for many families, were they not able to put their affairs into the hands of a lawyer or some other patron. For if, in the example we have chosen, a man cannot graze his goats in the one area where he has the right to do this, he must sell the animals which provide him with his living. The lawyer is able to bring a case to the direct notice of a senior official, to frame it to the best advantage; and sometimes, if he has considerable influence, to gain concessions for his client which are not strictly within the relevant law's terms of reference.

The significance of the lawyer's position is his ability to face in two directions. Because of the prestige and status of a successful lawyer in Greek society he may be able in a provincial town to number amongst his friends, judges, army officers, doctors, the Nomarch, and other senior officials of the Government bureaucracy. With these men he sits and drinks at the tables of the town's more fashionable coffee-shops and in the lounge of the best hotel. As a member of this professional *élite* he is able to recommend the affairs of his clients to the attention of various friends who may be able to help. They give this help because of their friendship for the lawyer; they are relatively indifferent to the worth of the client and the justice of his case. In return, a lawyer is able during local and national elections to promise the political support of his clients. He also assists his friends by legal advice in their own affairs and in the affairs of their kinsmen many of whom, often, are themselves villagers.

The Sarakatsani because of their many political difficulties and disabilities are critical assessors of the personal abilities of different lawyers. The profession is over-crowded and there is a

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S G 648 S 662 G 693 661 wide range of choice. It is essential for the Sarakatsanos that his lawyer has influential affiliations with the leading political parties. It is not fortuitous that the Jannina lawyer with the largest Sarakatsan following in 1955 happened to be the secretary of the Epirus branch of the Government party. But the secretary to the Liberal party also has many clients. Although he supports an opposition party, Government servants do not lightly refuse his requests for they are anxious to avoid questions and 'revelations' in Parliament, and to secure some form of reinsurance against the day when the Government changes.

S G 648 571 G 693 S [608] S [431] In general, it is to the advantage of both the lawyer and the Sarakatsan family head to make their association a personal relationship with diffuse mutual obligations. The lawyer becomes obliged to act as a general protector of the shepherd in all his affairs, the shepherd as a good client must show esteem and respect and give his patron the political support on which his power depends. It is not unusual for lawyers to become the godparents of their clients' children. Clients, whether or not they possess ties of spiritual kinship, cultivate the goodwill of their lawyer by periodic gifts of cheese and butter, and sometimes at Easter a lamb is presented. The nearer the relation between a Sarakatsanos and his lawyer approaches that of a patron and client friendship the more nominal the professional charges of the lawyer for legal services become. But in the nature of things it is easier for the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company' to establish an enduring friendship with his lawyer and to persuade him to win important concessions. He has more followers and more votes to offer. The lawyer does not lose prestige by attending to the affairs of simple men. This is his professional duty, and the more clients who throng his office and call out greetings to him as he walks along the street, the more political power he has, the more friends amongst the body of the provincial *élite*, and the more social prestige.

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S G 648 571 G 693 662 It would be tedious to present in detail examples of the many successful interventions by lawyer patrons. An over-zealous policeman in one village who made a speciality of arresting Sarakatsani for alleged disturbances of the peace was removed by the influence of a lawyer patron to a post in Mitylene. Another instance is the abbreviation of the military service of Christos Balatsos, an only son, whose family was handicapped

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by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

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G 646 666 many clients, and many friends with clients, that a man is successful in national elections.

G 646 662 Since decisions of importance are rarely made by junior officials it frequently happens that a man must take action in Athens if he is to find a favourable solution to his problems. The friend or client of a Member may ask him to use his influence in the office of the Ministry which is handling his case. When the Member visits his constituency his political friends and clients of all social standings come to wait on him in his office, or to drink with him in the coffee-shops. On these occasions he carries a notebook in which he writes down the details of the favours he is asked to arrange.

S G 648 571 554 S 662 G 647 We see that the Sarakatsanos in facing the hierarchy of Government confronts persons of higher social status who share with him no bond of kinship or community. As a rule only nationality and common humanity link them together. In Greek society this is not an adequate basis for the acceptance of social obligations other than the common duty to defend the nation against its external enemies. The indifference or hostility of very junior officials may be bought off. It is a simple *ad hoc* commercial transaction between persons almost entirely isolated from one another in terms of social relations or morality. But the indifference of senior officials cannot be directly countered with bribes, nor is it easy because of the social distance which separates them for a shepherd to approach successfully a senior official. These circumstances are also related to the public arrangement of business by senior Government servants and the need to assert their status and maintain their prestige before their colleagues and immediate subordinates.

S G 648 571 G 647 693 The system of lawyer patronage, which is an extension of the more strictly legal practice of the lawyer, makes it possible for the affairs of villagers and shepherds to receive attention at that level of the administrative hierarchy where decision and execution are possible. A shepherd and a senior official are not directly linked to each other by social obligation or morality. A Government servant sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. But the lawyer, as the intermediary who stands between them, is related by obligations of patronage to the first, and the duties of

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G 648 647 571 As I have already said, from his side a Government official sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd or villager and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. Like the villager or shepherd he has the same primary and categorical obligation towards his own family and its status. He also owes a loyalty to his service and his colleagues; but this is shown by marking the distance between those who rule and those who are ruled, by the display of arrogance, not service.

G 647 642 [369] There are other, less personal, reasons for the distrust between the bureaucrat and the villager or shepherd. One half of Greece is a society of small village communities dependent on agriculture or pastoralism. To administer and physically control these many discrete communities, and the small towns which serve them, the central Government in Athens has erected a complex and costly bureaucratic organization which links, in the formal sense, the simple village community to the central body which governs and legislates for the nation. This is not a structure which has developed even in part from the villages themselves; it is an organization which has been imposed from above by the Government. Moreover, Greece is not, by European standards, G [851] a rich country. For the greater part of her national history taxation has been almost wholly absorbed in paying for the luxury of maintaining the panoply of a modern state with its full quota of Ministries and portfolios and in supporting substantial armed forces. Under these conditions, the State (τὸ S [829] κράτος) and its agencies must always appear to the villager or shepherd as a body from which he is excluded, something threatening and hostile, which takes away from the family and returns nothing. It stands, therefore, in opposition to the nation (τὸ ἔθνος), the community of Hellenism for which every Greek feels a deep and natural devotion.

S G 571 662 Each family in a village, or in a shepherd community, therefore attempts to establish an exclusive and particular relationship with persons in power. As we have seen, decision or initiative is seldom possible at the lower levels of the Government service because of the reluctance of an official to delegate power. To reach that level at which his affairs can be effectively dealt with, he tries to discover a patron, generally a lawyer, who in return for a man's political allegiance, places his case before

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a friend in the right place. The lawyer, or other patron, bridges the gulf of hostility and indifference created by the absence of relationship and the difference in status. And he introduces some flexibility into the rigid and uncomprehending administration of village life by a centralized bureaucracy.

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In effect, patronage converts impersonal and ephemeral connexions into permanent and personal relationships; for in Greek society it is, generally, only in established personal relationships, of which the archetypal forms are found in the family, that any considerable element of moral obligation exists. The initial motive is utilitarian, protection and assistance on the side of the client, political power and social prestige on the part of the patron. But when such a relationship endures for any length of time it takes on a strong moral quality. The patron feels obliged to assist and take a general interest in all the client's affairs, and in doing so he is able both to sense his superiority and approve his own compassionate generosity. The client is conscious of a duty to support his patron politically without undue concern about his protector's party allegiance, and to give free expression to his feelings of gratitude and indebtedness.

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The role of patron is to give benefits; that of the client is to honour the patron by accepting dependence. In a society where the concept of honour is intimately connected with notions of individual strength and prepotence, to abdicate one's independence, even to a person of power who is not a member of the community, is an act of renunciation of some significance. The patron in accepting the dependence of his client, who thus admits, implicitly, the inferiority of his status, himself recognizes moral obligations towards the client. The dependence of the client draws attention to the power of his patron, while the protection of the patron suggests that the client is a man of some standing and respectability in his own community. The first consideration protects the patron from the accusation of weakness or foolishness which he would otherwise face if he casually assisted a man of lower status with whom he had no particular relations of kinship, friendship, or patronage: the second represents for the client honourable grounds for the admission of an inferior status which in other circumstances would betray the honour of his community and his own manliness. The social reputations of the two men are now linked. If a patron cannot

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in the role of friend or patron, not as President and leader of the village. And in personal affairs a villager or shepherd may often go directly to his patron[7] in the town. The importance of this is that the community is integrated piecemeal with the wider society along lines of personal obligation and not through membership of a large corporate group capable of attempting an infinitely stronger resistance to the authority of the State.

More generally, patronage links persons of different social status introducing into their social relations a common area of shared values which would otherwise not exist. In the context of the Zagori village it links the shepherds to the more important villagers, enabling the former to come to terms with the villagers' hostile attitude and the latter to mobilize the voting power of the shepherds in their own support. Since different shepherd families support different village personalities, it ensures that the latter continue to hold office and power even in villages where shepherds considerably outnumber villagers on the electoral roll.

Similarly, the patron-client relation between the lawyer and the villager or shepherd relates members of local village and shepherd communities to the professional classes in the small towns and larger provincial centres. It gives political power and prestige to the patron. It brings prestige to the client also but above all it means that he is never entirely helpless in the face of the impersonal indifference of Government action which threatens the precarious balance of his economy. Patronage relations produce a certain equity in the distribution of facilities and privileges and place some check on the victimizing of individuals. It achieves this by relating the universal franchise to the personal, social, and political aspirations of individuals competing for power and honour; or to put it more briefly, by relating natural rights to personal prestige.

Finally, the bond of debt and the qualified patronage of the merchant and the town shopkeeper brings the shepherd into a permanent association with some of the leaders of town

[7] In the case of a villager the 'protector' is very often a kinsman. See Ernestine Friedl, 'The Role of Kinship in the Transmission of National Culture to Rural Villages in Mainland Greece', *American Anthropologist*, 1959, vol. lxi, pp. 30–38.

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APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

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This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

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* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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after the Sarakatsani had departed to the plains eighty miles away. The opposition party chartered a lorry to transport, as they had calculated it, an adequate number of Sarakatsan voters to assure their victory. But, in the event, the President skilfully contrived a narrow majority by making secret agreements with two shepherd families. The five members of these families who returned from the plains, ironically enough in the lorry chartered by the opposition, were sufficient to give the President victory and a new term of office.

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After the election the two families received a number of favours. In the spring the sheep of one family were short-counted by sixty and the flock of the other, which by right of the customary rotation of grazing areas ought to have gone to an area of indifferent grazing, spent a more profitable summer on the village's best grassland. In the face of the unusual solidarity of the local Sarakatsan group at the time of the election, the action of the two dissident families was described as treacherous. They were branded as 'The President's men', with an overtone of meaning which implied that they were puppets dancing at the command of the master, capable even of betraying their own people. Yet as passions cooled and the months passed, evaluations changed perceptibly. At first the members of these families were unequivocally 'traitors', but later they were considered merely 'cunning' (by no means an entirely pejorative judgement), and eventually one sometimes heard grudging admissions of their 'cleverness'. For it is recognized that each family is free to seek its own protection and the political friends who can provide it. Indeed, Sarakatsani believe that in the nature of the situation favours and concessions are to be won only by some, not all families. It is, therefore, the duty of each head of family to scheme and intrigue for his own security. Only in the case of a breach of faith between kinsmen is an accusation of treachery seriously considered.

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But the friendship which a Sarakatsanos achieves with a village President, or indeed with any other influential person, involves more than the exchange of specific material favours; it establishes, also, an asymmetrical relation of sociability which enhances the prestige of both men. A Sarakatsanos who has friendship with the President boldly sits down with him at the same table when he enters the coffee-shop. The President offers

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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within this narrow circle affinal relationships which do not mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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S G 608 557 Naturally, merchants and others are well aware of the motives behind the naïve manœuvres of the Sarakatsani. But, as we have already said, they also gain various advantages. They do not, except in the unusual case of a very rich or powerful individual, become lavish patrons. Few of them give away anything for nothing. But they become helpful rather than hostile, they will exert their influence for their spiritual kinsmen and in doing so they themselves win prestige. A shared system of values regulates their mutual behaviour in which friendship and trust replace hostility and suspicion.

3. VILLAGE FRIENDSHIP AND PATRONAGE

G 623 666 [622] In the villages authority rests in the hands of a council of five members. From its own number it elects a President and Vice-President while the choice of the council itself is the result of local elections which are held every four years. In these, S [641] [666] all adult villagers of both sexes, and those shepherd families who possess citizenship rights in the village, are entitled to vote.

G 665 666 623 For electoral purposes any person may form a party providing he can present to the electorate a card with the names of seven candidates. In practice village elections seldom produce more than two parties, those who support the President in power because they are his friends, and those who want a change because they are not his friends. These parties are essentially personal followings, not corporate associations, and there is not necessarily any direct alignment with the parties of national politics. The citizens vote by handing in the party card of their choice with four crosses against those of the seven candidates who are preferred. The party which polls the greater number of cards wins the election. The four candidates of the successful party who record the largest aggregates of personal votes become members of the council. The person amongst the candidates of the defeated party or parties who claims the largest number of personal votes is also elected to the council as the representative of G the defeated minority's interests. The five members of the new [622] council then proceed to elect two of their number as President [624] and Vice-President. These men hold office for two years, at the end of which period their authority may either be confirmed for the remaining two years of the council's term of office, or they may be replaced by the election of new officers.

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might lead to relations of political friendship. A relationship which has many of the aspects of patronage exists between the dominant family and the other associated families in a co-operating 'company', but these connexions are based on the values of kinship, not friendship. When a Sarakatsanos says 'I have him as a friend', he generally means that he has established a relation of mutual advantage with a person outside the community who in most cases is in the superordinate position of patron. The use of the word 'friend' by the Sarakatsanos is not here encumbered with any theory of equality or disinterested motives. The fact that in terms of power he is the weaker partner in the majority of his relations of friendship is recognized by the Sarakatsanos but does not immediately concern his pride since these people stand outside his community. On the contrary, the more effective relationships of this kind that a man possesses, the greater his prestige in the community since it proves him to be an able protector of his family and his flocks.

It is by no means certain that a President will accept any Sarakatsanos as his political client. What the President has to offer will be clear enough from the earlier description of the ways in which he can help or hinder. The chief service the shepherd is able to pledge in return is his vote and those of his family and associated kinsmen. But to accept a man as a client commits the patron to protection instead of exploitation, and to that extent it is a restriction on the free exercise of his power. A President generally prefers to assume these obligations only to Sarakatsani with some influence. Naturally, more humble families have vicarious access to his patronage through their influential kinsmen, but the intermediate link which separates them from the President's beneficence makes it less likely that their affairs will be settled with the same despatch and satisfaction.

The extent to which a President needs to enter these commitments depends, of course, on the balance of the political groupings in his village. In one village the President commanded about three quarters of the village vote, but by his generally uncompromising hostility he had driven the Sarakatsani into the arms of the small opposition party. A month before the election it appeared that he had no Sarakatsan supporters and that his cause was lost. Conveniently the election was held in November,

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619 integrated within their families and the Tséligato's. And the surrounding society is none other than the Hellenic society to which the Sarakatsani belongings as Greeks.

128 Some of the groups enumerated are organized. They therefore present a special aspect which we shall examine separately. Taking into account the fact that all social life involves an economic system which rests on organization, we shall examine it in connection with the latter.

Finally, social organization being inconceivable without recourse to norms, prescriptions and models for behavior, we shall conclude this part with a study of law and morality among these nomads.

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SOCIAL UNITS IN SARAKATSANI LIFE

THE CONJUGAL FAMILY

594 582 [583] [595] The Sarakatsani conjugal family is always based on marriage. Concubinage and other forms of union are not permitted. Since our herders depend principally on the family, it is to be expected that a system or rules and principles would be in force and be applied both to the events that create the family (obstacles to marriage, choice of future husband or wife, betrothal, marriage) as well as to the unfolding of its life (relations between spouses, daily life, children, etc.).

[128] These rules constitute so many guide points; naturally the study of the conjugal family will take these as a point of departure; their sociological evaluation will thus be carried out at the same time.

582 Marriage regulation, the kinship system and its functions.

In general, marriage follows the rules of canon law and civil law (first Byzantine, then Hellenic).

582 671 However, these are not the only regulations. Marriage is likewise regulated by the customary law which derives from Sarakatsani society itself.

58 171 671 According to canon and civil law, which applies to all Greeks,

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58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimitchali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

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462 closer to consumption than production. Moreover, the very method of
242 construction, the interlacing of branches and flexible material, is
433 almost the same as that of weaving. It is in any case more nearly
562 related. The specialization of the women in the latter /193/ is a consequence of their skill in the former. The principle involved is therefore uniformly applied.

462 That is not all. All the activities and techniques entrusted
562 to the women presuppose activity on the part of the men. For they are
433 the ones who furnish the raw materials and manufacture the necessary tools and utensils--wool, cotton, dyes, loom, carding machine, or even flour, oil, cooking pots, knives, etc. The techo-economic competence of the women constitutes a sort of second stage in the techno-economic process in general, in which the group of men retain the intitiative and control.

462 Sarakatsani society decrees that, in this domain as in so many
562 others, the man, must keep for himself the role of absolute master.

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CHAPTER III

LAW IN SARAKATSANI SOCIETY

GENERAL ASPECTS

671 The legal system of the Sarakatsani is dominated by a dualism.
179 This statement means that this society uses two bodies of rules of a legal order.

The one, which is its own work, is Sarakatsani law strictly speaking.

The other comes from the Hellenic society that surrounds them. Since, as we have seen, our herders are not merely Sarakatsani, but also Greek, it is natural that Hellenic law also concerns them.

This dualism basically reflects the relations of a sociological order that exist between Sarakatsani society and non-Sarakatsani society, both included in the total society of the Hellenic Nation.

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Now, in order properly to understand the phenomena relevant to the legal life of our nomads, we must examine:

--Sarakatsani law;

--Hellenic law;

--the relationships that exist between the two;

--finally, the repercussions of these relationships on the social life of the Sarakatsani.

The systematic requirements of our research demand that we begin our analysis with the laws of surrounding society (which form the sort of legal atmosphere in which Sarakatsani law was born and has developed); next, that we examine the relationships of the two systems of law and the repercussions of these relationships on /196/ Sarakatsani life. This examination will culminate in a discussion of Sarakatsani law as such to which special attention will be paid.

Thus, the traits and functions of the latter will become clear and evident.

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In our introduction we stated that the appearance of the Sarakatsani coincided with the end of the Byzantine Empire.

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Inasmuch as our knowledge of the legal life of Hellenism during the Turkish occupation is now considerable, thanks to the masterful research of the Greek professor N. Pantazopoulos, (1)

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1. See particularly: Ἀπό τῆς Λογίας Παραδόσεως εἰς τόν Ἀστ. Κάββια. — historian of law, we are in a position to follow closely the development of law among the Hellenes from the probable appearance of our nomads up to the present time.

This development had several phases which we shall review briefly.

After the fall of Constantinople (1453), Turkish law, public as well as private, replaced Byzantine law then in force among the Greeks. However, the sultan Mohammed II, anxious to conform to the rules of the Koran

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(chapter 5, 51) which allows all conquered peoples the right of extra-
G 671 175 territoriality, and to exercise a policy of tolerance toward the
institutions of the vanquished, (2) granted privileges to the Greek population.

2. A. Toynbee: Histoire, pp. 193-200, gives a good account of Ottoman administrative ideas.

S 671 171 The Ecumenical Patriarch and the Orthodox Church (the only organi-
zation of the Hellenes which survived the disaster) thenceforth assumed
G 671 995 175 the legal functions of the Hellenic nation and represented an authority
to which the Christians could turn in order to settle their dispates.

However, this new ecclesiastical authority, at any rate during the first century of occupation, remained more theoretical than actual: first, because no method was provided for carrying out the verdicts rendered; second, because it dealt chiefly with questions pertaining to family and inheritance law, hence its domain was very limited.

On the other hand, during this same period, Turkish law required that all other questions be brought before the Turkish tribunals. Moreover, in order that a certain number of acts and /197/ covenants concluded between Christians by legally valid, they were obliged to take on the form provided by Turkish law.

G [688] Nonetheless, injured patriotism and distrust of their occupiers on the part of the resident Greeks, lax and inefficient organization of the Ottoman administration, finally the establishment of excommunication by the Church in the form of sanctions against those who refused to conform to its verdicts and who preferred to appeal to the legal process of the infidel enemies were sufficient motives for the Greek population to turn more and more to ecclesiastical law. And so the powers of the latter expended in time.

The law applied, moreover, continued to be the Byzantine law, included in the legislation of the Emperors, as well as the Cannon law of the Orthodox Church.

S 671 171 G 671 175 Parallel with this movement another took shape. The development of a

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local auto-administration of Greeks in region enjoying local privileges
G 671 175 resulted in the creation of civil tribunals whose verdicts were rendered according to the rules of locally established customary law as well as the creation of a public law which was their own. (3)

3. Cf. N. ΠΑΝΤΑΖΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ : « Περὶ τοῦ δικαίου τῶν τριβουνάλων. — N. ΜΟΣΧΟΒΑΚΗ : Τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν Δημόσιον Δίκαιον. — Δ. ΤΖΟΒΙΟΥΟΥ : « Ἡ κατὰ Γεωργιὰ τῆς Θεσσαλίας. — G. Tamassian : *La notion juridique de l'indépendance.*

S 671 171 A third movement must still be added: justice administered by arbiters proposed and accepted by the parties concerned.

G 671 175 692 As early as 1600 the Turks had begun to recognize ecclesiastical law, the law of tribunals and finally the law of arbiters in the sense that the Sultan sometimes forbade the Turkish magistrates to interfere in matters already judged by the Greeks (clergy, popular judges, arbiters), and sometimes compelled the Turkish authorities to carry out by armed force the verdicts pronounced by the Hellenes. (4)

4. See Verat: (Decree) of the sultan Achmet A. in:
M. Gedeon: [illegible]

S 671 175 Now the Sarakatsani of this period, considered as a Greek, was immersed in this multiplicity of laws: Turkish law (public and private) first of all; then Hellenic law applied by the Church (Byzantine law and canon law); customary law(public and private) coming from the privileged communities and differing according to localities; finally, the law applied by arbiters on the basis of their consciences (equity and common sense).

/198/ This situation lasted until the liberation of the country and the creation of the Hellenic State.

S 671 175 At this time (1835) a decree was promulgated to the effect that the official private law was no different from Byzantine law and also that the rules of custom would stand as laws. As a result, the State tribunals
G 671 175 had to pronounce their verdicts not only according to the rules of actual law, but also according to the rules imposed by local custom, provided
[692] the latter did not run counter to the rules of law strictly speaking.

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671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this
[128] law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

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S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175] /199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,
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671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.

177 [688] Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
629 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
199 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

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G 671 /200/ As a matter of fact, the law that developed during the Turkish occupation in the local communities is a law of cooperation whereas Byzantine law, inspired by Roman law, is dominated by individualism. The Greeks of this period grouped themselves with all kinds of associations (economic, religious, political and, though this may seem strange under an occupation, even military). (6)

6. N. Pantazopoulos: [illegible] with a copious bibliography.

Local law was adapted to the needs of this collective organization of life. S 671 177 It should therefore not be astonishing that Sarakatsani law, which also favors cooperation, should have been inspired by the model of external law, and that it should have been formed on the basis of the same principles, S 174 114 despite its own peculiarities. However, this is merely a hypothesis, absolute verification of which is impossible at the moment for lack of data.

G 671 175 Let us go on now to the examination of this same problem but within the framework of the second period:

When the Hellenic kingdom was established the public law of the new state, though valid for and applicable to all Greeks and hence also to S 671 177 the Sarakatsani did not have much opportunity to interfere in their lives.

G 648 729 The occupation and the war of independence left the country completely disorganized and devoid of any framework and any public service. It took many years before services were created, before archives and registers were set up dealing with the population - even the sedentary population. One can imagine the difficulties administrative mechanism of the state.

G 641 It is only very recently, in 1938, as we have seen, that they have all submitted in practice to civic life, to the obligation of military service, to taxes, etc.

G 671 Between these two date (1835-1938) the influence of public law on their lives, very minor in the beginning and very strong toward the end,

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has developed gradually and in step with the organization of the administration.

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However, the actual and practical introduction of public law among the /201/ Sarakatsani was disastrous to their way of life. The obligatory contacts with the sedentary population (army, dependence on villages), participation in political activity (elections, participation in local administration), the social policy of the State (integration of the Sarakatsani into agricultural cooperatives, concession of building sites, etc.), the legal control of their lives (application of the penal law, application of rules of public order), etc., have created conditions altogether unfavorable to their culture. Moreover, to the extent that our herders became legally villagers and found themselves involved in relationships and situations to which public law was applicable, they were obliged to conform to it and to adopt arrangements issuing from official private law.

Now the latter was also disastrous for Sarakatsani life, because it was promulgated, not in terms of their kind of life or of other kinds of traditional life that existed in the country, but according to principles of legal science formulated by lawyers, hence by technicians, who more often preferred faultless scientific constructions to what popular opinio necessitatis had developed in the course of centuries.

In this leveling and colorless juridical ambience Sarakatsani law has no chance to survive. Thus, the legal dualism of which we spoke at the beginning is yielding little by little to a monism, that of official law, public as well as private.

The day when this monism will be generally imposed is not far off. And that very day will sound the knell of the Sarakatsani, as such, since that law is deeply grafted to social reality.

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121 671 The preceding account is based entirely on the presupposition that the Sarakatsani have a law which is their own. Thus our task at present is to discover this law, to describe it, to stress its peculiarities, in a word, to establish its existence and its limits.

/202/ SARAKATSANI LAW STRICTLY SPEAKING

IN SEARCH OF THE CRITERIA FOR CLASSIFICATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

The only truly legal manifestations that we find when we examine Sarakatsani life are the obstacles to marriage, the prohibition against sexual relations outside marriage, the contract with the Tsélligas, arbitration, and finally crimes and misdemeanors.

However, are these truly matters of law? And if so, must one conclude from them that the legal life of the Sarakatsani is limited to these? Or must one rather concede, along with certain theorists, that the non-existence of courts and organized forces for the application of sentences shows that these herders are without any law? (7)

(113) 7. See W. Seagle: The quest for law/cited in English/, pp. 34, 60-69.

Or, finally, must we, along with other theorists, accept the opposite opinion which holds that our nomads have law, since they have customs, and that the totality of their customs represents the law of the society? (8)

(113) 8. See E. Sidney Hartland: Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 5. "Primitive law is in truth the totality of customs of the tribe"/cited in English/.

These alternatives show very well that in order to be able to adopt a position we must try to explore the life of the Sarakatsani from some workable criteria.

The general theory of law offers several methods of approach to legal matters, based on the characteristics of the latter, which we hereby

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121 enumerate and evaluate as distinguishing criteria.

67 First, each point of law has a normative character. However,

121 since norms derive from the total of cultural achievements, this

183 critierion cannot be used by itself.

67 It is necessary also to consider the source of the norm and its form. If it arises from a body having legal functions and is expressed in a form that is defined and recognized in advance, one may conclude that the norm in case is a matter of law. However, this procedure is valid only for societies that have specialized bodies /203/ entrusted with legal powers, (9)

[71] [13] 9. Modern societies are not the only ones to have bodies of this kind. They are also found in ancient and archaic societies. The codes of Hamurabi, of Zaleucos at Locris, of Charondas at Catane and of Androdamas of Rhegion (Aristotle: Politics II, 9,5,9) in antiquity, and the descriptions of J. Vanhove: Essai du droit coutumier du Ruanda and of J. Peristianis: La vie et le droit coutumier des Kipsigis du Kenya, for some archaic societies constitute some examples.

and fundamental rules determining in advance the form of laws. Moreover, in these same societies this process is not applicable if one wishes to discover spontaneous law. (10)

[13] 10. On the idea of spontaneous law: E. Ehrlich: Grundlegung der Soziologie des Rechts, p. 399 f.-- G. Gurvitch: Elements de Sociologie juridique, pp. 91, 175-78, as well as his criticism of Ehrlich in his Traité, pp. 184-187, vol. II.

Since Sarakatsani society lacks bodies of this kind (arbitration being the exception), this criterion is not applicable.

Next, one may observe the content of the norm. When it includes bilateral or unilateral obligations it is accepted as a norm of law. (11)

121 /203 cont./
67
183
[113]

11.See Br. Malinowski: Moeurs et coutumes des Mélanésiens p. 42.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.--A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 13.

However, there are liberalities or "options" determined by law, (12)

[584]

12. The gift. The paternal consent in case of marriage.

and even laws which create bonds, not only between individuals but also between an individual and a thing. (13)

13. Rights in rem.

Finally, even bilateral and unilateral obligations do not all necessarily derive from law. Something more is thus required.

The source of the norm represents another element meriting observation. If it is linked with "the idea of justice," with "what is just," "what is approved," (14) etc., it is very probable, though not certain, that the

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14. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie p. 112.--G. Gurvitch: Ibid, p. 189.--C. Van Vollenhoven: Het Adatrecht van Nederlandsh Indië, /Custom Law of the Dutch Indies/ etc.

norm in question is a norm of law, since the same ideas apply equally to morality, religion, etiquette, (15) etc. By itself, this source does not

15. On the idea of etiquette see A.R. Radcliffe-Brown: Ibid., p. 13.

constitute a sufficient criterion to distinguish law from other norms. For more clarity let us add that, although law is invoked largely to protect material interests, thus assuming a utilitarian character, its utilitarianism is always expressed in terms of the ideas that we have just mentioned.

The aim and the function of the point examined represent another way to look at law. For the aim of the latter is /204/ to protect social life from conflicts and disorder, and its function resides precisely in the realization of this aim. However, one also finds both this aim and this function in other norms. Nevertheless, one must recognize that

/204 cont./

121 legal norms are much more efficient and dynamic in resolving states
671 of conflict than other types of norms, thanks to their means of
183 persuasion. Thus, we come to the following point.

The distinguishing factor of law may also come from the social guarantee (16) which accompanies it and which is expressed in sanction

16. According to the apt terminology of G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 189.

and coercion. Law cannot live without this guarantee, at the risk of becoming a dead letter. There is therefore no doubt: this is indeed the essence of law, socially speaking. (17) Other norms also have ways

17. With some exceptions of which we shall speak farther on, all modern legal theorists or ethnologists seem to agree. Herewith a sample of the large
[113] bibliography of law on the subject: P. Roubier: Théorie générale du droit, p. 25.--R. Monier and others: Histoire des Institutions, p. 14.--B.N.Cardozo: The growth of the law/cited in English/, p. 52.--H. Kelsen: Théorie pure du droit, p. 61.--É. Durkheim: De la division du travail social p. 33-34.--R. Thurnwald: Die Menschliche Gesellschaft, vol. V, p. 2-4.--R. Pound: Sociologie du droit, p. 306.--E.A. Hoebel: The Law of primitive man/cited in English/, p. 26 etc.

of being enforced. If these ways fail, the value and nature of the content of the norm are not affected. On the other hand, if law is deprived of all means of enforcement, it changes its character, it becomes morality, usage, incentive, etc. It is no longer law.

121 Therefore sanction and coercion validate law and reinforce the
671 other criteria indicated by clearing them of all ambiguity and all misunderstanding when they coexist with these.

Precise details on this point will be given later on. We shall show that sometimes law is applied by direct coercion which means that

/204 cont./

121 the presence of agents of law forces people to conform to it when no
671 infraction has been committed (and before such an infraction). Coercion isolated from sanction, therefore constitutes one of the criteria of law.

However, although a social guarantee represents the chief criterion of the law, this criterion is utilizable only in combination with the totality of the criteria mentioned. For constraint, whatever its form, is not necessarily linked to law.

* * * *

/205/ Now, somewhat anticipating of our conclusion, we shall state immediately that the application of these criteria shows that the Sarakatsani have law, much more rich and complicated than appearances indicate, and that this law bears the imprint of the originality of their lives.

671 We propose now, for the convenience of the analysis, to present
128 first the totality of the disclosed rules and principles, classified, not according to the classificatory criteria of evolved laws inadequate in the case that concerns us, (18)

18. See J. Lips: Government, chap. X, p. 487.--O.W. Holmes: cited by Hoebel, ibid., p. 20: "The past gives us our vocabulary and fixes the limits of our imagination." /cited in English/

but according to the issues on which these rules are based. We shall make two subdivision: one devoted to non-criminal law and the other to criminal law. This distinction is based on what the Sarakatsani themselves say, although non-conformity to non-criminal law carries punishments and thus resembles penal law. Before going on to the second subdivision we shall try to show that everything we consider law truly possesses this character. For criminal law, this problem does not arise, the punishment bearing out the nature of the relevant rules.

/205 cont./

671 [128] We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 429 768 602 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter [494] [596] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 768 562 429 (602) However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian" of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protection, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 593 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes the form of strict law. (19)

19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 593 428 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

/207 cont./

671 exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited
573 share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and
[428] thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

494 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in
675 Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the
671 Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

/208 cont./

494 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tsóligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tsóligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 692 691 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[448] [199] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 697 621 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[494] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tsóligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tsóligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12. Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
691 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and /one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/222 cont./

685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 626 Calumny and defamation.

Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

(113) 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

/223 cont./

[671] [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources [596] is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 574 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/225 cont./

681 Among the Sarakatsani, sanctions and coercion, always social, can only exceptionally be organized (groups when they impose isolation, individuals according to the instances enumerated), since, ordinarily, there are no special agents or coercion. They /i.e. sanction and coercion/ are either provided for (customs) or spontaneous, and they are only exceptionally imposed directly by physical force, the case of sanction of crimes and misdemeanors constituting a peculiarity which we must consider separately.

But there is more. Though sanction is the result of an infraction and strikes the one who has committed it, though coercion is a function that assures the application of sanction, though, finally, both sanction and coercion always go together in evolved societies, coercion never being thought of independently from sanction, among the Sarakatsani coercion may intervene and act without any sanction having been formulated beforehand. Its aim, in that case, is no longer the application of the sanction, but direct application of the rules of law. It is a little as though in our societies the police directly required citizens to conform to the rules of law without their first having passed through the channel of adjudication, of sentence and of sanction. As a result, and we must emphasize this very specifically, the sanctions listed are directed more toward prevention than toward repression.

671 681

Sarakatsani society prefers to protect itself in advance of any disorder by an appropriate and preventive maintenance of its law, rather than having to put right explosive and dangerous situations. However, when despite all, the latter flair up, Sarakatsani society does not hesitate to suppress them by resorting to sanctions of a penal order, physically inflicted. These sanctions are strictly applied, depending on the nature of the disturbance.

* * * *

/226/ We should now like to draw attention to the fact that sanction and coercion are most often <u>disguised</u> in Sarakatsani law.

This phenomenon, represents one of the chief characteristics of Sarakatsani society. Quite apart from its importance in the life of the society, we believe that it can in addition contribute considerably to the theoretical

/226 cont./

671 and anthropological approach to laws other than those with which our advanced
681 societies are familiar.

121 This phenomenon is not entirely unknown to theorists. But if some
671 of them have had an inkling of it, no one, to our knowledge, has treated it in clear terms. (36)

36. We have mentioned some of these authors in connection with some definite point. We shall take up their theories in their broad aspects, our previous remarks being an integral part of what follows.

In order to introduce the discussion, it will be well to start with certain comments on the famous work of B. Malinowski: Crime and Custom in Savage Society /cited in English/ (37)

(128) 37. Our questions refer to a French translation included in: Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, to which our quotations refer.

(1926). The publication of this work, in addition to the influence that it has subsequently had on the anthropological theory of law, has made it possible to state the problem correctly.

What Malinowski does is to protest against the interpretations dominated by the ideas of L. Morgan--those of "Bachofen, of Post, of Bernoft, of Kohler and others who were grouped around the periodical Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (p. 10), those which are found again "in the works of the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works and in some English works" (p. 11). "Basic to all these ideas," he says, "was the postulate that in primitive societies the individual is totally dominated by the group, the horde, the clan or the tribe, that he obeys the commands of his community...with servile passivity, so to speak, bewitched" (p. 11).

He also protests against E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Rivers, cited above, who speak of an "unconscious and intuitive regulation of social life...

/226 cont./

121 671 closely bound up with primitive communism" (p. 14), and against Hobhouse who states that "if we understand by legislation a totality of rules imposed by an authority to which one is not bound by personal ties of /227/ kinship or friendship, we are obliged to state that such an institution is incompatable with the social organization of savages" (Morals in Evolution/ cited in English/, 1915, p. 73, quoted by Malinowski, ibid., p. 15). And Malinowski asks himself: "Is there not, at least as far as certain rules are concerned, a mechanism of constraint, perhaps not imposed by an external authority but based on actual motives and interests and on complex feeling?" (p. 15). And a little farther on he adds: "The extreme difficulty of the problem is due... to the very complex and diffuse character of the forces that constitute primitive law" (p. 17).

Malinowski believes that he finds the solution of this problem in the "principle of reciprocity," the "principle of do ut des /I give so that you may give/ which plays a dominant role in tribal life" (p. 82). For him, "the rights of the chief over ordinary people, those of the husband over his wife or of parents over their children are not exerted arbitrarily and in a unilateral fashion, but in conformity with clearly defined rules and are made up of successions of strictly reciprocated services" (p. 37--italics mine). This is all the more true of exchanges of an economic order, called "kula" (p. 24). The whole rests on the symmetry of structure which "constitutes the indispensable basis of all savage society" (p. 24). If the individual conforms absolutely to this "give and take" which extends throughout all social life, recompense awaits him at the end in the form of economic benefits or the augmentation of his prestige. If he does not conform to it "it will not be long before he is banished from social and economic life and he knows this perfectly well" (p. 34). In sum, the "civil" laws, the positive laws which govern all phases of tribal life are therefore made up of a totality of dominant obligations, considered as rights by one party, as duties by the other, rigorously maintained by a specific mechanism of reciprocity and publicity

/227 cont./

121 inherent in the very structure of society... Their efficacy has its source
67 in the rational appreciation of cause and effect by the natives, as well as in a certain number of personal and social feelings, such as ambition, vanity, pride, the desire to make the most of oneself by displaying one's talents, and also attachment, friendship, devotion and loyalty towards relatives...Legality represents one aspect of tribal life, one side of its structure rather than a totality of /228/ independent arrangement, a mechanism existing by itself...Legislation is a specific result of combinations which affect obligations, this combination making it impossible for the native to evade his responsibility without having to suffer the consequences" (p. 45). And Malinowski concludes his analysis with "an anticipation": "Research will one day discover almost everywhere that reciprocity, systematic influence, publicity and ambition are the principal factors which, in primitive legislation, impose obedience to its rules and prescriptions" (p. 51).

It is precisely this "anticipation" combined with the general interest in Malinowski's theory which has obliged us to dwell so long on this author.

We shall not comment on his idea of absolutely symmetrical organization and the dual structure of "savage" societies, the central axis of the whole system, on which contemporary anthropology has not spoken the final word. (38)

38. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie structurale, chapter VIII, where the author asks: "Do dual structures exist?"

Nor shall we deny that a network of reciprocities exists in all societies, both archaic and modern, and that constraints which spring from them, especially since we have acknowledged them among the Sarakatsani in almost identical terms as those of Malinowski. Finally, we are absolutely convinced of the fact that individuals have personal obligations and responsibilities which they try to evade. However, reciprocity and constraint aside, we believe that there remains a gap which entities such as "vanity, pride, ambition, desire to make the most of oneself, attachment, friendship, devotion, loyalty, etc.", proposed by Malinowski, do not fill.

/228 cont./

121 If we address ourselves to these entities we run two risks: first,
671 to confuse legal life with moral life in the sense that to conform to the entities enumerated means to obey certain social values sanctioned by general approval. It does not escape us that this approval implies a utilitarian aspect of which we shall speak in the next chapter. But this approval is not sufficient to insure absolute obedience by the persons concerned. Non-conformism represents "minor" dangers--the individual often is content with a minimum of consideration /229/ on the part of society.

Moreover, from the methodological point of view it appears that if one accepts this interpretation, one leaves the sociological field in favor of a psychologism limiting itself to "motivations" (a reality which only very partially explains our problem).

The second risk is based on the "motivations" in question. Ambition, pride, vanity, attachment, friendship, devotion, etc., are driving powers which can operate in two ways. They can uphold law, but they can also turn against it. For these motives, vanity for example or pride, have the power to launch conflicts and disagreements, sometimes very acute, between individuals and groups, and other individuals or other groups motivated by attachment, loyalty or friendship toward the interested parties may continue them and in doing so aggravate them and render them disastrous. Malinowski does not tell us why vanity and pride would be dominated by law and justice and not personal by self-esteem or egoism, nor why the authority of law would prevail over rebellious individualism. There is a point here which shows very well that psychology explains nothing if it is not used within concrete categories and framework.

121 This is why we believe that if we assume the mechanism of sanction and
671 disguised coercion, we thereafter understand how individuals and groups obey
681 law; we avoid confusion with morals and the introduction of extraneous psychological criteria into the true life of law. As a result, we base the latter on objective reality, the pressure that the "social milieu" exerts

/229 cont./

121 to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the
67 acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effective-
68 ness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Esmein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it.
121 Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain un-
67 certain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness
[114] of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Further-more, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/230 cont./

121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law." For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is
[681] one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior, the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior. These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

1. /i.e., J.-P.B. de Joselin de Jong--Analyst/

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
67 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
68 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
67 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
67 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion" is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

/232 cont./

121 114 67 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 67 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 67 68 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this auther may lead. We take as an example "the negative organized sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation, even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
671 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
681 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
671 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/234 cont./

121 there is legal obligation when there is a precise definition of obli-
67 gation and a precise definition of infliction and for punishment...
Obligation is simply more rigid and more legal in the case of law"
(p. 112). That is not all. Mauss proposes still another criterion.
"All laws are considered good by definition; then again, conformity to
laws is good; it is necessary to social life. Everything that is in
conformity is good, everything that is antagonistic to this conformism is
bad. One would therefore recognize the moral and legal phenomenon by the
presence of the idea of good and bad, previously defined and always
sanctioned" (p. 112).

121 Now for Mauss the distinguishing criteria of law are three in number:
67 precisely defined obligation; precisely defined infliction /of penalty/
68 and punishment, hence sanction; authority based on the good, including
the value of conformity to rules. These ideas are not unknown to us.
We have criticized them in the foregoing. Let us recall that up to a
certain point we share them. However, we see ourselves obliged to remark
that if one contrasts diffuse sanction appropriate to moral phenomena
with definite sanction, fixed and organized, as appropriate to law,
one leaves out manifestly legal phenomena such as obedience to arbiters
which appears not to be enforced by sanctions and, what is worse, one
risks linking these phenomena to morality. This is the case for example,
for G. Gurvitch, when he gives priority to morality over law in patriarchal
societies. But we shall speak of this in the next chapter.

We should like to conclude this theoretical test by pointing out that if
we introduce into the arsenal of the theory of law the idea of disguised
sanction and coercion we shall be equipped with a new, very effective
criterion which permits us to follow paths that have hitherto been inacces-
sible.

It does not escape us that our argument is based only on one example
and that consequently, before being more fully accepted, it must be tested
in other social contexts.

/235/

121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group
676 agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/235 cont./

671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[629] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

/237/

CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/242 cont./

599 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

599 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

599 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. [626] Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

599 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

599 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

/243 cont./

[57] [18] [67] [114] law, the supremacy of which one cannot deny. (9) clearly, the morality

9. G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 199, states an opposite opinion not, it is true, with regard to the Sarakatsani but in relation to patriarchal structure in general. It is difficult for us to accept this opinion based on the consideration that Hebraic society of biblical times, Homeric society, the latifundia, the zadruga etc., are ruled by morality. It seems to us that Deutoronomy, the scene of the chaining of Achilles, the very ancient Roman law, etc., as well as the type of life of these societies shows the opposite.

of the Sarakatsani is nowhere in contradiction with their other social regulations, with the rules deriving from religion, magic, knowledge etc., and as a result it never creates problems of conscience or behavior, nor [182] of internal social rupture. On the contrary, being perfectly integrated in a perfectly coherent system, it offers the Sarakatsani a solid as well as an indispensable foundation for safeguarding their traditional social life.

/244/ PART THREE

121 /245/IN THE PRESENCE OF THE MYSTERIOUS, THE WONDERFUL, THE BEAUTIFUL

/245/ "In vain, experience says 'it is false' and reason says 'it is absurd,' humanity clings all the more to absurdity and error."

This phrase by Henri Bergson (1)

1. See Les Deux Sources, p. 105.

could serve as the motto for the title of this section if the point of view proper to anthropology did not impose on us the duty not to criticize but to explain "the absurd" and "the error," to recognize them as stages through which humanity passes in its epic course toward the conquest of the world by the mind. (2)

2. See above, Chapter III.

128 In this third part we shall try to study in detail how the Sarakatsani,

182 /382 cont./
291 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
261 women).
181

Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
182 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani
691 thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
691 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
591 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
799 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which <u>alienatus</u> is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/178 cont./

474 233 464 465 In addition to this general framework of mutual obligations, there are others that vary according to the situation. Thus, for example, the participant who does not have livestock works as a paid shepherd. If he has some "heads" he still draws pay and takes care of his livestock together with that of the Tséligato. If he has a considerable flock so that he cannot work for the Tséligato, he does not receive wages but merely enjoys the general benefits and pays an equal share of the expenses.

Sometimes the participant has a very large number of sheep (200 for example) and of personnel (shepherds) for their tending. In this case it may happen his shepherds will care for his own livestock, while he himself takes care of the flocks of the Tséligato that do not have a shepherd; he will then receive wages for his work.

On the other hand, if his personnel is not sufficient, it is the Tséligato that will procure a shepherd for him on condition that he pay the Tséligato the wages of the latter.

474 233 464 Furthermore, the women of the participant's family must also work for all the flocks, regardless of the number of livestock belonging to their own family.

474 233 435 The expenses of herding are apportioned on the basis of "head of milch ewes," without allowing for the yield of each. Other expenses, that is to say, the duties and taxes imposed on the products, the expenses of hospitality of the Tséligato, the travel expenses of the Tséligas on behalf of the cooperative, etc., are divided equally among the participants on the basis of the number of animals each one owns.

474 554 672 The Tséligas is personally responsible to the participants in case of loss of livestock caused by his carelessness. He is held also responsible if he entrusts the sheep of one /179/ of the members to an incompetent shepherd and the latter's incompetence causes their loss.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

693 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
694 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562
672 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[694] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[693] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
983 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/216 cont./

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577 rule:
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/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[799]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is
[625] not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[559] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[428] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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612 476 τὸ φίλι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of [431] money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still ●[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near [489] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of [662] Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter, [426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica- [851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

/177 cont./

However, one must not believe that the system of succession annuls the principle of the revocation of the extended family head, in case he is incompetent. For, even if the successor to the old head is invested by the latter, the head of the individual families dismiss him if he proves incompetent and replace him with someone else who then also becomes the head of the Tséligato.

Moreover, as in the extended family, the participants in the Tséligato are required to obey the orders of the Tséligas, to work and to check on the management.

The principles according to which this entire mechanism functions are contained in the agreements reached among the participants--agreements constituting a bilateral covenant, the general conditions of which are:

The Tséligas is obliged:

--to protect the participants and their families;

--to carry out all commercial, administrative and other contacts with surrounding society;

--to rent the necessary pastures;

--to supervise the work within the Tséligato;

--to furnish each one with provisions and the various material objects which are indispensable to him, as well as the equipment for the livestock;

/178/--to manage the common enterprise of economic utilization of livestock and to keep the accounts.

In return the participants must:

--obey the Tséligas;

--cooperate closely with each other;

--perform the tasks entrusted to them;

--share the expenses of the common enterprise;

--finally, should the occasion arise, defend the Tséligato even at the risk of their lives.

/179 cont./

474 Finally, the Tséligas is personally responsible to all those who
554 have carried on economic relations with him: merchants, suppliers, etc., belonging to surrounding society, However, in case of damage,
[434] everybody participates: if the income drawn from production does not
[432] suffice to meet the obligations of the Tséligato toward the outside, sheep are taken from the flocks of each one, always in proportion to the number of "heads," and are sold.

474 From this enumeration of mutual obligations it is easy to conclude
576 that the system of socio-economic functioning of the extended family is
198 not very different from that of the Tséligato. Even more, close obser-
675 vation shows that the second has grown out of the first, but that it has been adapted, as one might expect, to its special character. Thus in order to interpret the individual points of the convenant (execution and allocation of tasks, provisioning and distribution of provisions, sale of products, etc.) the Sarakatsani have recourse to customs pertaining to the life of the extended family, which provides a general frame of reference.

[538] A Sarakatsani adage which says that "the Tséligas acts like a true father of a family" corroborates what we have just said.

474 Nevertheless, the line of demarcation between the extended family
576 and the Tséligato is to be found, it seems, in the difference of spirit peculiar to each of these groups: that of the first is permeated with what the blood ties mean to our herders, while that of the second rests on a rationale related in, the common interest.

474 Finally, a last point is worth keeping in mind. The agreements
675 which the Tséligas reaches with the participants are valid for six months, hence for a single seasonal installation. Of course, they are renewable if the cooperation proves satisfactory to each of the parties.

474 <u>The Way of Life Within the Framework of the Tséligato.</u>
554 The Tséligas is the most important person of the cooperative.

/179 cont./

[474] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
[55] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a <u>fretzato</u> (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[594] negotiations with merchants take place.
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[324] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable
[675] the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

/181 cont./

474 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men
571 from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer,
461 if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while
521 gossiping, and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

(889) In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

(533) The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting
132 cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must
233 protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the
596 head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

(595) For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/182 cont./

474 other forms of Sarakatsani group life manifests itself here in the
596 same way: isolated shepherds and conjugal as well as extended families
675 take on obligations to the Tséligato. The Tséligato in turn takes on obligations in favor of its constituent elements. The heads of families transfer to the Tséligato their economic functions having to do with the business of herding, and so forth. Compensation resides chiefly in the facts that have determined the creation of the Tséligato, which we enumerated at the beginning of this section.

474 Sociological Characterization of the Tséligato.

182 As a specific social group, the Tséligato is midway between the extended family and the economic cooperative.

From the family it has borrowed the moral attributes that go with a family herding enterprise. From the cooperative it has taken the contractual bond uniting its members. As a result, it is better equipped than the cooperative, for, in carrying out its functions, it can appeal to moral attributes in all cases where the contractual bond is insufficient. Likewise, it is more powerful than the family, for it is in a position to make people who are not related cooperate.

It is therefore, according to the Gurvitch group typology, (55)

[113) 55. See G. Gurvitch: La vocation, pp. 309-311.

an intermediate group between kinship and /183/ an economic affinity, of voluntary, permanent and supra-functional cooperation.

We will try to assess the role it plays in the life of our herders when we discuss the organized aspect of the latter.

619 SARAKATSANI SOCIETY AND THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY

Sarakatsani society includes all the Sarakatsani. It is made
[474] up of all the Tséligatos and their subordinate group or individual elements. It is created by their distribution in space. If we wish to use the criteria of classification in social groups proposed by G. Gurvitch and based on "the extent of dispersion," we should say that

619 /189 cont./
596 be denied. On the other hand, Sarakatsani society does not have such
594 an organization.
474

596 As far as the families are concerned, their organization is to be
594 found in the power of the father-head-manager or the head-manager in his responsibilities, in the functions, rights and obligations of the family members, in the hierarchy of sub-groups their functions, etc.

[474] As for the Tsélígato, its organization consists of agreements made
[675] between the participants; it is completed by that of the central family.

The administrative apparatus of surrounding society, finally,
[177] constitutes the organization of this society.

[474] The relations between these different organizations reflect the
[182] relationship between the corresponding units.

In all these instances one may note the constraint that the organi-
596 zation exerts on the corresponding group, as well as the constraint that
594 one organization exerts on another, at least in part, starting with that
182 of the surrounding society upon the Tsélígato and the extended families,
177 and that of the extended family upon the conjugal family.
474

This interplay is derived from conditions and regulations applicable
[571] to individuals or groups /190/ permanently established from which a person cannot stand apart with impunity and which dictate and inspire roles and conduct of individuals and groups.

The effect of the existence of organization among the purely Sarakatsani groups are very important. They are felt in connection with the efficient fulfillment of social or economic functions. If the Tsélígato succeeds, as we have noted, in making its members cooperate whenever a family by itself would fail, this is due precisely to its organization. And if the extended family may be assured of smooth interior functioning despite the number, nature and oppostitions of its individual or group componenet, this is in large part due to its organization.

/207 cont./

exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against tresspassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 627 692 691 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another. Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [179] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 621 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[474] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

/208 cont./

691 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other,
692 according to circumstances and the case at hand.
629

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their
629 opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already con-
696 stituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

629 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may
696 make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

494 First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one
695 of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter
629 has not properly fulfilled his obligations, In return, the participant
692 expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the
[686] "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
[596]

Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[494] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails privations, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
771 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182 2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminologically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which <u>alienatus</u> is not free. Thus, it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/400 cont./

578 to the Marxist theory, (3)

675 3. On the different meanings of the term alienation

182 in Marx see: G. Gurvitch: La vocation, vol, II, pp. 253-258.

121 although these have their origin in it. We use this term to indicate every case in which groups and individuals yield to other groups or other individuals all or part of their social or economic independence, their initiative, their activity, consciously or unconsciously, in the hope of obtaining in return a profit, a privilege, the recognition of certain rights, or more generally, some sort of satisfaction. [Eds.

128 note: since this meaning of the word "alienation" would not be immediately apparent to readers of parts of the text in English in the Files, the term has been translated where used as "obligation"].

578 The term "compensation" designates exactly this counter-benefit and

675 distinguishes it clearly from purely psychological compensation or

182 psychoanalytic sublimation. Let us add further that compensation may

121 be real, ideological or presumed, present or anticipated. It is not necessary that there be an absolute equivalence between the two terms. A relative equivalence suffices for this mechanism to bear fruit. Observation of societies shows that individuals and groups are mutually bound by manifold contributions of the obligation-compensation type which, in the final analysis, makes possible, up to a certain point, life in society. Of course, the nature, content, number, etc., of relations of this kind varies with the types of partial or whole societies and their structures. And if one wishes to analyze them, one will find that they reflect society as a whole, while being linked specifically with models, statuses, social roles, collective attitudes, ideas, values and mentalities. However, it would be erronous to believe that the relationship "obligation-compensation" is a contractual relationship. It could be, but is not always, or rather is so

578 /400 cont./
675 only in limited cases. Finally, it is certain that all relationships
182 of domination would degenerate into simple pressure relations (4)
121

4. On this distinction see G. Gurvitch: La Vocation, Vol. I, p. 222.

which in their turn would become situations of conflict if the mechanism "obligation-compensation" would not intervene to /401/ ensure at least a precarious equilibrium, provided that the total social phenomenon and social structure favor it.

578 In the case of the Sarakatsani, the mechanism in question enables
675 individuals and groups not to consider their subordination as slavery
182 pure and simple. For the principles of organization of their social life
183 are oriented toward a strong integration of all elements, individuals or
121 groups in a system where the maximum of socio-economic security is accorded to all. A sort of blueprint or secular and "primitive" control which determines each person's place in advance, permits him to benefit from a maximum of foresight. The main ideas that dominates Sarakatsani social organization and emanates from the value, of community is to ensure the destiny of each of its members. This represents the chief compensation of any subjugation, and we can now evaluate it according to its true nature. Moreover, the prerogatives of each person (man, woman, headman, participants), be they administrative, family, religious or magical prerogatives, neutralize the possible feelings of frustration which otherwise could make their appearance and be extremely virulent and disintegrating.

In short, the role of the "obligation-compensation" mechanism on behalf of equilibrium and a lack of schism proves fundamental. This is so obvious that it seems to us unnecessary to emphasize it. This mechanism provides not only the justification for the asymmetries in Sarakatsani

/401 cont./

508 275 182 183 121 society the "injustices and incompatibilities between norms and their realization." according to the formula of Lévi-Strauss, but also the means of overcoming them, and that in a constructive way.

As for the threats against the equilibrium arising from social units other than the family, we should like to emphasize that they are minor. The hostility of Sarakatsani society toward non-conformists [626] exerts sufficient constraint to intimidate those who might possible violate the adopted socio-cultural models, this constraint consolidates [177] both these models and the social equilibrium. Furthermore, since surrounding society is indifferent to the Sarakatsani who themselves insist on preserving their isolation, and does not interfere with their lives, it does not upset the equilibrium nor endanger its continuance. Or rather, that is what went on up to the last decades / "decennies?"/

* * * *

121 178 182 /402/ Nevertheless, other threats arise from one-dimensional elements of Sarakatsani society, and present the possibility of changing the latter.

In fact, if the technology or crafts, the organization of the family and the Tséligato, the economic system, law and morality, knowledge, magic or religion changed, they would bring about changes capable of loosening the general structure from top to bottom, given the close dialectical bonds existing between them.

However, this possibility is slight, for several reasons. First of all, because the change of one of these elements would encounter the resistance of all the others, precisely because of the dialectical link. In the second place, because all these elements are cultural solutions to concrete problems and their effectiveness has been demonstrated by experience. No one would agree to modify them in favor of a non-proven

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/235/

121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group
678 agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/224 cont./

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Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

/225 cont./

681 Among the Sarakatsani, sanctions and coercion, always social, can only exceptionally be organized (groups when they impose isolation, individuals according to the instances enumerated), since, ordinarily, there are no special agents or coercion. They /i.e. sanction and coercion/ are either provided for (customs) or spontaneous, and they are only exceptionally imposed directly by physical force, the case of sanction of crimes and misdemeanors constituting a peculiarity which we must consider separately.

But there is more. Though sanction is the result of an infraction and strikes the one who has committed it, though coercion is a function that assures the application of sanction, though, finally, both sanction and coercion always go together in evolved societies, coercion never being thought of independently from sanction, among the Sarakatsani coercion may intervene and act without any sanction having been formulated beforehand. Its aim, in
671 that case, is no longer the application of the sanction, but direct applica-
681 tion of the rules of law. It is a little as though in our societies the police directly required citizens to conform to the rules of law without their first having passed through the channel of adjudication, of sentence and of sanction. As a result, and we must emphasize this very specifically, the sanctions listed are directed more toward prevention than toward repression.

Sarakatsani society prefers to protect itself in advance of any disorder by an appropriate and preventive maintenance of its law, rather than having to put right explosive and dangerous situations. However, when despite all, the latter flair up, Sarakatsani society does not hesitate to suppress them by resorting to sanctions of a penal order, physically inflicted. These sanctions are strictly applied, depending on the nature of the disturbance.

* * * *

/226/ We should now like to draw attention to the fact that sanction and coercion are most often <u>disguised</u> in Sarakatsani law.

This phenomenon, represents one of the chief characteristics of Sarakatsani society. Quite apart from its importance in the life of the society, we believe that it can in addition contribute considerably to the theoretical

/226 cont./

67| and anthropological approach to laws other than those with which our advanced
68| societies are familiar.

121 This phenomenon is not entirely unknown to theorists. But if some
67| of them have had an inkling of it, no one, to our knowledge, has treated it in clear terms. (36)

> 36. We have mentioned some of these authors in connection with some definite point. We shall take up their theories in their broad aspects, our previous remarks being an integral part of what follows.

In order to introduce the discussion, it will be well to start with certain comments on the famous work of B. Malinowski: Crime and Custom in Savage Society /cited in English/ (37)

(128)

> 37. Our questions refer to a French translation included in: Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, to which our quotations refer.

(1926). The publication of this work, in addition to the influence that it has subsequently had on the anthropological theory of law, has made it possible to state the problem correctly.

What Malinowski does is to protest against the interpretations dominated by the ideas of L. Morgan--those of "Bachofen, of Post, of Bernoft, of Konler and others who were grouped around the periodical Zeitschrift fur vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft" (p. 10), those which are found again "in the works of the French school of Durkheim, in most American and German works and in some English works" (p. 11). "Basic to all these ideas," he says, "was the postulate that in primitive societies the individual is totally dominated by the group, the horde, the clan or the tribe, that he obeys the commands of his community...with servile passivity, so to speak, bewitched" (p. 11).

He also protests against E. Sidney Hartland and Dr. Rivers, cited above, who speak of an "unconscious and intuitive regulation of social life...

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121 If we address ourselves to these entities we run two risks: first,
671 to confuse legal life with moral life in the sense that to conform to the entities enumerated means to obey certain social values sanctioned by general approval. It does not escape us that this approval implies a utilitarian aspect of which we shall speak in the next chapter. But this approval is not sufficient to insure absolute obedience by the persons concerned. Non-conformism represents "minor" dangers--the individual often is content with a minimum of consideration /229/ on the part of society.

Moreover, from the methodological point of view it appears that if one accepts this interpretation, one leaves the sociological field in favor of a psychologism limiting itself to "motivations" (a reality which only very partially explains our problem).

The second risk is based on the "motivations" in question. Ambition, pride, vanity, attachment, friendship, devotion, etc., are driving powers which can operate in two ways. They can uphold law, but they can also turn against it. For these motives, vanity for example or pride, have the power to launch conflicts and disagreements, sometimes very acute, between individuals and groups, and other individuals or other groups motivated by attachment, loyalty or friendship toward the interested parties may continue them and in doing so aggravate them and render them disastrous. Malinowski does not tell us why vanity and pride would be dominated by law and justice and not personal by self-esteem or egoism, nor why the authority of law would prevail over rebellious individualism. There is a point here which shows very well that psychology explains nothing if it is not used within concrete categories and framework.

121 This is why we believe that if we assume the mechanism of sanction and
671 disguised coercion, we thereafter understand how individuals and groups obey
681 law; we avoid confusion with morals and the introduction of extraneous psychological criteria into the true life of law. As a result, we base the latter on objective reality, the pressure that the "social milieu" exerts

/229 cont./

[12] [67] [68] to force interested parties to obey; finally, we fill the gaps left by the acceptance of the principle of reciprocity, while reinforcing its effectiveness where it exists.

Remarks of a similar order may be made with respect to certain theories that follow the same line as the ideas of Malinowski. This is the case with P. Eamein, (39) who also quotes Hogbin, (40)

39. Le droit et ses sources, p. 6-7.

40. Le droit et l'ordre en Polynésie (in English).

with Lowie, (41) with Van Vollenhoven who, in the second volume of his work

41. Traité, p. 389.

Het adatrecht van Nederlandsch Indië, (42) /the custom law of the Dutch Indies/

[128] 42. The Dutch being inaccessible to us, we refer here to Josselin de Jong's discussion of this author, published in his study which we quote later on.

1918 /230/ (pp. 236 and 400) published after the appearance of Malinowski's book, modified the thesis proposed in his first volume, according to which law is made up of rules of behavior that are not codified and are accompanied by organized sanctions. His new thesis involves a double criterion, the mutual interaction of two customs: on the one hand, commendation and disapproval, and on the other-- intimately bound to the former--imperatives or prohibitions in the heart of the collective conscience and conduct. According to Josselin de Jong's interpretation, Van Vollenhoven did not give up the criterion of organized sanction but, under the influence of Malinowski, he enriched it. [12] [67] [114] Thus the field of customary law is enlarged, but its boundaries remain uncertain. This observation by Josselin de Jong shows very well the weakness of this theory, which its author tries to overcome, without success. Furthermore, Van Vollenhoven does not tell us how and by what mechanism disapprovals and commendations are linked to the collectivity, so that no distinction can be made between opinion and morals on the one hand, and law on the other.

Thus J.- P. B. de Josselin de Jong: Customary Law /cited in English/, pp.

/230 cont./

121 3-7, aware of the confusion caused by the comparison of customary law with
671 the totality of customs, as well as by the absence of a definition of law strict enough to separate custom in general from our observations, and sufficiently broad to include the entire gamut of manifestations of the principle of legality, proposes eliminating the term "customary law." For, according to him, the difference between customary law and custom is one of form and not content. Thus, the authority of law is based on the
(231) conviction that its existence is necessary and is based on the threat of sanctions.

121 If we understand this author's[4] idea correctly, it seems to us that,
671 despite his effort to dispel the confusion, his positions only aggravate it.
681 The moment he finds that the source of the authority of law lies not in
114 sanction, a social reality and an objective and positive criterion, but in the feeling that it is useful, hence a psychological reality, the distinction between legal customs and other customs becomes impossible. Hence it is equally impossible to formulate a definition applicable to all manifestations of legality. For all the customary norms of behavior can be regarded as necessary, so that we are reduced to identifying custom in general with law, that is to say, /231/ to a repetition of the errors that we mean to combat. If we follow this author who, conscious of this risk, proposes to abolish the idea of customary law, we are left with no hope of an approach to non-evolved laws. Furthermore, the distinction between customary law and custom is not a distinction of form, but of nature. It seems to us that Josselin de Jong proposes the opposite, enticed by the fact that very often the same custom has two aspects, two potentials: one as a model of behavior, the other as a legal norm. The latter becomes real when sanction comes to its aid in seeking to enforce it. And at that moment, custom becomes purely legal and obviously acquires all the attributes of a law. If it does not appeal to sanction but if, at the moment it becomes reality, it imposes itself through other means, it presents the attributes of a model or behavior. These two situations are profoundly different. The difference is the same

4. /i.e., J.-P.B. de Joselin de Jong--Analyst/

/231 cont./

121 one that may be established between the moral imperative to respect the
671 life of another and the rule of the penal code forbidding homicide. The
681 content of the two commandments is the same, but their nature is different.
114 This is exactly what Malinowski said when he stated that legality is more an aspect of tribal life than an independent arrangement.

Finally, if Josselin de Jong had sought to discover the real sanction associated with non-evolved laws, he would have avoided these slippery trails and would have entered the path leading to the definition of customary law.

121 We should now like to consider another theory which, like that of
671 Van Vollenhoven, also addresses itself to public opinion. It is Hoebel's
208 theory in The Law of Primitive Man /cited in English/. According to it, in case of a claim for damages or the restitution of stolen goods, or even punishment of the perpetrator of an illicit act, if the person responsible admits his responsibility and if public opinion expresses itself in favor of the plaintiff, this public opinion then represents a tribunal and the whole process takes on a legal character (p. 25). Hoebel adds: "Primitive law is characterized by the fact that the plaintiff, in demanding his right, seeks to satisfy both his own interest and the interest of society in general. Furthermore, primitive law shows a certain regularity" (p. 28). /English quotation not found on designated page/.

121 Hoebel here draws quite close to the problem but /232/ does not get to
114 the heart of it. He individualizes laws and obligations, is aware of the
671 role of the group in the resolution of states of conflict, but he does not
208 tell us by what process "public opinion " is enforced. Therein lies the weakness of his theory. As we have shown elsewhere, sanction and disguised coercion differentiate absolutely between public opinion and what we have called the "sentence arising from a group." Public opinion expresses an attitude of the group with regard to a dispute. When this opinion is dominated by the idea of justice and when it is armed with means of sanction and coercion, even if it is not apparent, it represents a true sentence.

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121 114 67 Furthermore, Hoebel's idea concerning the regularity of primitive law is only partially true. One cannot expect regularity in only cases where one has to judge according to a spontaneous law based on equity, good sense and "ad hoc". If one accepts the position of Hoebel, one must exclude all these instances of juridical life.

121 67 We shall conclude these critical remarks by examining another category of theories which base non-evolved law on its relations either to the totality of social regulations or to morality.

121 67 68 Radcliffe-Brown, in his book Structure and Function in Primitive Society /cited in English/, and in agreement with R. Pound, notes first that law is part of social control, but is not identified with it. "The field of law," he states, "will therefore be regarded as coterminus with that of organized legal sanctions. The obligations imposed on individuals in societies where there are legal sanctions will be regarded as matters of custom and convention but not of law; in this sense, some simple societies do not have law, although all have customs which are supported by sanctions" (p. 212).

Thus we come back to the formalistic conception of law: law is every rule accompanied by legal sanction and legal sanction is every sanction imposed "by a constituted authority, political, military or ecclesiastic" (p. 208).

Let us try now to see where the assertions of this author may lead. We take as an example "the negative organized sanctions" which, according to him, represent social reactions, social acts directed against persons open to social disapproval because of their behavior, and which /233/ are carried out according to traditional and recognized procedures. These acts consist of the exposure of the culprit in public, his total or partial exclusion from social life and the privileges that derive from it, the loss of his civil or religious rights or of his social rank. In addition to all this, one also finds confiscation of goods, or the infliction of corporal punishment--mutilation, flagellation; even capital punishment.

Now if one excludes law as the justification for these acts, for this punishment, what remains? Our author proposes morality and religion and

/233 cont./

121 above all the mechanism of social control (p. 208). But morality and
67 religion can play this role only partially, as Radcliffe-Brown himself
68 recognized albeit indirectly because, on the one hand, morality is not imposed by force without a change in their nature, and, on the other hand, punishible acts are not all related to religion. Finally, social
[626] control is a very general function which involves several others and is therefore incapable of explaining this specific phenomenon.

Likewise, Radcliffe-Brown proposes that when sanctions are taken by individuals or groups against individuals and groups (vengeance, duel, blood revenge, etc.), under the control and with the approval of society, diffuse sanctions "of public opinion" /cited in English/ are involved.
[114] This conclusion does not take us unawares. Since our author denies the legal character of the terrible sanctions enumerated above, applied collectively and according to a procedure determined in advance, it is natural that he should deny this character to these additional, more individualized sanctions.

[208] We have shown, moreover, that public opinion is not able to impose
[626] sanctions exceeding disapproval.

121 The question therefore remains open. We believe that the perspective
67 offered by our own position makes it possible to avoid the confusion of law with other social regulations and to avoid the paradoxical idea that societies can live without law when they do not have a specific judicial apparatus.

Marcel Mauss, for his part (chapter VII of his Manual), says: "In societies that ethnography singles out all legal phenomena are moral phenomena, without exception; which does not mean that all moral phenomena are necessarily legal in the strict sense" (p. 110). It remains to be seen how one can distinguish law from morality. /234/ "Legal phenomena," says Mauss, "are organized moral phenomena (p. 111)...We know the presence of morality and religion only from the presence of infraction and the idea of sanction. There is moral obligation...when there is diffuse sanction;

/234 cont./

121 there is legal obligation when there is a precise definition of obli-
67 gation and a precise definition of infliction and for punishment... Obligation is simply more rigid and more legal in the case of law" (p. 112). That is not all. Mauss proposes still another criterion. "All laws are considered good by definition; then again, conformity to laws is good; it is necessary to social life. Everything that is in conformity is good, everything that is antagonistic to this conformism is bad. One would therefore recognize the moral and legal phenomenon by the presence of the idea of good and bad, previously defined and always sanctioned" (p. 112).

121 Now for Mauss the distinguishing criteria of law are three in number:
67 precisely defined obligation; precisely defined infliction /of penalty/
68 and punishment, hence sanction; authority based on the good, including the value of conformity to rules. These ideas are not unknown to us. We have criticized them in the foregoing. Let us recall that up to a certain point we share them. However, we see ourselves obliged to remark that if one contrasts diffuse sanction appropriate to moral phenomena with definite sanction, fixed and organized, as appropriate to law, one leaves out manifestly legal phenomena such as obedience to arbiters which appears not to be enforced by sanctions and, what is worse, one risks linking these phenomena to morality. This is the case for example, for G. Gurvitch, when he gives priority to morality over law in patriarchal societies. But we shall speak of this in the next chapter.

We should like to conclude this theoretical test by pointing out that if we introduce into the arsenal of the theory of law the idea of disguised sanction and coercion we shall be equipped with a new, very effective criterion which permits us to follow paths that have hitherto been inaccessible.

It does not escape us that our argument is based only on one example and that consequently, before being more fully accepted, it must be tested in other social contexts.

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121 /235/ Nevertheless, testing it against the experience of the authors
671 enumerated seems to reinforce the hope that disguised sanction and coercion
681 also exist elsewhere, and that in any case it represents a good working hypothesis.

* * * *

121 Be that as it may, the solution of disguised sanction and coercion
671 fits well into the Sarakatsani way of life. It would be difficult to
681 imagine any other way. Faced with the dilemma of either not having
182 organized justice (in view of the difficulties of living in small groups and nomadically), or of having one that is ineffective for lack of organization to maintain it, Sarakatsani society has chosen the solution described which meets the demands of the problem. It assures and guarantees the functioning of the social organization and it enforces order without burdening the organization of the group. Therefore the fit between this solution and the social framework seems perfect.

FINAL EVALUATION

671 Customary law, spontaneous law, structureless and disguised law, these are the aspects under which Sarakatsani law presents itself.

Issuing from collective sources, this law is also imposed by group
676 agents which are the same as these sources, even in cases where ajudication and its execution are confined to individuals--representatives of the group which recognizes their perogatives, functions and efficacy.

Though intimately bound up with other social regulations, it retains its autonomy. And though exposed to the influence of magico-religious beliefs, above all when it is spontaneous, it clearly keeps its rational character.

Without abolishing the rights and responsibilities of individuals, it favors groups and cooperation, and disfavors individualism. Individual rights exist only when they are compatable with the "group" and in sympathy with the latter (43) --the "invisible government" according to the expression

/235 cont./
671 of P. Radin. (44)

44. P. Radin: Le monde de l'homme primitif, p. 221 f.

671 /236/ Its sanctions guarantee its functions, at once distributive,
681 preventive, restitutive, repressive. They are not taken from the law
182 of retaliation, as the instance of the vendetta particularly demonstrates.
[627] They are based on the idea of the defense of the social equilibrium or its reestablishment if it is temporarily disrupted.

Thanks to the mechanism of disguised coercion, it acquires, citing the expression of Mauss, (45)

45. Manuel, p. 110.

a character of strongly felt intimacy and community, for it can become involved at any moment in the smallest details of the life of our herders.

671 Seemingly simple, if not simplistic, but basically very complex,
182 Sarakatsani law meets the need for social control with extreme efficacy, which one would not dispute if one looked closely at its social context. For the dynamics of Sarakatsani law, transmitted in the social framework to a large extent give it its stability.

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CHAPTER IV

MORAL PHENOMENA AND MORALITY AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

577 Morality among the Sarakatsani is neither systematized nor doctrinal.
121 It is bound up with many aspects of their lives, in symbols, attitudes, conduct, habits, customs, language, cultural works, all of which serve as its vehicles. (1)

1. This phenomenon is not peculiar to the Sarakatsani alone. See A. Bayet: La science des faits moeurs, p. 17.

In attempting to recognize it and make it clear, the problem of an operational criterion of procedure arises. "In order to observe the moral phenomenon, one must also know what characterizes it, by what distinctive mark it can be recognized," Durkheim (2)

/242 cont./

577 The Sarakatsani may therefore take his choice between non-distinction, dishonor and honor. These are the limits within which he may deploy his moral activity.

577 156 These alternatives have their justification in the risks that one runs socially by the choice one makes. By choosing non-distinction the subject injures only himself. By opting for infamy (though this may seem paradoxical), that is to say, by violating fundamental rules or denying the "minimum morality," the individual or the group endanger the collectivity which then would react against them with severity. By prefering honor one becomes a pillar of social life, for, thanks to the conduct and example one offers to all, one contributes to its solidity. Honor is the reward to those who have embodied Sarakatsani morality. They become "morality in person."

577 671 681 /243/ As for the line of demarcation separating morality from law, the foregoing remarks show that the major requirements constitute the common threshold. It is in terms of the importance of the infraction committed, therefore the importance of the risks run by non-conformity, that the foregoing passage, analyzed from the standpoint of legal reactions will be understood, and that the mechanism of sanction and coercion is activated. [626] Thus, the major moral requirements and law may intermingle, the difference residing in the concrete fact of the intensity of social repression: either society is content simply to scorn the culprit or it decides to react more violently.

577 626 671 It follows that morality, as social control, occupies a prominent place among the Sarakatsani, though it cannot be placed above the law. Despite its rigidity, especially with reference to major requirements, it comes after law, though it complements and aids the latter by its own prestige.

577 181 671 The regulation of the actions of these herders, tough, intrepid, independent human beings, true fighters ceaselessly striving to conquer innumerable difficulties and obstacles, requires means more powerful than morals, hence

182 /382 cont./
29 in family or society symbolic ornaments bringing about fecundity among
26 women).
181

182 Nevertheless, every economico-social system has need of another
691 system of rules which will socially guarantee the first. The Sarakatsani thus introduce their law first of all, based on custom, equity and common sense, which means that this law, along with crystallized rules, includes spontaneous and ad hoc prescriptions. It sanctions the fundamental organizing rules of their life and the functioning of their social and economic institutions which it makes their own. Its salient characteristic is to favor cooperation and its results, and to combat individualism,
182 Its chief concern is to protect kinship and herding by its penal provisions;
691 that is why it does not hesitate to threaten miscreants with capital
681 punishment (the vendetta, for example). In any case, and in order to impose itself, it introduces a mechanism of ajudication, of sanction and coercion, sometimes not apparent, which are in keeping with isolation (not to resort to the justice of "the foreigner") and to the necessity of showing itself effective, though there does not exist among them a specific legal
[626] apparatus. The principle of conformity finds its best means of expression here, while enforcing the mechanism in question. On the other hand,
182 morality, by its mechanism of honor or dishonor maintains all the rules
691 enumerated, integrating them into its principal values such as tradition,
181 family, chastity, community, bravery and independence, which basically represent merely the main ideas of Sarakatsani life elevated to the level of morality.

There is nothing astonishing in this state of affairs. The moment a society accepts and proposes a certain number of fundamental principles on which it bases its life, it is altogether normal that these principles be raised to moral values. The contrary would result in meaninglessness.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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609 not shown the right attitude of a man under obligation. This,
578 in a sense, is true. For neither side can admit to obligation with-
[558] out losing prestige; and both must attempt to claim the super-
ordinate position in a creditor-debtor relationship.

612 But a man does not feel any embarrassment in asking for help from a kinsman. In these circumstances there is no shame in being under obligation or a debt of gratitude. Irrespective of the state of the balance of favours and counter favours, collateral relatives of the same generation, by reason of their kinship, are conceptually equal since they are descended from a pair of siblings who, before marriage and apart from the chances of
[554] age and sex, were socially equivalent persons. A man does not lose prestige through obligation to a kinsman; on the contrary his reputation is increased, for the community pays attention to a person whose kinsmen lend him immediate and effective support. And for the man who gives aid to his kin, the knowledge that men learn of his actions through the gratitude of the kinsman who receives it, is sufficient recompense. For in this way he wins a reputation as a man of honour 'who supports his kinsmen'. If through wealth or influence a man is in a position to act as a general protector of his kindred, not only is he expected to do so, but this, in most cases, is also his wish. There is some altruism here. A man takes pleasure in the company of his kinsman; he finds him on occasion a source of practical advantage, but in particular he holds to him and has confidence in him simply because he is a kinsman. And for these reasons complaints of ingratitude against kinsmen are relatively few.

612 But although a man is under a moral obligation to help a
627 collateral relative, this assistance is not given unconditionally. The important consideration is that it must not conflict with the interests of the family. This emerges very clearly in situations of physical violence. A man is not expected to accept responsibility for avenging the death of a collateral kinsman. He will give moral support to the family of the victim but he is unlikely to go
[682] farther than that. A vengeance killing leads to the arrest of the killer and a prison sentence, which is sometimes followed by self-imposed exile in another district of Greece when there is any fear of counter vengeance. In this way a shepherd's family might lose its protector at least for some years, perhaps for ever. Only in unusual circumstances where a man feels that his

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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596 person of his violator. On the other hand, the family of the
577 original killer do not have to suffer the consequences of passive
627 solidarity; a brother, father, or son of the killer is not generally an object of vengeance. But despite the absence of passive solidarity in vengeance killing, the ideal course of a vendetta is still visualized as terminating in the mutual extinction of the two families. As we shall see, this is most unlikely to occur in practice. It is generally to a brother or son, more especially the former, that the duty of vengeance killing for murder falls. A father is seldom involved, for women and children are inviolate, and only in the case of the killing of an only son without issue will he be left as the one possible avenger. Normally, an unmarried brother avenges a brother, a son his father, when the latter has no unmarried brother.

During the period 1945–55 it seems that only two successful killings have occurred amongst the Sarakatsani that were specifically vengeance for a previous murder, although for the same period I have details of varying completeness concerning seven other killings for various causes (other than the hostilities of the 1947–9 civil war). One reason for the low incidence of vengeance killing is that the killer is generally removed or removes himself from the scene of action immediately after the event. Today, the Greek police are well organized and omni-
[578] present. Generally, killings occur either as the result of boundary disputes or questions of honour, so that the identity of a
[682] killer is widely known. He is quickly arrested and finds asylum in prison. When he is released from prison some five to ten years later, his kinsmen will advise him whether the victim has a brother or son able to revenge him, and depending on the nature of this advice the killer will either return to the community or move to another district of the Epirus or to Thessaly. Therefore, in most cases, the absence of passive solidarity in blood vengeance and the removal of the killer to prison and later to voluntary exile prevents the execution of vengeance. Exile is clearly not so honourable an outcome as a vengeance killing for the victim's family, but it strikes some kind of rough balance between the two groups. It relieves the avenger of the need to spend a number of years in prison, followed possibly by exile. The killer himself is believed to suffer considerably in his exile, distant from the support of his family and kinsmen. And it is the

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594 of patronage that links each family individually to the wider
619 structure of Greek society.

578 But, clearly, there is a limit to the amount of openly expressed hostility that this community is able to tolerate. Shepherds and their sheep are vulnerable, and in practice prudence discourages the free expression of hostility. The reciprocal trespass practised by shepherds who share a common grazing boundary is generally confined to areas from which there is a secure line of retreat; and in grazing disputes shepherds are careful to fight with weapons which may cause unpleasant wounds but [482] are unlikely to kill. Wanton murders are discouraged through the removal of the killer by imprisonment, voluntary exile, or vengeance. By whatever agency this may occur, the family is too small a group to afford the loss of a man, and only an imperative obligation of honour justifies such a risk.

594 But this relatively limited display of active hostility is not
571 in balance with the unequivocal character of the oppositions
579 between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. These find
598 a more extended and satisfactory expression in competitive behaviour and values which have been mentioned so frequently. The sociological importance of competition[8] is precisely that it represents a kind of opposition which is often indirect. In this instance protagonists compete for social prestige, that is for something which in material form none of them possesses. Where the prize has this intangible quality, direct attack may be irrelevant. Indeed, since social prestige requires the favourable response of the community to a man's qualities and actions after these have been evaluated in terms of the accepted system of values, it depends overwhelmingly on the opinions of enemies. To oppose successfully other unrelated families in terms of prestige, men must compete to the limit in their adherence to these values. They do this without causing one another obvious material harm; and the more they oppose one another in this way, the more they affirm their support of a particular system of values and beliefs. In this context competition for social prestige, while it clearly encourages that family particularism of which it is itself a symptom, nevertheless gives to this competitive complex a certain unity and coherence through a common system of values. These are, as it were, the rules of the game.

[113] [8] Georg Simmel, *Conflict*, translated by Wolff, Glencoe, Illinois, 1955, p. 57.

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

693 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
694 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in
682 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the
627 blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.
628

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important
628 lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted
613 several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which
[581] seemed insoluable, the head, M. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stérea Hellas) recently
627

/217 cont./

682 627 killed another from there; he was arrested and condemned by the assizes of Lamia to 12 years in prison. Everybody now knows that at the end of his sentence he will be killed by the kinsmen of his victim.

[628] [602] It is appropriate to recall here the rule according to which the vendetta is not practiced when the victim and the murderer are kinsmen.

682 627 628 182 /218/ Combining these facts, we may conclude that the vendetta is not viewed merely or strictly speaking as punishment of a crime. Otherwise the kinsmen of the victim cited in our second example would not be ready to kill the culprit who had already been condemned by the law. Moreover, once the culprit is executed, and justice has therefore been done, there would be no reason for retaliation by his kinsmen. It is thus obvious that the vendetta has another purpose. It is that of re-establishing the social equilibrium, temporarily upset by the murder.

602 682 627 628 182 In the course of our study of the functions of kinship we pointed out that the "others," the non-relatives, represent virtual enemies, that therefore the family must seek at all costs to strengthen itself by enlarging the circle of kinship. By depriving it of one of its members, the murderer diminishes the family of the victim, whereas that of the culprit becomes stronger. This implies that until the moment of the crime the respective family groups are considered equal, which is no longer the case after the crime. The family of the victim must then seek to neutralize the dangerous excess number of the opposing family by diminishing it in proportion. But then the latter in turn regards itself in a bad situation. And vengeance begins all over again.

602 682 627 581 182 These assertions are corroborated by the way in which the vendetta mentioned in our first example was terminated. The Tzoumanis family gave one of its members to the Koumbis family. This exchange of individuals, by means of marriage, reestablished the equilibrium, this time positively. They /these assertions/ are likewise corroborated by the prohibition of vengeance between relatives. The family, already weakened by a homicide, must not be further weakened by new murders. (33)

/218 cont./

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the young men of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers.

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

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583 me with pride how she was beaten about the head and body and dragged fifty yards by the hair. The captured girl is taken without delay to a prepared hideout in a cave or forest clearing. Here she is held by the bridegroom for three days and three nights. On the fourth day, the man takes the girl to the nearest police post and gives himself up, explaining that he took the girl from her home because he wished to marry her. The police at once send for the father or brother of the girl, and in his presence the police officer asks her if she wishes to marry her abductor or return to her home. She is asked this question three times and gives her answer three times. If she says that she is willing to marry the man they are taken immediately to the [623] church and the service is celebrated. If she elects to return home, she is handed over to her kinsmen while the man is held to await trial on a serious charge which may send him to prison for a number of years. It is remarkable that in the five cases of 583 581 abduction which I discovered amongst the Zagori Sarakatsani, there is only one instance of the girl choosing to return to her own people. During the days and nights when she is detained by her abductor, the situation is carefully explained to her. If she refuses to marry the man, nobody will believe that after three nights in the wilderness with an ardent lover she is any longer a virgin. In any case, she cannot expect to be sought in marriage except by a man of low prestige or a widower. [627] Secondly, if she goes back to her family, it inevitably obliges one of her brothers to seek vengeance on the abductor when he emerges from prison. And in this case, the brother in turn may lose his life in counter vengeance or, at least, be forced into voluntary exile. Thirdly, she is asked if it is not pleasant, despite the sudden shocks, to be married to a man who is willing to risk his life to take her as his wife. For these reasons, and especially for the first of them, the girl is more likely to say 'Yes' than 'No'.

583 Abduction, then, is a recognized institution through which, 577 if the normal negotiations between two opposed groups for the arrangement of a marriage break down in a manner detrimental to his social prestige, a man may yet save his reputation and win his bride without necessarily precipitating the two families into acts of reciprocal vengeance. To refuse a bridegroom is to suggest that he is not worthy. The abduction of the

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable.

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned.

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals.

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683 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
579 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes 626
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
591 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
183 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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203 older women, are constantly in Jannina for business and
626 shopping. Here, most Sarakatsani eat and sleep at the Korakas
[485] Hotel and this establishment is an important clearing-house for business and gossip. The eagerness for news and gossip is intense. The consciousness of being a community stimulates the circulation of news which is all the more urgent because people do not live in a closely settled community. In its turn the very process of evaluating the conduct of other Sarakatsani is a reaffirmation of the solidarity and indeed of the existence of
[183] the community as such. Gossip and denigration are carried out in terms of a system of values. Every criticism of a man's conduct, whether it is justified or not, is a restatement of a value.
626 Gossip within the family is uninhibited and subjective. Fantastic allegations of wrongdoing are levelled against other families of the community on negligible evidence. No doubt this contributes to the group's morale and suggests, by contrast, its own integrity. Public discussion of a man's conduct, for instance in a coffee-shop, is more careful and somewhat more
[683] factual. Vicious slander without a foundation of hearsay fact merely destroys the accuser's own reputation for being an honourable man. Slander of this kind might be an answerable provocation if any kinsman of the ridiculed man were present at the time. If there is some, but not conclusive, evidence to condemn a man, a spirited debate will take place and it is in these circumstances that the presence of an articulate kinsman may help to salvage a man's reputation. But where a man's fault or failure seems to be clearly established the whole assembly will unite with obvious pleasure to ridicule a man. In this way they emphasize their own probity and prestige. Then, even the presence of kinsmen will not save a man, and if his shortcomings are sufficiently serious they may be driven to abandon him.

626 Gossip never ceases and it seizes on the pettiest of details and
533 circumstances. In situations which especially shock or pique the community's imagination satirical songs are sometimes written. Song writing, of course, is the work of individuals but it depends on the community whether the songs will be accepted and remembered. This is a most feared sanction since the ridicule lives on in the song. The song will not be sung to the victim's face, but he will learn of it, and be bitterly shamed.

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685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 626 Calumny and defamation.

Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

(113) 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

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605 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs
612 that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes
605 or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin
521 after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both
576 sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which
836 are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations can-
[684] not be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her
000 life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δυνός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
~~614~~ management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the
[685] basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action
[684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

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Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

[582] [558]

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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612 in time, and after long consideration, may provide the offender
183 with an excuse. There is no basis for forgiveness and reconciliation.

612 The support of kinsmen is also withdrawn sometimes in a
626 manner which does not necessarily imply a permanent rupture of social relations, though it may come to this in the end. I have previously emphasized the importance of the moral support of kinsmen when the community is evaluating a man's conduct.
[539] The idea that a man must defend the actions of his kinsmen is expressed in the proverb, 'Ο δικός μπορεῖ νὰ πῇ μὰ δὲν μπορεῖ ν'ἀκούσῃ. Literally this means, 'A relation can speak to his kinsman but he cannot listen to something about him', that is to say he can scold a kinsman for his shortcomings in private, but he will not allow others to accuse him in public. This in general is true, but it depends upon the possibility of advancing some reasonable explanation of a kinsman's conduct. Where a man has behaved in a manner clearly at variance with the values of the community a kinsman is forced to abandon him, and even to take some part in condemning his conduct. For if he continues to support his cause his own reputation and that of his family will suffer. By condemning the actions of his kinsmen he expresses in an unequivocal fashion that he supports the values of the community; and he maintains a measure of social distance between himself and his kinsman. In this way he hopes to avoid the taint of association with his conduct and the shame which accompanies it.

● 684 The history of Nasios illustrates this process. One afternoon
612 in the summer of 1953 he happened to meet Mitrina Mastoras
627 on the hill-side above his village, and there, after failing to win her willing co-operation, he attempted to take her 'by force' (μὲ τὸ ζόρι); but unsuccessfully according to Mitrina's story. The terrified woman ran down the hill to the huts of her second cousin for, at the time, her own husband was away from home. The cousin at once sent word to the husband who returned immediately. He surprised Nasios, knocked him to the ground, and had already drawn his knife to settle the matter when he was seized from behind by two villagers. In terror Nasios escaped to his home.

Public opinion was unanimous in condemning Nasios. This was not the first time he had attacked women, although on the

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two previous occasions he had more wisely confined his attentions to gipsy women. His family was in any case poor and of low prestige. There was nothing at all to be said in his favour. He had a number of kinsmen among the Sarakatsani who graze the lands of the same village, and of these the closest was Evangelos Balatsos, a first cousin. Evangelos and the other kinsmen all joined in the universal condemnation of Nasios. During the weeks which followed Evangelos made a point of going each day to the home of Nasios and unnerving him with imaginary accounts of the plots and ambushes which the husband of Mitrina was preparing to lure him to his death. So thorough were his efforts that for the next two months, until the Sarakatsani left for the winter pastures, Nasios was never seen outside his hut in daylight. Evangelos after his daily visits to Nasios made his way to the coffee-shop where he described to an appreciative audience the state of affairs in Nasios's household, how he remained each night, sleepless behind the door with axe in hand, and how his wife was obliged under cover of darkness to remove his faeces from the hut. In this fashion Evangelos took a leading part in the shaming of his kinsman, and saved his own name by denying solidarity with his kinsman and damaging his reputation.

The possibility of losing the moral and practical support of kinsmen, perhaps for ever, is clearly a most powerful sanction of the norms of kinship behaviour and the values of the wider community. If Nasios, a poor man who herded the sheep of villagers, had possessed a substantial flock and had therefore been dependent on the help of kinsmen in a 'company', this estrangement from his kinsmen would have affected him even more seriously than it did. It is also evident that the application of this sanction by the kinsman is itself sanctioned by the threat that a man and his family may lose prestige if he does not temporarily abandon the evil-doer. Since the interests of the family always take precedence over obligations of individual collateral kinship, there is never any doubt that a man will conform. We see, not for the first time, the connexion between prestige values and the isolation of the family; for these values necessarily threaten the solidarity of any personal relationship or social grouping which may conflict with a man's duty to uphold, or promote, the prestige of his family.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [684]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co-
593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience
839 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery.
558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [577] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581] an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584] reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558] does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836] she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684] certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[3] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 265.

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[684] [682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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596 577 627 reinstated. And the father[4] or brother who accomplishes this terrible work wins a grudging respect in the general community.

Families do not always find at once the moral strength to 596 take the only honourable action. In an affair between two 577 second cousins in 1955 near a village on Mitsikeli, the girl's 627 brothers first tried unsuccessfully to kill her lover. The girl then 684 ran away to the man's home; no doubt as much through fear of her family as out of devotion to her lover. In another case, which occurred in 1944, the lover of an unmarried girl escaped from the neighbourhood after one unsuccessful attempt to shoot [621] him. Although the girl's association with the man had been notorious, no action was at first taken against her, but over a period of six months the family suffered acutely from public sneers and scorn until, quite suddenly, the girl disappeared. The nature of her fate was never satisfactorily explained.

The most recent instance of the vengeance of a family on a daughter occurred in 1948 when a Sarakatsanos wintering his sheep near the Gulf of Arta discovered that his daughter was conducting an affair with a villager, who had seduced her with false promises of marriage. At the time, there was no other Sarakatsan family in the immediate neighbourhood, so that there seemed to be some possibility of hushing up the matter; but the girl discovered that she was pregnant and the man refused to marry her.[5] The father took the girl to a secluded place, shot her with a pistol, and disposed of her body by rowing out into the gulf and sinking it with weights attached. Later, he killed the villager and dealt with his body in the same way. This case is often cited as the right solution to problems of this kind.

In cases where a girl is raped or a wife is similarly violated, or where at least the community accepts this presentation of the matter, the action is one of straightforward vengeance. The natural avenger is the brother for a sister and a husband for a wife. Such an attempt will certainly be made where an avenger is available, and it will be recalled that in the case of unmarried girls one of the brothers does not marry until all the sisters are

[4] It seems to be the opinion that the father who begot the girl is a more appropriate executioner than the brother.

[581] [5] Marriage is not an honourable solution to a premarital affair unless, as is most unlikely, the liaison is known only to the two families, and not to the community.

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly pro- 596
vides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an 577
act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a 627
wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through 684
default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the 596
contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here 577
the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault 627
upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other 584
respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that 686
the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I 596
have described there is one important difference. In the first 577
category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at 627
least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to ques- [626]
tions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows
the greater manliness.

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596 the greater manliness. In the second category, however, where
577 an affair concerns the sexual honour of a woman, the community
627 strongly upholds the 'right', in an ethical sense, of a family to
684 kill a man who has assaulted one of its women. For this act is
626 evil and dishonourable. An avenger in an affair of the second category does not generally go into exile, since his life is to a degree protected by public opinion. Where a balance is struck between the two groups in affairs of family honour, it is inherently less stable in cases of the first category than in those of the second. And this appears in the fact that two families, between whom there is a killing and an exile, are extremely careful to avoid meeting in circumstances where their presence may represent an affront to one another. Mutual avoidance is a means of preventing the disturbance of a precarious equilibrium. It appears, then, that the processes of vengeance provide through exile a sanction against killing, and through vengeance killing a sanction against breaches of the code of sexual behaviour.

596 When a man is killed or a woman is assaulted something, a
577 life or honour, is taken away, not merely from the violated
627 individual, but more importantly from his family. One group has committed a wanton and hostile act upon the other, and between the two groups a debt of honour now exists. Something has been taken, something equivalent must be taken back. Until some kind of a balance is re-established, the victim's family is in the eyes of the community inferior to the group of the violator, even where the act of outrage, as in the case of sexual assault, is in itself evil.

It is a peculiarity of 'affairs of honour' that they consist of at least two events between which some interval of time elapses. The first is the violation of family honour which is generally an outrage on one particular member; the second is the act of vengeance which is similarly performed, in most cases, by one member only. In both instances the individual as victim or avenger represents his family. If the honour of the individual and the honour of the family are analytically separable, in
[559] action they are one. And if the execution of vengeance brings a measure of personal glory to the individual, at the same time it is also an act which is essentially altruistic.

[558] The longer the interval of time between the two events the

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβάτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 662

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a makeweight that balances various shortcomings in the bride whether these refer to the prestige ranking of her family, or to some personal inadequacy, or both. The virtuous daughter of Leonidas Gogolos was the victim of a road accident when she was a small girl. She walks with a limp, and her leg, below the knee, is pitifully thin and ugly with scar tissue. But it is generally believed that she will not remain unmarried if her father is willing to give her to a man of undistinguished family together with a dowry of 50 sheep. 581 583 554 178

In some instances brides are taken without dowry-wealth. Necessarily, marriages between poor families are generally contracted without dowry-wealth. And it sometimes happens that a family of wealth, when it takes a girl from a less affluent group, may, with a gesture of pride, waive the question of dowry-wealth. Pride, however, may also work in the opposite direction. A family of the 'first lineage' was asked for dowry-wealth of fifty sheep by a suitor of good repute. To show his wealth, to make plain the superiority of his family, and to place the groom under obligation to him, the father of the girl gave a hundred. 581 583 554

It is always said in general discussions of the matter that a girl who loses her honour, if she is not killed by her father, will never marry. The few cases of such women in the community do not support this statement. The wife of George Raftis was the daughter of a family of high repute. It is alleged that when she was a young woman she was seduced by a member of a wealthy and powerful Tsoumanis family which pastured its sheep on the land of the same summer village. The family did not dare to attack this powerful group, nor did they have the necessary resolve to execute the girl. Although the girl's family was of respectable lineage and some wealth, the loss of her honour and the inactivity of its men utterly destroyed its reputation. But finally, at the age of 39, the woman was sought in marriage by Raftis, a poor man of no standing, a wage shepherd with a handful of sheep whose wife had died leaving him with two young daughters. 581 583 684 558 [183]

Marriage to a widower is always a possibility for women whose eligibility for marriage is in some way anomalous. There is little prestige in marrying a widower, and the fathers of respectable families do not normally entertain the idea of 581 587 554

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [593] [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It [182] merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
855 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
593 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
818 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.
868
594

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
577 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
837 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
684 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
629 punished.
602

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
[171] it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
577
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
684 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[694] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[693] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit hemself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/237 cont./

577 12

2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f.

said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [684] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [788] [609]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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a road which is often congested with the flocks of other stanis. 233
In the dark and on ground he does not know the shepherd must 221
try to graze his sheep where he can, prevent them from mixing 461
with the animals of other flocks, and guard them from village [685]
or Sarakatsan thieves for whom the conditions are an opportunity and a temptation. At dawn they try to find some grass, 233
and here the mule-train (καραβάνι) with the older men, women, 234
and children, overtakes them to prepare a temporary milking- 221
pen. After the animals have been milked the women at once 461
begin to turn the milk into cheese, and later to bake bread. [492]
Meanwhile the shepherds graze the sheep until about 11 a.m. when the animals lie down to rest in the heat of the day. They are milked again in the evening before setting out on the next leg of their journey. But the women remain to make the cheese for the second time in the day, and to take a few hours of sleep before they move swiftly through the night to overtake the sheep once again. After a journey of perhaps ten days they finally reach their homeland, the high mountains of Zagori.

In the mountains shepherding practice changes. The sheep 233
graze at night in the cool air when their appetite is stronger. 234
At dawn the animals are watered and about 9 o'clock they are 461
milked. They then 'sleep in the shade' (σταλίζουν) until the late afternoon when they are milked again before setting out to graze in the fresh evening air. About once in every eight days 233
salt is spread on flat stones. They eat this greedily and are 461
watered immediately afterwards, a treatment which increases their will to graze in the summer heat, and is believed to strengthen them for successful mating.

The quality of physical courage, on which the Sarakatsani [577]
put so much emphasis in their list of the ideal attributes of the shepherd, is perhaps more necessary in summer than winter. Moving along, or over, the broken limestone ridges in the darkness from one plateau of grass to another requires a very sure foot and steady nerves. Sheep sometimes get into difficulties and have to be rescued. If an animal falls into a crevasse and breaks a leg it must be extricated, the limb bound and splinted, and the animal carried down the mountain to the village.

Immediately before or after the migration to summer pas- 233
tures, the animals are shorn. Already at the end of March some 236
wool has been taken from their legs and haunches but the full 461

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
● [685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δυκός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
574 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his [685] sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action [684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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571 animals. But this never leads to a comradely offer of assistance
609 which might finish the task in a single mule train. A man with
578 a single animal may have to struggle three or four times in
[476] the day up and down to the village while the man with three
[234] or four mules sits and watches as his animals graze in idleness.

All social relations between unrelated persons are pervaded by this attitude of distrust. We may recall how sometimes in marriage negotiations the girl's family try to conceal her shortcomings and attempt by implication to suggest that a more attractive younger sister is the prospective bride. A man and his family distrust unrelated people because they expect to be exploited and tricked by them. They admit that they themselves would act in a similar manner. They say that a man must protect his family, and to do this in the world as he finds it some cunning and some lies are necessary.

571 Before 1937, the mutual hostility of unrelated families found
609 an institutionalized form of expression in the custom of 'animal
578 theft' (ζωοκλοπή), more especially of sheep. Although the
● 685 severity of the penalties introduced by the government of Metaxas effectively stifled this activity almost overnight, most of the heads of families are old enough to remember the alarms
[554] and excitements of sheep theft. The desire to steal is still privately expressed (and occasionally indulged in) and the qualities of courage and intelligence which were necessary in these adventures are still the ideal attributes of the hero and 'pallikari'. As we shall see, theft of another sort has now replaced it. But one cannot doubt that but for the pressure of the State law sheep theft would still be a vigorous institution.

The more general form of sheep theft was the small-scale expedition undertaken by a lone individual or in company with one or two trusted kinsmen. The object was to steal one or two sheep from the flock of an unrelated man, transport the animals with speed to the huts of the families involved where the sheep were at once killed, roasted, and eaten, as a precaution against
[602] the discovery of incriminating evidence. Sheep were never stolen from kinsmen or affines and generally not from other flocks in the immediate vicinity. This precaution was taken not from any neighbourly spirit, but because it was realized that, if two neighbouring groups engaged in a sequence of theft and counter-theft, shepherding would soon become impossible, and the

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strength of both flocks would rapidly be reduced to vanishing 571
point. The evidence suggests that small-scale theft was not 609
generally found among those families using the grazing lands 578
of the same village, but was concentrated on the flocks within 685
the territory of immediately neighbouring villages, that is to say in an area some 5–10 miles distant from the homesteads of the thieves. But at this distance an expedition became a planned undertaking requiring the absence of shepherds for perhaps two days and nights from their own sheep, a circumstance which significantly limited the frequency of these raids. It is extremely difficult to assess what was the frequency, but it seems unlikely that the average family enjoyed this sport more often than four or five times in a summer.

The Sarakatsani justify animal theft on the grounds that before 1937 a man could not provide his family with enough food without stolen meat. It was, therefore, an honourable undertaking. Moreover, since other men stole your animals, both interest and honour demanded retaliation. The older men are lyrical about the satisfaction of eating a stolen sheep by moonlight. A man only kills his own animals for meat at important social and religious celebrations, and then with reluctance. The stolen sheep was a luxury, a luxury at the enemy's expense.

After these expeditions, a shepherd was torn between the pre- [554]
caution of secrecy and the desire to win renown for the daring
and cleverness of his exploits. He would openly boast about the [521]
number of sheep he had recently lifted, but would not generally reveal their original owner. The latter, however, on his own account or through the reports of kinsmen, formed certain shrewd suspicions. In any event, whether he suspected the identity of the thief or not, he had to take some retaliatory action on somebody since otherwise he would not only become a laughing-stock, but a prey to other thieves sensing an easy victim. The best defence against theft was swift retaliation with interest. Even where a man was sure of the thief's identity, his retaliation against the flock of the stani of which the thief was a member might not fall on a sheep or sheep which belonged to the original thief. Therefore, in either instance, an original act of sheep theft might lead to a series of thefts not necessarily confined to the original participants.

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571 There existed also a more ambitious form of sheep theft,
609 which was less often attempted, partly because of the consider-
578 able danger and partly because it made even greater demands
● 685 on the time and energy of the thieves than the variety already described. Three or four kinsmen, travelling swiftly from their homes, arrived at the victims' grazing land about dusk. As soon as it grew dark, they cut out fifty or so sheep and, using a carefully prospected route, drove the animals through the hours of darkness to a secluded river bed or forest clearing, which was distant both from the thieves' own home and the home of the
[439] victim. From this place of relative security, the animals were delivered in batches to some Jannina livestock merchant for slaughter; the latter would ask no questions, but also paid a
[422] price less than the market rate. Sometimes the ear-signs on the animals were carefully altered and the animals were added, some to the flocks of the thieves, and others to those of kinsmen who lived at a distance from the victim. Care was taken to arrange a wide distribution of the animals so that the chances of recognition were less than if the animals remained together in a single body. For reasons analogous to those already given for the avoidance of small-scale sheep theft on the flocks of immediate neighbours, these more ambitious operations were carried out at even greater distance from the homes of the raiders, generally at the farthest limit of the community some 15–20 miles distant, or on the flocks of Koutsovlachs beyond the community boundary. Fear of massive retaliation also prevented men from boasting about this kind of exploit, at least until some
[556] years after the event. Secrecy was essential. Nevertheless, the prestige motive was not altogether lacking from these thefts, since wealth, either in money or in sheep, was an important element in the prestige standing of a family.

Before 1937 it seems possible to distinguish, in very broad outline, three areas and modes of hostility. Towards unrelated families, within a radius of some five miles from a family's own sheep, hostility was expressed in attitude rather than act. There existed constant distrust and suspicion, but an avoidance of provocation. In the second area, stretching beyond the first to a distance of ten miles and often somewhat farther, hostility found expression in the small-scale theft of sheep; the frequency of these acts, however, was limited by considerations of time and

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield. At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [122]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [425]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [625]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [188]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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571 609 233 578 685 the group from without which drives it to reciprocal action. There is no missing the intense satisfaction expressed by shepherds after a successful night's grazing on another's grass. Such acts define the exclusiveness and prepotency of a family group against other family groups and the world in general.

Under present-day conditions the distinction between different ways of showing enmity towards immediate neighbours and more distantly situated families is not so immediately clear, but nevertheless exists. In its relations with another family group using the grazing land of the same village, a family maintains a measure of restraint it would not be concerned to show in chance encounters with families which live at a distance. We have shown how a grass thief is careful never to stray too far across the boundary of his neighbour. He does not boast about these exploits, and if accused would deny that he was aware he had crossed the line. Similarly, the victim, unless he accidentally comes upon the thief red-handed, is unlikely to make wild or insulting accusations which transform an affair of limited hostility into a 'question of honour'. A man whose grass is being raided merely retaliates upon the thief, if he is not already doing so.

But a family has hostile relations of grass-stealing with only its immediate grazing neighbours. And since the summer pastures are reallotted each year a man is unlikely to have the same neighbours two years in succession. Therefore, over the years these hostilities are diffused, as it were, throughout the 571 local gathering of families. In general, shepherds who must live 609 in or close to the same village express hostility in their attitudes 578 rather than in their actions. An almost aggressive secrecy, the cloistered care of unmarried girls, the pleasure taken in the misfortunes of others and the fear of the evil eye, the slanderous vilification of all unrelated people and their motives, are indica- [578] tive of these attitudes. On the other hand, people are punctilious [521] in their formal greetings when they meet. Women exchange careful and guarded conversation at the well, probing for information and avoiding the need to give it; but with civility. And their men drink in the coffee-shop and play cards with self-assertion but apparent *bonhomie*—yet always on guard for a possible slight, and always with a mental picture of who is for them, and who against, in the immediate vicinity.

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During the spring and autumn migrations between the mountains and the plains, many thousands of sheep move along the main road from Jannina to the coastal area around and south of Igoumenitsa. On these occasions, men and their sheep who normally live at a distance find themselves head to tail on the same stretch of road, jostling one another for the meagre stretches of roadside grass, blocking one another's passage on the road, or travelling in the pall of dust raised by the flock in front. In these circumstances, families give a very free rein to their hostility, fights are frequent and sheep theft at night is one of the excitements of the road to which young men look forward. But if on these occasions a man finds himself immediately behind a flock with which he may share a boundary during the coming six months, he moves off the road and waits for half an hour until distance or another flock places a barrier between future neighbours. However, it would be wrong to interpret the relative restraint shown in relations with neighbouring families as reflecting any measure of co-operation. But shepherds and their sheep are peculiarly vulnerable to attack, and it is a structural imperative of such a community that hostility between groups living in close proximity be controlled, if only through their fear of mutual destruction. 571 609 221 233 578

Hostility is a kind of relationship, and providing it is limited in such a way that it cannot succeed in its ultimate aim, that is the annihilation of the adversary, it may represent an important element in the pattern of social relations of a community. This is the case among the Sarakatsani where the opportunities for the expression of open hostility are limited by the constant demands of the flocks on the shepherds' attention, and the circumstance that the shepherds and their animals are physically dispersed. Obviously the ability of one man to get at another is always an important factor in a relationship of hostility. But these behaviours are also controlled, partially at any rate, in the competitive forms through which they are acted out. And it is perhaps not unprofitable to consider theft in the general context of competitive gift exchange. The victim, both from honour and self-interest, is obliged to commit a counter-theft. Like the return gift in other societies, the return theft amongst the Sarakatsani should ideally be greater than the original theft. Like a series of prestations and counter-prestations, in theory a 571 578 571 578 685

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571 series of thefts never ends, for after each reciprocal act an amount
578 of debt remains.

685 The sheep are part of the family corporation, they are its
571 source of life and wealth, and a family's prestige and pride are
609 closely bound up with the size and condition of its flock. Each
233 sheep and its eccentricities are individually known. The theft
578 of a sheep from a family removes something more than a material
685 object, it takes away also a spiritual value. Thus before 1937
[554] the theft and counter-theft of sheep provided 'a pattern of spiritual bonds between things which are to some extent part of persons.'[4] The modern practice of stealing grass, although its effects are less direct, may be viewed in a similar way. Whereas gift exchange in other societies achieves a measure of co-operation between differentiated groups, amongst the Sarakatsani the reciprocal exchange of theft relates one family group to another in a nexus of debt, while at the same time it denies the need, or the possibility, of co-operation and stresses the mutual exclusiveness and opposition of unrelated families.

* * *

596 The analysis of family roles in the previous chapter revealed that the solidarity of the family was vulnerable in certain important respects. These were the loss of sexual honour by a woman of the family, and competition between father and son or between brothers. In the first part of this chapter I have discussed certain values and institutions which support the intense solidarity of the Sarakatsan family and are in various ways sanctions against the potentially deviant attitudes described in the analysis of family roles; for instance, there were ideas about blood, divorce, illegitimacy, secrecy; and institutions of cor-
596 porate property and family honour. In the final section of this
609 chapter certain beliefs about the inevitable opposition and
578 hostility of unrelated families have been examined as well as some institutions through which they are expressed. And this reciprocal exchange of hostility represents a further sanction that encourages the identification of the interests and affections of family members in opposition to all who do not belong.

[113] [4] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift*, translated by Ian Cunnison, London, 1954, p. 11.

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is something impermanent, almost fortuitous, about the local neighbourhood whether in summer or winter.[1] At the same time the significance and solidarity of the total Sarakatsan community is emphasized. The expression, 'we, the Sarakatsani of Zagori' is common; but 'we, the Sarakatsani of Tsepelevo' (or any other village), is heard less frequently.

Yet it is in the local neighbourhood that hostility between Sarakatsani and Zagori villagers is actively expressed. Property rights are jealously guarded, and in the absence of fencing it is inevitable that Sarakatsan sheep and mules are discovered in the crops or gardens of villagers. They trespass regularly and deliberately on certain areas of grassland reserved for the cutting of hay on which the villagers rely to feed their livestock during the winter months. The shepherds also attempt to defraud the village treasury by concealing some of their sheep when the flock is numbered each spring. For their part the Sarakatsani resent the fines they must pay in the agricultural court for the depredations committed by their animals. They believe, too, that they are cheated in the allotment of watering time by the villager who regulates the irrigation of village vegetable gardens. There are quarrels over the regulations for the grazing and watering of mules, which favour the villagers. There is trouble over the use of springs for washing clothes and over the refusal of the Sarakatsani to use earth-closets. Indeed, there is trouble between the two groups at every point of contact between them. Since their rights are entrenched by the decrees passed in the village council and because the executive administration of village affairs is necessarily in the hands of villagers who are in residence all the year, the villagers are almost always in a legally secure position in differences with Sarakatsani. It follows that the villager appeals to the law which happens to favour his interests, the Sarakatsanos more often turns to self-help and violence. Justice is not a question of the impartial administration of existing law, although this, too, may be lacking in the view of the Sarakatsani. If the law does not allow a man to protect the interests and dignity of his family, then it does not represent justice.

[1] In this connexion it is worth remarking that before the Sarakatsani became village citizens in 1938 a family, or stani, did not necessarily go to the same grazing village in Zagori each year.

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large sum of money, but to men who are already deeply in debt to merchants or shopkeepers, it has significance. For them, debt implies a form of dependence which is a measure of weakness.

The Sarakatsani say that if a village President and council enforce all local laws without allowing some flexibility, it becomes impossible for a shepherd family to live. If, on the other hand, the President is willing to grant them various favours (ρουσφέτια, εύκολίες), which take into consideration the effect of the law on personal circumstances, their position may be, at least, not entirely hopeless. In practice, all Presidents with Sarakatsani on their citizenship rolls relax certain regulations for the shepherd families which support them. The political skill of a President, even an implacable opponent of the shepherds, is that he grants just a sufficient number of favours to a few Sarakatsan families to detach them from the ranks of the opposition at the time of the elections.

It is the President who decides each spring which area of the village grazing land shall be allotted to each family or co-operating 'company' of shepherds. At Skamneli, for instance, there are three main areas, Goura, Tsoumako, and Gyphtokambos. Goura has the best grass, Gyphtokambos the worst. It is the customary arrangement that each family goes to a different area each year. Yet within each general area different sections are of different quality so that friends may still be rewarded and enemies punished in a way that touches them very closely through the milk yield and the condition of their animals.

The President is often able to influence the actions of the village agricultural guard and forester. Both these officials, although they belong to a Government service, are dependent in various ways on the goodwill of the President, and if he is displeased with their work it is relatively easy to have them exchanged. By regulation, if an agricultural guard discovers a trespass on village land, or the forester finds animals grazing in forbidden areas, they must issue a summons against the shepherd in charge of the offending animals. But if the President is able to have a word with the guard or forester before he writes the details of the case in his report book, and if no third person is present, he may be able to persuade him to ignore the matter.

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S G 648 572 571 the services he has rendered. In short, the patron wants more honour, the client more benefits.

The third widely practised method of placating or influencing the President is to present him with a gift of cheese, butter, or meat. Some families do this each spring as a matter of general policy without having in mind any particular favour. They hope that the gift may moderate his general attitude towards them in the coming months. More often, families wait until they face some specific difficulty. A gift of cheese or some other produce is delivered to the President's home and then, perhaps two days later, the gift-giver walks into the village office and makes his request. The President may be helpful or he may not. The assumptions of the giver and the recipient of the gift are not necessarily the same. The giver hopes that the gift will arouse some sense of obligation in the receiver. But the latter, if he chooses to feel that the gift was forced on him against his will, may decide that he is not obliged to feel grateful. If he intends not to grant the favour, the refusal is never direct. The many difficulties which stand in the way are elaborated at very great length. He explains that he will see what can be done, he will write to a friend in Jannina, he wants to help. In fact he will do nothing; and the original gift is not returned.

S G 648 431 S 662 G 622 661

A gift is frequently offered to the President by a Sarakatsanos when he meets with legal troubles. Stratos and a number of his kinsmen were using 20 mules to transport wooden planks from a saw-mill to the road below the village where the wood was loaded on to lorries. The area for the grazing of Sarakatsan mules and horses is an hour's climb above the village and this was very inconvenient for Stratos and the other muleteers. They chanced their luck and grazed their animals at night in the little-frequented village orchards close to their loading-point. On the thirty-ninth night of their operations they were discovered by the agricultural guard who from his examination of the length of the grass and some damage to young apple trees was confident of a very successful case. Stratos was not able to claim that the President was his friend, but since he was a law-abiding careful man his relations with the President had been generally good. He begged for his assistance, explaining the extreme difficulty the group would have suffered if each night

S [492] S [685]

/92 cont./

232 which permits him to reach the brain and the cyst. With a hook
[413] (small elongated implement ending in a kind of hook) he removes
[237] the cyst, replaces the bone, covers the spot of entry with beeswax and applies a dressing. After several days the wound heels and the animal recovers.

The safety of the livestock

233 The serious enemies of the flocks are wild beasts (chiefly wolves),
[685] on the one hand, and livestock thieves on the other. (A short time
[577] ago, the latter were very numerous, this type of theft being considered a virtue among herders. Against them Sarakatsani keep large dogs,
[231] very savage and very dangerous. These dogs do not hesitate to grapple with wolves, and it is for this reason that their masters put around their necks a collar studded with iron points.

Moreover, the shepherds always see to it that the flock /93/ does not disperse, for the strayed animals become the specific prey of wolves and thieves. This task is easier when there is a ram or a buck in the flock, since these animals act as the center of attraction for the livestock (ewes and she-goats). Moreover, the sound of their
[534] bells (they are huge, some weighing several kilograms) always gives the signal for reassembly of the flock by a conditioned reflex mechanism. This mechanism is so effective that even in the darkest nights the shepherds succeed in regrouping their animals by ringing these bells. /Fig. 74 appears here/

221 Seasonal migrations

233 The seasonal migrations involve the following arrangements:

484 At a designated hour, always before dawn, the women set to work;
361 entrusted with the preparations, they gather up the equipment and load
[462] it on the backs of the beasts of burden. The men, for their part, "take care of the livestock." When everything is ready, human beings, beasts of burden and flock form a column in the order laid down by tradition. The flocks surrounded by shepherds and dogs set out first.

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
626 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.
[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:
783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./

685 577 783 [784] responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

685 577 825 [674] [774]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice and reparation in these specific instances.

685 577

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

[625]

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

[559] [783]

/222 cont./

685 Trespassing on their pastures.

The Sarakatsani use force, often armed, to repulse all those who try to trespass on the pastures they have leased.

It is concern for the defense of their interests, indeed their means of subsistence, that prompts them to react in this way; futhermore, they have no other means. Since the danger is to the group, they must face it as a group, the young men constituting the striking force.

683 626 Calumny and defamation.

Those who commit this misdemeanor incur public contempt. Moreover, a man who lets himself be influenced by women's gossip likewise becomes an object of derision.

This contempt is not only constraint of a moral order, but a veritable punishment because it has the same effect as the social disapproval of recalcitrants. We have described the efficacy nature of that sanction in connection with arbitration.

* * * *

671 There remains for us to systematize all the foregoing findings before closing this chapter.

/223/ SYSTEMATIC AND CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON SARAKATSANI LAW

The sources of Sarakatsani law are custom, equity and common sense. However: first, though some customs are exclusively legal and therefore identifiable as such, there are others that are polyvalent, whose legal aspects intermingles with other aspects; second, common sense and equity are results whose components derive at one and the same time from legal, moral, religious, mythical or rational judgments--in short, from the entire Sarakatsani cultural system which, at that moment, assumes a legal qualifications and functions. (34)

[113] 34. Similar reflections are to be found in several works, for example Sir. P. Vinogradoff: Custom and Right /cited in English/, p. 21.--René Hubert: Science du Droit, p. 51.--M. Radin: La censure des coutumes , p. 90-91.--J. Poirier:

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established in marriage, an arrangement which expressly provides them with this avenger. Consequently, in cases where an act of vengeance concerns the sexual honour of a sister or a wife, there is little chance of it not being executed through default of a ready avenger.

A question of honour is also involved when a man breaks the contract of betrothal. The girl's brother ought to kill him. Here the attack on the girl and her family is not a physical assault upon her virginity, but the suggestion that in this or some other respect she is not worthy of marriage. And the knowledge that the breaking of the contract involves an obligation of vengeance only establishes more strongly in the minds of other members of the community the suspicion that there must exist some serious fault in the girl. I know of only two instances of broken betrothals over a period of ten years and significantly both these cases were arrangements between Sarakatsan girls and village men. Marriages between Sarakatsani are only arranged after exhaustive inquiry and considerable debate; mistakes are thus unlikely. In the first of these two cases, the former bridegroom fled to Athens after he had lost the top of a finger in an unsuccessful attempt on his life; in the second case, the father of the unhappy girl had no adult son, and was glad enough to have the additional excuse that the man lived some considerable distance away. He was loud in his threats, but in the event he did nothing; and people were quick to point out that this was exactly the kind of conduct one might have expected from this particular individual.

Between the two categories of 'affairs of honour' which I have described there is one important difference. In the first category, a killing demands a counter killing, and in theory, at least, this process may continue until all the adult male members of the two families have exterminated one another. The first killing which initiates the affair is not itself a random or indiscriminate act. It happens generally as the reply to an insult or as the consequence of a boundary dispute or some other quarrel. A man does not intend to kill in these situations, but accidents happen. The rough balance which in most cases, as we have seen, is struck between the two sides, satisfies neither group. The community remains relatively indifferent to questions of 'right' and gives its preference to the side which shows the greater manliness.

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can I do?' After the man had left the office the President explained that he would sign the form in a few days. He was a man who loved honour, he added, but it was necessary that the men who had voted against him in the recent election should learn that their interests lay in supporting him and not that communist cuckold (a reference to the leader of the opposition party).

S G 648 426 G 652 622

The Agricultural Bank has been mentioned. Each year, the shepherd applies to the bank for an annual loan, the application form for which must carry the President's signature as a guarantee that the information given by the shepherd is accurate. Long-term loans are also available from this bank to assist families which have lost their stock through disease. In these cases, the shepherd must produce evidence that the animals in fact died of a particular disease, and were not sold, or given away as dowry. In addition, the application must be approved by the local officer of the Ministry of Agriculture; and this support will be hard to win if the village President has characterized the shepherd as spendthrift or inefficient.

G [647]

S G 648 651 486 G 622

Twice a year when the Sarakatsani leave the mountains, or the plains, the local village President must sign a clearance certificate which confirms that all their grazing charges have been paid. This is required by the police before they will issue the pass without which a family cannot move its flocks to another district. These moneys are not paid directly to the village council but into a treasury in Jannina, whose official collector arrives in the village some three weeks before the flocks are normally moved to their winter pastures in the plains. If, as frequently happens, a Sarakatsanos is unable to pay his dues, the collector may send a demand notice to the police, and if this is not met when it is presented, the shepherd is arrested. But in many cases the President intervenes and persuades the treasury to allow the defaulter six months' grace until he returns in the spring.

S [486] G [661]

S G 648 G 622 661

A man requires the President's signature on his identity card. He requires it when he applies for an allotment of free timber from village forest land for the repair of his house, and on other documents which it would be tedious to enumerate. In all these situations the President may be the helper who makes all things easy, or a deliberate and successful obstructionist.

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[4] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[4] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

/208 cont./

691 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other,
692 according to circumstances and the case at hand.
627

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their
627 opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already con-
696 stituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

627 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may
696 make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

494 First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one
695 of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter
627 has not properly fulfilled his obligations. In return, the participant
692 expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the
[686] "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

/209 cont./

474 takes place between the commander of a ship and the members of his
675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
627 of the life of the Tséligato and navigation on the high seas (21)
692

21. K. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 39 and 47.

--a life full of diverse and unforeseeable dangers which must be faced as a group, without flinching and with the means at their disposal seem to have dictated this practice.

474 Second: The components of an extended family (small lineages, /210/
554 conjugal families, adult sons) may leave the home they share if they are
686 satisfied with the loyality of their head.
596

Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

In the first and second cases the sanction is almost inevitable since the danger of non-conformity by those responsible affects the entire community, whereas in the second and third cases it is more permissive, in view of the fact that the danger affects only sub-groups and individuals.

627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

/211 cont./

121 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or
696 a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to
692 the good will of those concerned.
627

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing.
696 We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence
692 is ~~a member~~ of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his
627 cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by
626 all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis)
(686) --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.
(494)

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and
/one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal, and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

627 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

673 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
674 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

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But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

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Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or 593
insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is [828]
pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or [688]
strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as [578]
distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the 596
transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It 593
will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be [582]
recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be [851]
expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

S /198 cont./
671 But at that time the liberation of Greece was only partial, the
175 Greco-Turkish frontier being in Thessaly. The introduction of this law
177 of the Hellenic State throughout the entire country was therefore
G gradual and followed the rhythm of the liberation of the different
671 regions of the north (Thessaly in 1881, Macedonia and Epirus in 1912,
175 Thrace in 1920), as was its penetration into Sarakatsani life, since the geographic center of the migrations of these nomads was in the northern provinces.

S Finally, in 1946, the Civil Code of modern Greece was put into effect.
671 This code no longer recognized the customary law which thereafter was not
177 valid in the eyes of the courts and the administration of the country.
G But to make up for it, this same code recognized the principle of Roman
671 law pacta sunt servanda. It is therefore obvious that if certain rules of customary law are explicitly included in all kinds of agreements they may be recognized by the courts as valid insofar, of course, as the clauses based on these rules do not run counter to the law strictly speaking.

Here we have a concrete picture, very complex to be sure, of what we designated at the beginning of this section as "Hellenic law issuing from the society surrounding the Sarakatsani."

S
[128] We should therefore now go on to the study of the influence which this law exerted, over time, on the social life and the law of our herders.

* * * *

S During the first period, that is to say during the Turkish occupation,
671 the Sarakatsani, sheltered and isolated in the mountains, remained
177 relatively safe, so to speak, from the legal complex of the period.
[175]

/199/ Turkish public law could but rarely affect it, chiefly because of the inefficiency of the Turkish administration which had nothing in common with the organization of modern states.

Moreover, resorting to the law of the conqueror in questions of a private nature is almost unthinkable for the Sarakatsani. His unsubju-
S
[688] gated and resistance-like behavior rules out such an eventuality. Besides,

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.
177
[688]

Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a very relative influence on our herders.

671 Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
679 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
692 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
177 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

791 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [798] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [554] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

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183 Sometimes, however, the identity of a scandalmonger becomes
156 known. John went to another village to catch a glimpse of the
577 daughter of George Carvounis whom he was considering as a
584 possible bride for his younger brother Demetrios. In the coffee-shop he casually mentioned the girl's name to Michael Goulas who, perhaps guessing the direction of the visitor's interest, told him that the girl was round-shouldered and absent-minded. At first John accepted this statement and without further delay returned to his home: but later he was persuaded by the marriage negotiator that he had been deceived, and after a further visit the marriage contract was eventually arranged. Goulas is relatively prosperous but already had a reputation for meanness and taciturnity. Even before this incident he was an infrequent visitor to the coffee-shop where he was careful to avoid any large gathering in whose company he might have to spend money. Meanness, envy, and unsociability form a pattern of qualities related in Sarakatsan thinking to evil and dishonour. The unsociable man is so because he has something to hide, he hides what he lacks, and what he lacks makes him envious of others. Meanness follows naturally upon envy. Had the poison of his scandal been effective, the crime of Goulas would probably never have become known. In the event, he was condemned and avoided by those who accepted John's version of the incident, and people did not hesitate to describe him as a man without honour (ἄτιμος).

It follows that an honourable man, when he covertly glimpses a prospective bride, is careful never to disclose, except to trusted kinsmen, the true purpose of his visit. For if he decides not to ask for the girl's hand, and this fact becomes public knowledge, people will wonder what flaw he sees in the girl's character and qualities. More generally, it is evil to spread any false scandal which may provoke insult, and response to insult, between other men, and may lead to killings and orphans.

592 The hut or house is inviolable. No stranger may invade it
579 without an invitation. Similarly, whatever takes place within
689 the sanctuary of its walls is private and sacred to the members of the family. This understanding makes possible the warmth, affection, and easy intercourse of family life secluded from the public gaze. It is a sin, and a source of the greatest shame, if a man is caught with his ear to the wall of his neighbour's house

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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemies. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes 626
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
566 easier and more profitable.
591

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
596 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
474 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
434 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
233 However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/156 cont./

596 474 689 434 [431] joint labor and inheritance. And if, in order to redeem the sin of the guilty one, her relatives were obliged to hand out gifts, that was in order to compensate those who had been injured by her behavior.

However, this explanation seems insufficient, the severity of the sanction exceeding the importance of the economic abuse. The solution of the problem is found in the fact that the setting-aside in common of a share of the common products represents a guarantee for all. The life of all, from the material point of view, must be assured, independently of the importance of the share of each one in the patrimony. The Sarakatsani insist absolutely that each one always have the means of subsistence. The old woman, by misusing food, violated this rule. She therefore ran counter not only to economic values, but also and chiefly to social values, touching the very basis of Sarakatsani life, founded largely on a community spirit which we shall soon describe.

596 474 689 431 182 It is this infraction which justifies the harshness of the punishment. Likewise, the meaning of the distribution of gifts is not limited to a restoration of losses. It involved another aspect, that of restoring the spirit of community, violated by the old woman, and takes into consideration that fact (of which the study of hospitality and of sacrifice /157/ will convince us) (32) that the gift, the donation rather, establishes solidarity.

32. See below, chapter on Religion.

596 474 434 Now the setting-aside of products represents a second form of the disposition of income for the benefit of all. The lesson that one may draw from it is the same as that which was implied in the preceding case. In summing up both we see that what we have called "group control of income" does not lead to a collectivization of the latter, strictly speaking, but to a utilization and in part to an alienation (in the legal sense) determined by economic, and above all social, objectives for the benefit of the group.

596 474 Having said that, we may conclude from the four principles

/215 cont./

181 groups of which we are speaking. If the latter are capable of solving
671 actual overt cases, they are equally capable of preventing potential con-
182 flicts. We believe that here is a phenomenon of major importance and
/one that is/ very characteristic of Sarakatsani society and culture.

As a matter of fact, the persons involved, faced with a concrete case, know in advance the behavior they must follow, and this for two reasons. The rules of custom are known to them. Whereas in our societies law is obliged to resort to the assumption that "no one is supposed to be ignorant of the law," in traditional societies the law is part of everyday experience. (32)

32. M. Mauss: Manuel, "the intimacy of law," p. 110.

In the second place, even in case a rule does not exist--and it might then be necessary to apply a spontaneous law for the purpose--the interested parties are in a position to foresee the decision of society. Moreover, these same individuals are perfectly conscious of the fact that if they should act contrary to these expectations, they would be facing the responses of their society which would ultimately prevail. They therefore adjust their behavior accordingly. Of course, all this goes on silently. The distress and drama that this state of affairs provokes never ruffles the surface of phenomena. The observer believes there is an automatic conformism which in fact is constantly developing and which basically maintains the life style of our herders.

* * * *

627 However, the question of whether individuals actually adjudicate by
686 also applying at a sanction /216/ still remains open. By referring to
689 the concrete cases of their activity that we have judged to be legal,
and examining them in the light of our preceding developments, we can reply in the affirmative. The dismissal of participants by the Tséligas, at any time, the rift in the family when the head is deemed disloyal, the lack of cooperation with a dishonest Tséligas, constitute true punishments,

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

627 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

673 CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

674 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
[128] to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

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474 of a shepherd showing favouritism to his own animals by guiding
233 them to patches of better pasture. At lambing time each family tries to keep a careful watch in case ewe lambs born to its own sheep are surreptitiously exchanged for unwanted males. A careful awareness of one another and a vigilant concern for family rights govern the attitudes of the partners.

474 The principle of joint action also covers the various items of
233 income and expenditure which concern the interests of the whole
451 stani. At the cheese-maker's hut the milk is measured and credited to the stani as whole; this is partly a matter of convenience but it also means that all the shepherds have a common interest that the milk yield of the whole stani is as high as possible. Similarly, cotton-cake which supplements the diet of
[691] the ewes is bought by the 'company' not the family. The stani is regularly involved in minor law-suits over grazing boundaries, damage to crops, and sometimes there are more serious
[685] legal disputes. The fines which have to be paid and the fees for the attendance or advice of lawyers where this is necessary, are met by the stani as a whole; as are the expenses of the tselingas when he makes a journey to the town where the merchants, lawyers, and officials have their offices. Twice a year before the spring and autumn migrations the tselingas sits down with the other heads of family to settle their accounts. After the total expenses of the stani have been agreed, each family pays its share in proportion to the size of its flocks.

474 The form of association in a 'company' is contractual. Each
675 family has a number of relatively clearly defined and specific obligations to the group. It will not go far beyond these obliga-
[426] tions out of feelings of sentiment. Debts, for instance, are seldom allowed to accumulate between families in the same 'company'. Yet in the absence of formal legal sanctions contractual relations depend on a measure of confidence, a sentiment that is possible in this community only between those related by kinship or marriage.

474 In the table (see appendix I) which indicates the winter dis-
602 positions of the Neochori shepherds, two facts emerge about the composition of the winter co-operating groups. In all but one instance the nucleus of the 'company' is a group of brothers or, in one case, two pairs of brothers related as first cousins. A man prefers to co-operate with brothers. The confidence they

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[8] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[8] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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a disputed right of protected lease for their grazing. And, sometimes, shepherds are plaintiffs in cases challenging the decisions of a village administration. The regulations of village life differ from the conventions of semi-nomads. And their adherence to the traditional code of honour necessarily conflicts with the laws of a modern State. They distrust legal procedures because their pleas are frequently unsuccessful and in many instances they regress into acts of violence which two generations ago would have been the general response to the interference of outside authority. Often a certain *naïveté* or simple ignorance about what is legal, and what is not, leads them into trouble. It is rare for a head of family not to be involved in some capacity in at least one suit each year. In 1955 George Carvounis, who was not exceptional in this respect, acted as a principal in two cases, one civil, one criminal. In the first he was sued for violent assault and defamation of character by a village woman, whom he had rough handled when she attempted to pull down a wall which she alleged had been set up by Carvounis on her land. In the second case he was charged with forgery, having found it innocently convenient to sign a document with the name of another member of his co-operating 'company'.

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But the critical point of contact between the Sarakatsanos and the bureaucrat is in the situation where his winter grazing is in danger. Then, the leader of a stani must attempt to influence the highest State officials in the Epirus if he is to face, with confidence, the threat of exclusion from his winter pastures.

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Gifts and money bribes are freely offered in making approaches to a minor State servant. Gifts of produce are generally made to the agricultural officer; for, even if he is not a native of the district, he becomes a member of the local village community where he occupies a respectable position in the system of village friendship; moreover, since he has some pretensions to education and culture it might be insulting to offer money. Gifts of produce are also preferred in dealing with a local police sergeant. Not all policemen are venal and it is a serious offence to offer bribes of money to a member of this force. Money bribes are often effective in preventing agricultural and forest guards from reporting the trespasses of animals, if the offence has not been observed by a third party. These guards belong,

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he did nothing. In due course, the girl was abducted and agreed to marry Christos out of terror at the threats made by the Kazoukas family against her own people if she did not consent.

Self-regard is a subjective and personal sentiment. At the same time the situations which provoke it are socially defined. All those elements of prestige, whether of the individual or the family, affect it and are sanctioned by it. A man's self-regard leads him to conserve his honour, to act honourably, to strive after wealth, to act proudly and arrogantly and so on. Self-regard inhibits any conduct on which an interpretation of weakness may be placed. For instance, the Sarakatsani seldom accept or give apologies. 'A pardon is not acceptable' (δὲν πιάνεται τὸ παρντόν), it is said. Similarly, bargaining between a shepherd and a livestock merchant is extremely difficult because the self-regard of the seller will not allow him to accept a price which he thinks other men will laugh at, even though he may admit to himself that in relation to the state of the market and the condition of his stock the merchant's offer is not unreasonable. For this reason a merchant employs a Sarakatsanos* who from his local knowledge advises him how far each man may be pressed in negotiation. It is also his task to assure the shepherd that he has made a good bargain. It is self-regard, again, that prevents a Sarakatsanos from reaching a settlement out of court when his animals have trespassed on other people's land. He prefers to go to law knowing in advance that he must pay double the costs of a private agreement. Any compromise would be an admission of weakness in a personal confrontation. Defeat in the courts, on the other hand, is merely defeat by the power of the impersonal State apparatus, which in any case, it is agreed, is corrupt and inimical to the interests of the community.

Self-regard is a kind of appetitive tension between what a man is and what he ought to be. In this context, however, what a man is depends on the evaluation by the community of what a man is alleged to be, or to have done. The need of a man, socially and psychologically, to identify the community's evaluation of himself with his own ideal image is so great that

* Known as a κολαούζος, a guide.

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 692 691 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[648] [177] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

20. This appeal would constitute a violation of the principle of isolation from the surrounding society, of which the Sarakatsani are very jealous.

691 692 671 [602] If the litigation concerns family questions and disagreements between members of the same family, the arbiters are recruited by the parties concerned from among the oldest relatives (uncles, for example).

[474] If the dispute is between strangers (members of the Tséligato and the head, for example), each of the parties proposes as arbiter one or two Tséligas.

The sentence, always binding and without appeal, from the viewpoint is formulated and pronounced according to what is good and fair to

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691 customary law on the one hand, and ex bono et aequo on the other,
692 according to circumstances and the case at hand.
629

/209/ However, the arbiters do not have any coercive powers.

Next come the family group, the Tséligato, finally surrounding society.

These groups do not form tribunals if one takes this term in its usual meaning in which the parties concerned present themselves, state their case and demand justice.

692 Nevertheless, these groups have real authority in disputes, their
629 opinion or their attitude with regard to the adversaries already con-
696 stituting a sentence. For their judgment, formulated either according to custom or spontaneously and according to the case at hand, is binding upon the person involved, inasmuch as they have means of constraint sufficient to enforce it.

It is precisely this fact which permits us to characterize these groups as agents of ajudication and to say that their opinion is a sentence.

Moreover, thay are actually empowered to execute the sentence of the arbiters.

629 Finally, in some disputes, the concerned individuals themselves may
696 make decisions and themselves apply the sanction.

The cases in which they intervene are not numerous. Custom designates the beneficiaries of this ajudication and the conditions under which they must exercise it. However, custom gives them a certain latitude in action. Thus:

494 First, the Tséligas may at any time annul his contract with one
695 of his participants and expel him forthwith if he believes the latter
629 has not properly fulfilled his obligations. In return, the participant
692 expelled may then resort to arbitration that will pronounce upon the
[686] "sufficient grounds" of this expulsion. This mechanism is much like what

3: Kabbadias EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

692

[For additional information on the role of "arbiters" in the settlement of disputes, see Category 627.]

/199 cont./

671 the Church is always there to excommunicate a traitor.

177 Thus we can say that Turkish law, public or private, exerted only a
[188] very relative influence on our herders.

Public law of privileged communities does not concern the Sarakatsani,
671 for they have never been part of these. When commercial or simple
627 economic transactions cause differences they can be solved by recourse
692 to arbiters.

As we shall see, the Sarakatsani very much prefer, above all others, this type of legal process which goes back to a very distant past. (5)

[113] 5. See J. Walter Jones: The Law and Legal Theory of the Greeks /cited in English/, pp. 130-133, citing also Harell: Public Arbitration in Athenian Law /cited in English/, pp. 1-42.

671 If, in spite of all, they are obliged to apply to local Hellenic
199 justice, customs remain valid before the latter. Sarakatsani customs, too, can thus be enforced.

Now it is certain that the Sarakatsani need comply only occasionally with local laws. If one remembers, in particular, that the disagreements brought about by transactions with the outside appear only rarely, that the sector "trade" covers only a very small part of Sarakatsani economic life, and finally that this sector touches only very superficially their social life in general, one will understand that even in cases where the law, either ecclesiastical or local, ultimately intervenes, this intervention cannot cause any important repercussions in the social sphere.

671 It follows therefore that Sarakatsani law as such has had every
[178] opportunity to develop and above all to develop autonomously during this period.

This in only a negative aspect result of the way external law functions. But there is more, and it is suitable to throw light on the positive results as well.

/208 cont./

474 675 671 initiative, which nonetheless develops in the context of Sarakatsani society and its cultural system.

The agents of ajudication, of sanction and coercion.

578 691 The elements of the problem: daily life and therefore all the questions relating to marriage, kinship and the functioning of the family, as well as the removal of the head, the checking of accounts of the family management and of the Tséligato, claims and quarrels between members and the Tséligas, the settling of various questions pertaining to guardianship, the division of an inheritance and so forth, create and represent numerous cases in which conflicts and litigations may arise.

578 Now all these questions must be solved one way or another.

627 692 691 Though the agents of ajudication are multiple they are not always obvious. The same is true for the agents of sanction and coercion who are very often identical with the former.

In our effort to determine them we note first of all that the only official, hence visible tribunal that the Sarakatsani are acquainted with is that of arbiters.

[448] [177] Of course, an appeal to the official law of the surrounding society is always possible, but the Sarakatsani do not have recourse to it. (20)

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675 crew, according to maritime law. The special and comparable conditions
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Third: Potential participants can avoid joining a Tséligato whose head does not enjoy a good reputation.

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627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692

If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

121 /210 cont./
696
692 in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there
627 will no longer be any doubt about their nature.

We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

[124] Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/211 cont./

121 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or
696 a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to
692 the good will of those concerned.
629

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing.
696 We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence
692 is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his
629 cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by
626 all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis)
(686) --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.
[494]

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./

696 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
629
626 Mauss. (27)

[191]
[114]

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous "principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory in one of the following sections. If we find his positions deficient it is because they are formulated according to his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
629 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
578 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[494] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned, there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/213 cont./

627 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological
692 influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality,
627 on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external
696 causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

(115)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

* * * *

626 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this
627 mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it
692

/214 cont./

626 differ from what we call "sanctions of ethnic opinion or simple dis-
627 paragement?" (31)
692

31. In the words of P. Fauconnet: La responsibilité, p. 12.

Why should we accept the fact that this same mechanism derives from law and not from the mechanism of enforcement common to all social regulations?

The reply to these two questions is the same. It is the absence of any possibility of escape, the need for all individuals to conform absolutely, the strictness of obligation which differentiates the facts described from all other kinds of sanctions. There is also the nature of the "authority" which underlies these rules and which is clearly distinguished from that of other regulations.

* * * *

627 Recourse to arbitration is infrequent. This does not mean that
692 disputes do not arise, but merely that in addition to arbitration there are other procedures leading to their settlement. These are adjudication by the family, the Tséligato and Sarakatsani society, of which we have spoken briefly when pointing out that these entities have a voice in the disputes.

Now their comments in cases of conflict may, in a way, take on the force of law and commit the persons concerned to follow a definite conduct which represents the solution of the conflict.

/215/ Their means of action are the same as those that give sanction to the decision of arbiters. However, although in the latter case the groups act in support of an arbitrated sentence, when they give their opinion they are acting on their own account.

181 That is not all. The observer of Sarakatsani life is often struck
671 by the conformism of our herders. They follow, or at any rate they seem
182 to follow, to the letter, all the regulations derived from their law--which brings us back to the statements of Rivers and Hartland cited above. This fact is very significant. For it shows another legal function of the

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
686 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

673 CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

674 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

/223 cont./

67 [113] L'originalité des droits coutumiers, p. 487.--
P. Roubier: Théorie générale du Droit, p. 163 f.,
etc.

For it should be emphasized that the law of the Saraktsani--this aspect of social life which Malinowski (35) has judiciously called "the

35. Ibid., p. 45.

aspect of legality" --must be regarded as a sphere only half of which is visible. To define it, therefore, requires a task of specific identification. This remark applies to all its manifestations.

The sources of this law are: the conjugal family and the extended family, the Tséligato, Sarakatsani society, arbiters and individuals.

Under the term "source" we include the groups and individuals whose activity show's creativity in matters of law (setting forth rules to be followed, adjudication, sanction, coercion).

[596] Seen from the angle of legislation, the most notable of these sources is the extended family. For from it emanate all the rules concerning family life, social organization, the system of ownership and the manner of economic exploitation.

[594] [596] The conjugal family is regulated in terms of the life of the extended family and according to its authority.

[474] [596] The Tséligato develops a zone of legislative activity which is peculiar to it and is limited to relations between the Tséligas and the /224/ participants; for all the rest it has recourse to regulations pertaining to the extended family.

Sarakatsani society, as a total unit, merely does not issue them.

[692] [596] The arbiters, as legislators, enjoy an autonomy which is only apparent, since the rules that they apply must be compatible with the general application of laws, wherein the extended family plays a primary role, as well as with the Sarakatsani cultural system which is, above all, the work of this type of family.

/224 cont./

671 596 594 474 692 These groups create general rules by establishing custom and by issuing spontaneous and ad hoc rules for cases not provided for, while the arbiters introduce (always as legislators) individualized, spontaneous and ad hoc rules.

Individuals do not participate in the legislative function.

671 676 The agents of Sarakatsani law are the same as its sources. However, they also include individuals, or rather specific individuals, according to their rank and status. Sources and individuals become agents the moment they apply established or spontaneous law by particularizing it in various concrete cases. However, aside from the arbiters and the individuals in question, other agents are not apparent because they are not specialized, their legal functions merging with their other functions.

The moment law is applied, the question of responsibility arises quite naturally, It falls equally on groups and individuals, depending on the case. The strong social integration of the Sarakatsani does not negate the responsibility of individuals. The latter see themselves called upon to assume it should the occasion arise.

681 As for sanction, this is generally part of the reaction which each society manifests with respect to certain behavior that does not conform to its principles. It therefore constitutes above all a social manifestation. Coercion presents the same character. It involves also another part of these same reactions.

Theoretically speaking, sanctions are divided into: first, those provided for, subdivided depending on whether they are organized and unorganized /sanctions/, applied by special agents or not; /225/ second, spontaneous /sanctions/ that is to say, relevant to a judgment "after the event" and set forth "from a feeling of what is good and fair." These can likewise be divided into organized or non-organized; 3rd, /sanctions/ directly imposed by physical force; 4th, /sanctions/ expressed in criticism or by attitudes conveyed in the behavior of the members of the corresponding society toward offenders.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Greece EH1

by poverty and a father disabled by pleurisy. In this case the lawyer was a friend of the chairman of the appeal committee.

In the many court cases in which Sarakatsani figure the lawyers play a more strictly professional role. But there may still be scope on occasion for informal action, especially in civil suits which are heard before the bench without a jury. In a case concerning a disputed right of protected lease which threatened a Sarakatsanos with the loss of his winter pasture, the man in desperation asked his lawyer to approach the judge with a gift of £25. The lawyer took the money and the case was won. Without exception, villagers and shepherds assumed that at least half this money found its way into the judge's pocket. Villagers and shepherds have a simple faith that anybody, if he is approached in the right way and with the right sum, may be bought. In fact, there is no evidence that judges may be bribed. It may happen rarely. It probably happens more often that a lawyer friend is able to mention in conversation to a judge some aspect of a case which comes before him. And it certainly happens frequently that Sarakatsani put money into the hands of their lawyers which they believe will be used to bribe a judge or a senior government official, but which remains, in fact, in the lawyer's pocket.

Yet there is no doubt about the genuine assistance the lawyer gives to the shepherd in his critical fight to retain his rights of winter grazing. For instance, in the example already mentioned in chapter four, a considerable 'company' of families that winter their sheep in Thesprotia were able to counter the refusal of the villagers to rent them grazing land by presenting their case, through the influence of two powerful lawyer patrons, directly to the Governor General of the Epirus. The lawyers pleaded that humanly and politically it was impossible to allow eighty men, women, and children, and two thousand sheep, to walk the roads. As individuals moving in the same social *élite*, they were able to present an argument immediately suggesting that the Governor General's reputation for honour, and his political interests, were in danger.

The Member of Parliament for a provincial district plays in Athens a role very similar to that of the lawyer in the provincial centre. More members of the Greek Parliament belong to the legal profession than to any other. It is partly by possessing

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[8] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[8] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

/208 cont./

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627 However, these remarks would not be complete if we did not mention the
692 interventions of the family head or of the Tséligas to settle disputes among
554 their subjects. These interventions sometimes take the form of arbitration,
596 sometimes of influence through the prestige of these individuals; in both
474 cases they are ultimately upheld by the community.

121 Nevertheless, in order to avoid the charge that these statements
696 are based on "petito principii" we must now prove them objectively.
692 If we succeed in demonstrating that the sentences reached by arbitration,
627 as well as the judgments and opinions of groups and individuals are obligatorily imposed on those concerned, and that the latter must conform to them without fail, we shall be demonstrating at the same time that the sentences, opinions and judgments have a legal character, that therefore they are true verdicts.

Moreover, if we prove that the arbiters, the groups and the individuals,

121 /210 cont./
696 in their ajudication, prescribe obedience to the rules of the law, there
692 will no longer be any doubt about their nature.
229

We shall approach this problem by examining arbitration.

(124) Attempt at more detailed and precise investigation: In questioning our informants we learned that "the interested parties do not even think of disobeying the arbiters." Is this because, as E. Sidney Hartland (22)

22. Primitive Law/cited in English/, p. 138.--See also the view of Sir Henry Sumner Maine: Ancient Law/cited in English/, pp. 50-52 that "the habit of obedience which makes law obligatory among primitives--and even among those not politically organized." We shall come back to these problems somewhat farther on.

and with him W. Rivers and P. Lowie maintain, /211/ the primitive automatically obeys all the rules society imposes on him? Or rather is it a kind of social constraint conceived in the Durkheimian manner that operates here? Or, finally, does the agreement of the interested parties to submit their dispute to arbiters include at the same time an implicit promise to obey the sentence that will be pronounced? (23)

23. Similar to the compromissum of Roman law.

All these explanations are without doubt insufficient. The automatic obedience "of the primitive" is merely a fiction, convenient but without foundation, the frivolity of which has been criticized by Br. Malinowski (24) (and more recently by E. A. Hoebel) (25)

24. Moeurs et Coutumes des Mélanésiens, p. 17.

25. The law of primitive man /cited in English/, p. 20-21.

so convincingly that P. Lowie was obliged to give it up in a new edition of his work. (26)

26. Traité de Sociologie Primitive, p. 389.

The idea of constraint is very general and consequently too abstract to provide an explanation of this phenomenon. Finally, the "promise to obey" the arbiters would not have any practical value without a force to

/211 cont./

121 696 692 627 make sure it is fulfilled; men are always men and automatic obedience or a promise would mean nothing if carrying it out were entrusted only to the good will of those concerned.

On this point our discussions with our informants are very revealing. 696 692 627 626 We were told that if the person recalcitrant to the arbiters' sentence is a member of a Tséligato, no other Tséligato would ever accept his cooperation. If he is a Tséligas, he would immediately be abandoned by all the participants and labelled "destroyer of sheepfolds" (Chalassostanis) [686] [474] --a name used to stigmatize a disloyal or incapable head.

The consequences of such a reaction are obvious. The one who is socially isolated, rejected by his own people, can expect only social degradation, economic ruin, exile into surrounding society. This last is his only refuge. But, since, the exiled one is not adapted to the latter he will see his condition worsen from day to day. Actually, this is enough to frighten the most courageous or the most refractory.

However, relying a little more on facts, we see that the recalcitrant one can hope for two things:

/212/ First, since he is a nomad, he can move far away from the place of arbitration and seek a setting where his behavior is not known, and be accepted there.

Second, assuming that someday his new Tséligato is informed of his conduct, there is a good chance that meanwhile he has been able to develop sufficiently close and honorable relationships with the "others" so that his unfortunate past will no longer be taken into consideration. Moreover, the absence of his adversaries permits him to give his own version of events in order to justify himself.

Now it is obvious that between the possibility of the application of envisioned punishment (which is relative) and an obedience to arbiters which is absolute (the person concerned "does not even think of disobeying") there is a discrepancy. It is difficult for us to assume that a "relative" conditioning can determine absolute effects. This shows that, in the

/212 cont./

676 process of obeying, other factors intervene, and that we must discover them
692 in analyzing this phenomenon in its totality, true to the heritage of M.
627
626 Mauss. (27)

[171] [114]

27. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le don, p. 275-276.--
It is noteworthy that Malinowski, ibid., pp. 39, 41,42, in
in his effort to explain the obediance of the Trobrianders
to their legal customs, gives an interpretation identical
to ours concerning obedience to arbiters, based on his famous
"principle of reciprocity." We have explained above that
this principle does not cover all of the life of law. And we
shall give a more detailed critique of Malinowski's theory
in one of the following sections. If we find his positions
deficient it is because they are formulated according to
his functionalist method which seems to us inadequate, in
keeping with C. Lévi-Strauss: Introduction, p. xxxvi, who
says: "Where Mauss saw a constant relationship between the
phenomena as their explanation, Malinowski asks himself
what they are for in order to seek a justification for them."

692 Every altercation between individuals is translated in actual fact into
627 an opposition between groups. The members of the family of each
596 interested party, bound to him by solidarity and alliance, will follow
598 him all the more readily when disputes submitted to arbiters are of an
economic order, hence handled by the head. If portions of families are
[474] set against each other in the core of the extended family or the Tséligato
these groups run the danger of splitting. The principle of cooperation
and solidarity is then challenged. And where, until then, peace reigned,
there is threat of disorder and insecurity. Besides, the principle of
the isolation of Sarakatsani from surrounding society is also endangered.
[648] For if the recalcitrant refuses to obey the arbiters, the only recource
to justice is the State, which means interference of non-Sarakatsani
000 (formerly the occupying forces) in Sarakatsani affairs. Finally, the

629 /213/ Finally, the
692 /213/ disobedience of arbiters means a disobedience of the custom
183 which prescribes it. Since each partial custom is organically linked
182 to all the others, the entire traditional cultural edifice begins to
696 crumble.

These few consequences of disobedience to arbiters represent for the Sarakatsani a number of serious dangers. In order to avoid them it seems to us that a whole complex of reactions, influences and pressures arising from all the social forces which are affronted are set in motion for this purpose.

629 Under strong motivation which, in the end, is ascribable to their
692 concern for the protection of all that is original, characteristic and
626 essential to Sarakatsani life, individuals, sub-groups and groups,
696 plunged into anxiety and distress, turn against the potential or actual recalcitrant, and by word, gesture and sign language, explicitly or implicitly leave him scarcely any choice. Before going on to the untimate remedy of isolation, they will bear down on him with all their might to avoid creating explosive and disastrous situations.

The recalcitrant one, in turn, is more or less aware of the pressure put upon him. His conscience has already been aroused; he is intuitive rather than reflective and extremely participative because of his firm integration in his traditional milieu. (28)

28. Margaret Mead: Cooperation and competition/cited in English/, p. 461.

(155) Moreover, his personality, molded by education which has inculcated in him respect for tradition and has developed in him the moral qualities and intellectual habits that his society demands, is definitely sensitive to influences and pressures from his associates. He therefore feels responsible for the disturbance his conduct has caused; he is well aware that everybody is waiting for him to follow the path marked out by tradition; he knows that all eyes are fixed on him; he is steeped in this suffocating atmosphere and gives way under its weight.

/213 cont./

627 Two points or view converge: microsociological and macrosociological
692 influences and pressures, on the one hand; a molding of the personality,
627 on the other. It is this double determinancy, "the internal and external
696 causality" in the apt phrase of R. Bastide, (29) that is at the base of

29. R. Bastide: La causalité externe and la causalité interne, vol. XXI, C.I.d.S., pp. 77-79.

the phenomena of obedience to arbiters, which would otherwise be inexplicable.

/214/ It matters little whether this drama is explicit or implicit, conscious or unconscious. The important fact is that it exists and is effective, as is shown by the infinitesimal number of cases of isolation. (30)

30. All these methodological as well as ontological statements are drawn from the present state of research in the social sciences, which has led G. Gurvitch to speak of "total psychological phenomena" (Traité, vol. II, pp. 333-338). Unfortunately this
(113) concept is still insufficiently developed; it is drawn from many different works among which we cite the following: M. Dufrenne: La personalité de base.--R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse.--C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie Structurale.--H. Wallon: Les origines du caractère chez l'enfant.--R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations.--R. Linton: The Science of man /cited in English/ and Les fondements culturels de la personnelité.--A. Kardiner: The individual and his society /cited in English/.--T. M. Newcomb: Social Psychology/cited in English/.--O. Klineberg: Psychologie sociale.--A. Kroeber: Anthropology today/cited in English/.--G. Gillin: For a science of social man/cited in English/, etc.

* * * *

626 But before we proceed further, certain questions arise: this
627 mechanism of imposing certain rules of behavior, in what way does it
692

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distance and perhaps a certain moderation sanctioned by the 571
fear of too many reprisals. In the third and farthest area of the 609
community, any individual family only rarely, and possibly 578
never, undertook hostile raiding operations on an ambitious 685
scale; here again the frequency of these acts was limited by considerations of time and distance, and more certainly by the fear of retaliation. According to the distance which separated unrelated families, there was a certain inverse relation between the frequency of hostile contact and the severity of its manner of expression.

The vigorous measures of Metaxas ended extensive sheep 571
theft. But today hostility still finds a parallel form of expression. 609
Since 1937 the sheep population of the Zagori has considerably 233
increased, with the result that the lands of most of the summer 578
villages are over-grazed; it is now the constant anxiety of each 685
group that its animals may not find enough grass to mate [311]
effectively and resist disease, let alone return a good milk yield.
At the beginning of each summer, the President of the village [122]
allots to each family or 'company' grazing land in proportion [423]
to the size of each flock. If the number of Sarakatsan sheep entitled to graze on the land of the village increases, there is less grass for each sheep. In a very obvious sense the size and condition of a family's flock are threatened by the sheep of other families, and the grass they eat. It is now too dangerous to steal the sheep, but it is possible to steal the grass. During [625]
the summer heat, sheep are grazed at night; the technique of grass stealing is to pasture sheep just over the boundary dividing a man's own land from that of his immediate neighbour, but never so deeply into his territory that he cannot retreat rapidly at the approach of the other shepherd or the agricultural guard. It is the duty of this official to summon all offenders before the [188]
local agricultural court, where fines, generally of the order of two or three pounds, are levied. It is very doubtful if the value of the grass taken in the course of the trespassing is equivalent to the fines which are paid, even if the fact is ignored that a neighbour is almost certainly making similar raids in the opposite direction. The Sarakatsani are well aware of these facts, but they feel that inactivity would be weakness and would be so interpreted by the neighbouring groups. It is the consciousness and certainty of the hostile intent of other families threatening

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permission to burn off grass, appeals against the various restrictions on grazing in forest areas, advice about animal disease, and free distribution of sprays to combat insect pests fall within this official's competence. But in these and other questions a shepherd is often referred to the provincial office at Jannina, or in winter at Igoumenitsa, Arta, and Preveza. The Greek police, a paramilitary organization, have a central station under the command of a captain in the capital village of each local district, but sections of police are also stationed in outlying areas of the district, each section serving three or four villages. It frequently happens that Sarakatsani are late in the payment of their grazing dues. Although these are assessed by the village, they are paid to the public treasury in the provincial centre. When the police are informed by the treasury that a payment has not been made, they must attempt to serve a demand notice. If payment is again withheld, the debtor is taken under escort to the public treasury and, if he is still unable to pay, from there to prison. But the circumstance that these demands for payment must be served on one individual in person, and not merely to his home or a member of his family, results in a perpetual pantomime of hide-and-seek between police and heads of shepherd families. This causes irritation and bad feeling on both sides. It is a common experience to find a man secreted under a blanket in the darker corner of a kinsman's hut when it is known that police are in the village.

Sarakatsani are sometimes involved in difficulties with the military authorities over conscription. A family with only one son, a physically handicapped father, and without sufficient resources to hire a shepherd, may submit a case for the postponement or abbreviation of the son's term of military service before a committee of appeal. This committee, however, is not thought to be very liberal in its decisions.

The Sarakatsani face the jurisdiction of the State in their frequent adventures in courts of law.[4] The laws that concern the Sarakatsani in their daily life do not generally favour them. The interests of shepherds tend to be opposed to those of peasants or townsmen. For instance, there are many civil suits between owners of private properties and Sarakatsani who claim

[4] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the [295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively [817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is be- [701] cause a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.

[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried [577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion. [559] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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[8] I am not considering here the many cases of animal trespass which are heard in local agricultural courts.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 831 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

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him by this name, and substituting some nickname, or patronymic.

But the prestige of lineage depends itself on the attributes of wealth and numbers which have already been examined. It does not help a poor man to claim that his great-grandfather was a famous tselingas with two thousand sheep. It is true that a father, or grandfather, who had the necessary wealth to support the nobility of his line is a saving grace for those who have lost their flocks, but it is a small one. The children of a leading family whose wealth has vanished suffer the same fate as the children of a family whose father, although from a family of the 'first lineage', has married beneath himself, that is they literally 'lose' their name, the surname of the father. Lineage refers to prestige in the past, while the essence of competition in this community is concerned with influence in the present. Therefore, a 'name', without the means to support it, is not recognized.

This, in practice, is the mechanism that restricts the number of families that can successfully claim to be of 'first lineage'. Not all the collateral relatives of a leading family are recognized as equivalent in prestige, for without numbers and wealth they cannot aspire to this. And it is inherently unlikely that they will all possess these advantages. There are two important limiting factors. With the rule of equal inheritance between brothers, the size of the group of brothers which is necessary to build and protect wealth and prestige, itself is the cause, in the next generation, of the fragmentation of this wealth. The second factor is disease. Twenty years ago sheep-pox, and today liver-fluke, are diseases capable of decimating a flock within a short time. However honourable a man, the loss of his flocks must diminish his own prestige to some degree, and that of his children more seriously.

(D) MARRIAGES

Τὸ συμπεθεριό is the affinal relationship between two previously unrelated families. It is in the early days of summer that the families of men who wish to take wives in the following year begin to consider the question of finding suitable affines and, during these weeks, the gossip of the community is much concerned with news and speculation about matchmaking.

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[1]. After dark the former beat men and [1752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and los-
ing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [231] ●
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountain-
side. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

/191 cont./
438 the necessity of contact with the outside. The share and the kind of
439 goods and services that they obtain by trade, compared with the possibilities derived from their own environment, show that the Sarakatsani can dispense with them without upsetting their lives. These facts make them self-sufficient and offer them the possibility of avoiding any exchange if circumstances require it. The expression "closed economy" must therefore be understood in this particular sense.

233 In the second place, the economy of these herders is a specialized
731 economy. It is based on a single productive activity, herding, which is not carried on without involving certain consequences. When conditions for the exercise of herding become unfavorable (for example, an epidemic),
233 ruin is inevitable. Now, although the Tséligato as a financing body is in
731 a position to remedy this situation, the extended family for its part
474 provides able assistance. All the relatives not affected by the calamity
596 must offer animals to the victims so that they can replenish their flocks.
[602] Thus, the drawbacks of specialization are transformed into incentives for solidarity and cooperation. However, if these measures prove impracticable or insufficient, there is no alternative but the dissolution of the family and the Tséligato and the enrollment of their members in Tséligatos not afflicted.

433 The third principle of this economy is to be found in the fact that it
[554] must insure the Sarakatsani's subsistence and, in some cases, yield them significant social prestige. The speculation and risk peculiar to any
[434] commercial enterprise in which profit is an end in itself are unknown to them.

436 From the monetary point of view this economy operates under a double
437 system. There is no circulation of money within the extended family or the
474 Tséligato. All the payments that the head grants his subjects are in kind.
596 In the Tséligato, money appears only at the moment when the seasonal accounting is completed /192/ and when the Tséligas distributes among the

233 /258 cont./
825
789
[771]
[527]
[195]

in Byzantium: ~~Ἰωάννου~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

731 The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the
821 seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy
789 everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself
[221] again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the
[776] Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan
171 Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

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Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of
her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost 578 579
a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully re- 159
covered. She has been to a number of different doctors who [665]
have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have
variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart,
and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed [257]
and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a
considerable sum of money and has produced no visible im-
provement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is par-
ticularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the
ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain
that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for them-
selves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her
grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent
where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters
for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what
really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money
wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do
when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about
her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her
mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic
holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the [602]
worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected,
not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct
of affairs in the extended family into which she has married.
She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on
account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically
tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by
hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of
wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless 596
in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal com- 578
plaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes 159
her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other 732
wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this.
Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same
catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is
subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities [558]
of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[3] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this [831] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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571 honour, and one man in the role of married leader whose
577 prudence and self-control secures its material strength. This
59 possibility depends on the number of sons in a family and the stage of its development. Yet in the critical and unfriendly view of others a family must always be in a position to defend itself against outrage. Weakness is shameful and circumstances never excuse it. The corollary to this notion is that, within limits, it is normally preferable to insult than to be insulted, to exploit than to be exploited.

577 The emphasis on strength appears in the importance, in
169 moral judgements, of health, effectiveness (δραστηριότης), skill and cleverness. Skill conserves material strength; animals are less likely to become diseased, inferior pastures are not chosen. A man ought to be 'able' in the sense of able to provide, and he needs cleverness of the kind that foresees future threats
[734] in time. Health is imperative in this scheme of things; chronic
[232] sickness or deformity is inexcusable. There is little sentimentality. Questions of honour are not complicated by notions of
[622] chivalrous conduct. An honour killing is accomplished without warning by a bullet fired from behind cover, or a knife in the back. This does not mean that Sarakatsani are cowards; they are, in fact, immensely brave. But, continually, the accent is on effective action, the achievement of success, the avoidance of failure. Ends matter more than means. Consequently, those qualities and attributes that are necessary for strength tend to be considered as morally good, those that lead to weakness as morally bad. Sarakatsani would condemn any display of excessive altruism on the grounds that it inevitably weakens a person's own family and strengthens the family of another; it would be, at best, imprudent, and in a situation where it clearly damaged the interests of the family it would be immoral.

156 Strength and prowess, then, matter more than ethical good-
577 ness. Indeed a man is only good when he is also by implication, able and strong. Although aimless violence is dishonourable there is no missing the pleasure it gives when a man is forced to kill; nor the prestige which it brings him. For there is no more conclusive way of showing that you are stronger than by taking away the other man's life.

[562] The form of this system of values is related to three features of the social structure: the first of these is the complementary

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. [232] They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention.

152 554 579 And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

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he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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/269 cont./
[776] [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the [789] mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man,
[572] the shepherd's honour is touched.

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596 with the competitive values. On the other hand, two factors
577 have been noted which tend to hinder the young shepherd
554 from attaining the status of head of household as soon as might otherwise be the case. First, an eldest son must show respect to his father and accept his leadership as long as he is physically active and capable; or until the son is about thirty years of age. This is another way of saying that normally an eldest son cannot take a wife and expect to be in charge of family affairs until he is about thirty years of age. Secondly, brothers, although married, must remain as a united extended family until their sisters are safely married. This, of course, reflects the original unity of the sibling group. Thus, so far as respect and obedience towards an active father, or the unity of the sibling group (which are both important values of the kinship system), delay the young shepherd from assuming the role of a head of household, the kinship system and the competitive values of the community are in some measure of conflict.

4. THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES

474 It is some consolation to brothers who may feel a genuine
233 distress at the necessary development of their relationship, if after the dissolution of the extended family they continue to
[594] manage their sheep together in a 'company'. It is also a practical convenience since the elementary family is not, normally, the sheep management unit in the winter unless it happens to possess at least 200 sheep and the services of four active shepherds. As we have seen in chapter two, the Sarakatsani prefer, in winter, to divide their sheep and goats into a number of different flocks. Where grassland is natural and scarce, the advantage of this division is that the optimum use is made of
[427] the pasture offered by any particular stretch of country. The lower limit of 200 sheep follows from the difficulty of renting very small areas of grazing from village communities. Also it is
[558] damaging to the pride of a shepherd if he is seen standing on watch over a flock of only forty or fifty 'zigouria', 'sterpha', or
[464] 'galaria'. Nevertheless, if poorer families with less than a hun-
[235] dred animals are unable to find or persuade kinsmen to accept them into their 'company', they are forced to work during the winter as wage shepherds for villagers, or occasionally for richer Sarakatsani, a situation which emphasizes their poverty and suggests the inadequacy of their kindred.

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suggests the inadequacy of their kindreds. Six of the forty-two households at Neochori find themselves in this position. 474 233 [735]

The requirements of a particular system of sheep management, then, often result in the association of two or more elementary or extended families in a 'company'. However, to explain the size and constitution of a particular 'company' it may be necessary to consider other factors as well. One of these is the difficulty of finding winter grazing. Where a tselingas owns [423] or controls, by whatever means, grazing land in excess of the requirements of his own family, he almost inevitably leads a 'company' of kinsmen whose number is determined simply by the size of their flocks and the carrying capacity of his land.

Another factor is security. One of the larger 'stanis' in Thesprotia represents the interests of eighty persons with two thousand head of sheep and goats. They occupy a continuous tract of grazing land but although the different families are now individually entitled to their occupancy they still prefer to manage their affairs together in what represents, in fact, a confederation of three 'companies'. The stani had originally arrived in the area in the winter of 1944–5 after the Muslim landowners had fled to Albania, an exodus which left considerable areas of grassland untenanted. The Christian villagers of the district who claimed the abandoned lands strongly resented this immigration of shepherds while the final distribution of the land was still in doubt. Yet they were impressed by the strength and armament of the group and were not unpleased, at a time when food was short, to barter the grazing land for quantities of cheese in the first winter and olive oil in the second. However, difficulties soon arose between the two groups. After the Sarakatsani had refused to sell a proportion of their own lambs to replace the village flocks which had been destroyed or stolen in the war, they were peremptorily ordered, in January 1946 at the height of the lambing, to leave the village boundaries; an ultimatum which the villagers must have known they would refuse. Shortly afterwards a desperate attempt to burn down the Sarakatsan huts was also unsuccessful. In the six years which followed these incidents, 1947–53, the Muslim lands were administered by the Ministry of Finance and the Sarakatsani continued to graze them in relative peace. But in 1954 the land used by the stani became village common land and without village citizenship the 474 233 423 648

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Zagori, he decided to pay a visit to his 'cousin' John, a Sarakat- 612
sanos of wealth and influence. He was confident that John could 605
help him through his influence over the local Member of Par- 557
liament. 'He has him in his pocket' (τὸν ἔχει στὴ τσέπη του), he explained. John and Sotiri are third cousins. This otherwise tenuous and formally unrecognized kinship link is 'drawn in' to provide a basis of mutual trust in a relationship which is clearly one of patronage. John, for his part, does not resent the impor-
tunate requests of his distant relatives. The ability to bestow [554]
patronage is its own reward, for it increases his prestige not only in the community of Sarakatsani but with such personalities as parliamentary candidates who compete for the votes which they believe he commands.

A man's 'effective kindred' may also be considerably more 612
restricted than the conventional limits allow. This happens 235
when a family possesses so little prestige that kinsmen would [554]
rather not have any unnecessary association with its members. A case in point is the family of Pistiolis at Skamneli which is desperately poor and although morally upright is almost socially outcast. The genealogical information which the father was able to provide was meagre. He did not even know where most of his first cousins were living, and of second cousins he could name only a few. Over a long period of years he had received very few invitations to the weddings of kinsmen, and although he travelled considerably, earning a pittance by carrying goods on his two pack mules, he was too ashamed to ask for hospitality at a kinsman's home in the places where he knew them to be living; consequently he always slept in the open, a circumstance which encouraged mocking remarks about his shaggy and uncouth appearance.

But besides the flexibility in the range of obligations to col- 612
lateral kinsmen there are also situations which may lead to their 578
complete abrogation. Trust and mutual confidence is the basis of kin relationship. Quarrels which question these qualities are rare, but where they do occur they are far more serious than the differences which are expected to arise between unrelated men. In the latter instance normal social relations may be resumed after a long period of estrangement, but in the former case, especially where one kinsman has publicly insulted another, confidence is permanently destroyed. The proverb,

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Even in the most favourable circumstances loss of honour is 577 unlikely to be entirely remedied within the living memory of 558 those who know of the affair. A man whose family has lost its honour cannot in any real sense be said to possess prestige at all. People say of a man who has allowed his father's slayer to remain undisturbed in the same neighbourhood, 'We don't even say "good morning" to him'. In fact this is not true. People do greet him, but formally and without enthusiasm. He is occasionally seen in the coffee-shop, but he sits in a corner and little attention is paid to him. He is tolerated but his prestige is negative. Loss of honour does not mean direct social ostracism. The sanction is more subtle; it implies the withdrawal of full recognition or response.

Although honour is an essential prerequisite of prestige it 577 is not itself entirely independent of it. Families which on quite 554 different grounds, such as poverty, have no prestige and are 735 classed generally as 'lost' families (χαμένες οἰκογένειες), are denied the imputation of honour even though no positive accusation of dishonour can be pointed against them. Quite small incidents, which are not in themselves exactly questions of honour, are seized upon by the community to show prospectively that such a family, if it were faced by the duty of defending its honour, would be found wanting. The family of Costas Pistiolis is very poor. In the Sarakatsan view there must always be something morally wrong with a very poor man, and given their system of values this is not difficult to understand. A poor man is dependent on others for employment, or favours, if his family is to survive. He is not in a position to insist upon an equality in honour which, in any case, the community will not allow him. One day I saw a youth pelting the little son of Costas with pieces of dung in his father's presence. Costas, however, could do nothing since the youth's father was an influential member of the co-operating group which only tolerated with difficulty the presence of the Pistiolis family among its number. Another witness of the little scene swore and told me that you could copulate with this man's daughter and he would stand by and hold your coat.

Any attack made on the family's honour demands an im- 577 mediate response. Failure to respond fatally damages the 554 prestige of the outraged group and all its members. Without [558]

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or hut. It is, nevertheless, true that people are insatiably curious 592
about the details of domestic life and relations in other families. 577
The condemnation of eavesdropping, although ideally it points 689
to the recognition of the right of family privacy, in practice merely places a negative sanction on one particularly blatant method of obtaining information about other people's affairs.

Men are not honourable who, possessing great physical 577
strength, use it to tyrannize others. They are men who without 683
cause or restraint attack others with insults, using their mothers' or sisters' names in offensive sexual contexts or uttering other provocative blasphemics. Such a man, it is believed, purposely stages an incident to humiliate another who must either lose honour by not responding, or suffer a physical beating. It is accepted that, in most instances, to insult another is neither avoidable nor dishonourable. A sheep strays across a boundary, another shepherd stones it, its owner insults him, blows are exchanged. This sequence of events is to be expected in a community where the interests of different families conflict and each man must maintain his self-regard and the honour of the family. But wanton and unprovoked outrage is evil.

There are, also, categories of persons whom it is always dishonourable for a man to assault: women, old men, young boys, and children, persons weaker than himself. A man who interferes with women, or picks a quarrel with an old man or a young boy, quickly loses his social reputation. It sometimes 626
occurs that, when grazing land is disputed, a family will send its sheep under the guard of a young shepherd boy into the disputed area, knowing that the other shepherd will not improve his case with the community, the villagers, or the police, if he strikes the youth. However, this is a dangerous tactic since, if the young shepherd is struck, honour demands retaliation.

There is one other category of persons that a man must not 577
exploit, the very poor. Whereas a Sarakatsanos will not hesitate 735
to trick or deceive other men, it is not honourable to take advantage of a very poor man with only twenty or thirty animals, particularly if he has a young family. It is the very fact of his dependence on the generosity and forbearance of those of greater power and prestige that morally prevents them from exploiting him. In the face of the implicit admission of his failure in life they cannot press home their advantage. Since

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577 935 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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554 and fearful that he may leave his dependants without a pro-
577 tector. But although the predicament of a man in this position is
596 appreciated by other Sarakatsani, it scarcely mitigates the loss of prestige. If a man has no adult son to protect his daughter's virtue, the fault is his. For weakness is despised. In itself it tends to diminish the prestige of a family even before it has
[156] led to dishonour. And men who are isolated without brothers or sons are noticeably less proud, less confident, and in some cases are, by Sarakatsan standards, pathetically diffident and nervous—overt personality traits which I have not observed in men born into large sibling groups with a number of brothers.

(B) WEALTH

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Τὸ βιό is the property owned by a family, particularly its flocks of sheep and goats, the mules and horses. Although money invested in other objects of prestige such as village houses is important, animals in a pastoral community are the significant form of wealth and a critical element in social reputation.

Today there are few families that own more than five hundred
[235] sheep and goats. A household with more than 150 animals holds a respectable position in the community, one with 80 to 120 animals is on the brink of poverty, while a group with less than 40 animals is despicably poor. Yet the question of wealth is not quite so simple as this arithmetical scale might suggest. The Myriounis extended family of five brothers have 476 animals. Only the flocks of two other families in the Neochori local group exceed theirs in size. So long as they remain a single family with this large flock and five adult men to serve and protect it, the family is clearly, in this respect, a group of high prestige among the Neochori shepherds and indeed in the total community. But when the family is forced to divide into a group of autonomous families, each brother will possess only 80–90 sheep and goats; it may, therefore, seem that at a single stroke they will fall from one end of the wealth-prestige scale to the other. In fact, however, so long as the families of a group of brothers hold together in a co-operative association, folding their sheep together in a single flock (although with different ear-signs), they continue to derive some prestige from the aggregate number of their animals. Still it will now be said, for instance, that Theodoros has only 80 sheep and goats of his

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own, but four children to provide for. As soon as people begin to calculate in this manner, the inadequacy of his personal wealth emerges, and to some extent his prestige falls. Men with no brothers who are forced to join the 'company' of a cousin or an affine gain some prestige and cover from the size of the co-operating group of which they form a part, but the size of their own flock is always very precisely appreciated by outsiders. The worst situation is that of the family head with only a few animals who is forced to become a wage shepherd to an unrelated man, since in this case poverty associated with dependence on a stranger destroys prestige.

Taken together, numbers and wealth are the necessary material foundation for high family prestige. They imply the independence of the family within the community, both economically in the sense that the group is viable (and possibly free of debt), and technically in that it has enough manpower to manage its flocks unaided. It suggests that the family will possess powerful patrons outside the community and that in the competition for winter pastures it will be in a better position to rent grazing land. A village generally prefers to let an area of reasonable size, and to negotiate with a prosperous group able to provide a steady and profitable flow of bribes and presents.

Also, it is the family of wealth and numbers, with powerful patrons and sufficient winter grazing, that draws to itself a number of less fortunate kinsmen. The dependence and support of these men make the protecting family the nucleus of a co-operative association, extending yet further its strength, influence, and prestige. It attracts many passing visits from other kinsmen. Men do not often visit kinsmen of low prestige, since such association only draws attention to a relationship which is best forgotten: on the other hand, they take every opportunity to pay a call on a kinsman of position and repute, to cultivate a relationship that is a source of possible support in future misfortune and, of itself, brings a measure of vicarious prestige.

Men like Pistiolis, who are at the lowest level of the community hierarchy of prestige, seldom receive a visitor from one year's end to another. Indeed, the number of visitors that a family receives is generally a reliable index of its reputation. It is

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particularist. They have a moral content of their own but they cannot be referred to any universal moral principle. 571 577

For the Sarakatsani, family honour is the chief concern. Indeed, the honour of community or nation is, in their view, a projection of the concept of family honour. This honour is shared in two senses; intensively, by those whose reputation is identified by their membership in the same family; extensively, by the community of families sharing in common a system of values by which they judge one another's position and performance. Honour depends not upon the consciences of the individuals in a family whose reputation is under scrutiny, but on the concessions and reluctant approval of other families. Most of these are unrelated and hostile. Since the threat of denigration is continuous, it must be balanced by the repeated exhibition of those qualities that support honour and prestige: self-assertive courage in men, modest virtue in women. In the one case by social convention, in the other by its negative character, the presence of these qualities is more often revealed by attitudes and appearances than substantive proof. There is an emphasis on opinions and appearances, not facts. The consequences of action rather than the intentions behind it are important. This does not mean that private shame for undiscovered failure does not exist. But, inevitably, ideas about individual moral responsibility are blurred, and undiscovered shame is not as morally serious as public disgrace. 571 577 59

Reputation is impossible without strength. Poverty is a mark of failure, not a virtue. Strength in sheep and in men encourages others to respect a family's honour, it attracts dependent kinsmen whose support further extends influence and prestige. Honour and strength are linked. If a family is without sons the call of honour may find a man in the dilemma that if honour is lost the moral existence of the family collapses, or if honour is vindicated his family becomes a leaderless group of women and children dependent on the generosity of kinsmen, a condition which must eventually affect prestige and, perhaps, honour as well. Honour, and the obligation to die for it, is the ideal value, but the sacrifice necessarily weakens the family. Honour remains integral, but becomes more vulnerable. A family needs at least one man in the role of unmarried brother whose unreflecting courage guards its [235]

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
● [735] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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177 241 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[146] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, [361] isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distri- [599] buted to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic [425] units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in ~~respect to~~ her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[8]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and los-
ing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [73]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountain-
side. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 796
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[8] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
[788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their ●751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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796 781 'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is [751] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back 796 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is 769 for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the [752] souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

796 781 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[6] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[6] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξβ'.

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776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
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783

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωάννου Μάγνητος: Πρὸς Τρύφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[792] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)

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41
[776]
[770]

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.

776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

[751]

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. ρμα'

[771]

The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p. [illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a
regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[753] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
burned bit of the father's cloak.

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια .. νοτε 86 et 27.
--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Λυδοῦ : Ἀναλεκτὰ καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀξιω. M. P. G. 86.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
574 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

ἰαίνει δὲ Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ἐκ Δαμγράφων, p. 684. — Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 103 et commun. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 500 et suiv. — Ἐ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θράκης, p. 89-90, etc.

844 /271 cont./
574 likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to
789 time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected
[783] to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes
/the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of
coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-
783 birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the
789 mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the
[788] nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite,
blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the
temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos
[842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into
the family.

751 The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter
789 Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will
[527] then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers
with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not
become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a
lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composi-
tion, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all
the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child
[237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at
all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross;
a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt
and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag
containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/
(shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in
gabbro.

/271 cont./

751
789
[239]

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[239]
[824]

On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237]
[832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible]

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
[178] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
[785] aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

342 /274 cont./
789 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore
372 Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

[821] Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

[791] There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the [793] person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism [789] against the spells. (86)

[755]

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

[751] Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate [789] objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

[825]

The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
761 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
[233] contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
[232] utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [798] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [554] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 495 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[8]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [23]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountainside. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθώοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[8] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
784 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

342 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

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824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

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372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation
[237] with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no /126/ incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [153] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage [613] is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

/269 cont./

776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [134] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the [789] mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[528] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Hoeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
[753] natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

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233 461 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since [232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate [136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 234 461 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety [254] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani [289] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 221 461 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the mountains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not [642] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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585 From Sunday until the evening of Tuesday, by which time
602 the guests have all departed, the bride remains secluded inside the bridegroom's hut, where she is attended by relays of the groom's close female kinswomen. This seclusion fits the feelings of shyness and shame which a bride is expected to experience
[754] at the thought of the various implications of her new status; but it also protects her from the dangers of the evil eye, the destructive force of envy whether consciously or unconsciously exercised to which both the marriage partners are thought to be peculiarly susceptible at this time. In the groom's hut she is guarded and supported by the women with whom her lot is now cast and by the icons and other ritual objects which belong
[576] to the family. Whenever a stranger or a member of the family comes into the hut she at once stands up to show respect, gazing fixedly with expressionless stare at the ground in front of her. It is not unusual for a bride to stand transfixed in this way for three or four hours. It is with the greatest difficulty that from time to time she is persuaded to sit down and rest, or to eat a mouthful of wheaten bread dipped in wine.

[535] On the Monday, however, she must leave the hut about midday to lead the dance. She dances in turn with the marriage sponsor (ὁ κουμπάρος), her husband, father-in-law and mother-in-law, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and other prominent
[272] guests. On the Tuesday morning she prepares in silence cups of sweet coffee for her parents-in-law. They wish her long life and sons, and she thanks them. At midday she makes a rice pie. Later that day the guests, who night and day have been drinking, dancing, and feasting since Saturday morning, depart. Before they leave, the guests, almost all of whom are kinsmen or affines of the groom, take their leave of the bride, the men taking her hand, the women kissing her on the cheeks; and she with respect kisses their hands. Each guest makes her a small money gift and she in return gives each man a small wedding bag (τροβάς) of black and white check material woven by herself, in which is placed some bread, meat, and cheese for the homeward journey. Each female guest receives a smaller embroidered bag. To the sponsor the bride gives the choicest blanket (βελέντζα) of her dowry after he has presented her with a money gift of about 100 drachmas (twenty-five shillings). The bride, at this point, also exchanges gifts with the members

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[108] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [862]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [754]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
570 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and
[774] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [954]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [977]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a community where masculine values are paramount, it has led the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt. 783 577 562

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form. 783 152 156 [754] [572]

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with 783 828

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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the 776
knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the 783
man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes [829]
of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves
as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling
under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as
the physical and political environment is concerned, they are
able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of 725
the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and 776
women which return from the grave in a hideous distended
form often to terrify members of their own family. They are
persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide,
drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were
not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and
burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over
by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first,
the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the
mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and
rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since
the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them,
form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil,
remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit
emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of
family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed,
in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of 754
the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it 776
implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, 783
and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring
to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their
pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its
mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved
in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt
for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility,
nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it
represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or
sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church
as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which
may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

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754 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye
776 (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι
783 διαβαλεμένο).

754 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this
152 evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide.
[825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it
[833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of
[554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are
[271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their
751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched, 755
relief is generally found in a procedure which first identifies the possessor of the evil eye and then counteracts its influence. A bowl of water is taken and a hair of the bewitched person (or a strand of the sheep's fleece) is placed under the bowl. Small pieces of wood carbon are taken from the fire and after the surface of the water has been crossed three times the first fragment about the size of a small finger nail is dropped into the water. The operator, who is almost always a woman, puts [756]
to the piece of carbon the name of a person she may suspect. If the carbon floats the person in question is not guilty, if it sinks one evil eye at least is known. If more than one eye is suspected the process is continued. When the operator is satisfied that the worst has been uncovered, the sick or otherwise afflicted person is crossed with the water in the bowl forty times on the brow, the hands, the feet and the afflicted part if pain or other symptoms are localized. Finally, the patient drinks a little of the water from the bowl.

In putting names to the pieces of carbon the operator is guided by various considerations. Who, to her knowledge, has recently seen the afflicted person or animal? And, of these, who is generally noted for an envious nature, or has a reputation for unconscious bewitching, or is simply disliked by herself and her family? If none of these proves to be guilty, other names chosen at random are put to the carbon. But this rarely happens. From observations on five different occasions and a certain amount of personal experiment it appears that about one fragment of carbon in every five sinks. Therefore the guilty person almost invariably is among those whom the operator considers to be likely possessors of the evil eye. And this confirms the validity of the procedure.

Most people are probably found to be guilty of unconscious 754
bewitching at some time in their lives. If the victim is a relation, [755]
the bewitcher will generally co-operate to counteract the influence of his eye by giving a hair which is added to the draught administered to the patient. If the sufferer is unrelated, he will probably not learn of the fact, certainly not in a direct manner. Certain persons are generally believed by the community to have a powerful evil eye which they exercise from feelings of conscious envy. These persons may be of either sex and generally come from poor families of low prestige whose

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754 members have an obvious reason to be envious of other people. 232 They may also be persons from respected families who suffer some personal disability or deformity; for instance, a powerful eye is attributed to a prosperous Skamneli villager who has a squint and a club-foot.

754 596 Generally, however, the question whether the evil eye of any person is to be attributed to unconscious witchcraft or intentional sorcery depends upon his relationship to the victim. Since small children are often bewitched, it is not remarkable that in extended families the tensions which exist between the wives of brothers are often reflected in the regular presence of the name of the husband's brother's wife among those suspected by the mother of a sick child. But it is always accepted that such bewitching is of the unconscious kind, as indeed are almost all instances of evil eye between kinsmen and affines. On the other hand, where the bewitcher is an unrelated person the victim is ready to ascribe more conscious motives to the possessor of the eye that has hurt him.

152 754 It is not, of course, strange that the envy of the evil eye is associated with the Devil. Envy is inherent in the material world of limited resources and numerous contrary wills. Lacking what another possesses and thinking of that rather than of his relation to God, a man is easily led by the Devil to destroy what he himself has not. This tendency is so inherent in the nature of the situation that, as we have seen, even kinsmen and affines bewitch one another, although such is the strength of the moral element in these relationships that the effects are not believed to be produced with conscious intention. And it is interesting to note that of the elements of prestige which were discussed in the previous chapter, those elements, honour and the quality of being honourable, which tend towards the ideal equality of members of the community and the conception of the Sarakatsani as men united in the desire to live in accordance with honour, do not of themselves necessarily lead to envy between men, for they are essentially spiritual values; on the other hand, those elements of prestige which inevitably differentiate men and possess a pronounced material aspect, wealth, numbers, lineage, marriages, dowries, and so on, are precisely the values competition for which must breed envy in those who are not successful.

152 554 579

/91 cont./

232 question of that, at least within the framework of traditional life.
[1954] Apart from precautions against the "evil eye" and witchcraft, these nomads do not hesitate themselves to undertake altogether empirical treatment and sometimes true surgery.

The most common sicknesses, according to the Sarakatsani nomenclature are:

Parmard. The sheep suffer from pains in their feet and can no longer walk; in addition, the ewes that are stricken with it cease producing milk. The treatment consists in preparing /92/ an infusion of elaterion (wild cucumber, family of American cucurbitaceae) which is administered to the sick animals.

Dragomara. The joints of the feet swell and suppurate. The treatment is the same as the preceding.

Fouskomma (tympanites). Here they resort to blood-letting by cutting a vein near the left eye. They also cut an ear or the tail of the sick animal.

Surgical operations consist of:

--setting dislocated or fractured limbs which are treated with ligatures;

--trephining /perforating/ the skull of the sheep. This procedure is applied when a small cyst forms in the head of the sheep, which makes them very excited (the Sarakatsani say that they become "insane"), using a technique the substance of which is as follows:

The shepherd most experienced in this type of intervention immobilizes the sick animal by tying its feet. Then he feels its head in order to determine the spot where he must enter. He thereupon shaves the wool and removes it by using an iron heated in the fire. After which, with a very sharp knife he cuts the top of the skull at an angle and detaches the bone he has cut. He thereby obtains an opening

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

529 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil
[789] eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must
593

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

609 First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic"
789 everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells.
754 For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life,
755 does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and con-
124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
[825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any 777 22 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 776 754 [789] All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113]

77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171]

79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Τοῦ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: M. P. G. 61, 100. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 88, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Βουκολικά VII 128.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος

IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circum-
756 stances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
(462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

755 /278 cont./
[824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

[263]
[372]

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes
789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new
[754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

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789
114

83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 789 [114] /279 cont./

by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II. Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 784 22 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his [754] evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 514 233 [171] From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a wound dressing made with human urine (85)

85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible] M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

[821] Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

[791] There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the [793] person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism [789] against the spells. (86)
[755]

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

[751] Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate [789] objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.
[825]

The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

825 /282 cont./

789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.
787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: [illegible]

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [762]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour 577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the 596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [604] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the 577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through 554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech- 754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed [755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these [784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [774] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

If, despite these precautions a person (or sheep) is bewitched, 1755
relief is generally found in a procedure which first identifies the possessor of the evil eye and then counteracts its influence. A bowl of water is taken and a hair of the bewitched person (or a strand of the sheep's fleece) is placed under the bowl. Small pieces of wood carbon are taken from the fire and after the surface of the water has been crossed three times the first fragment about the size of a small finger nail is dropped into the water. The operator, who is almost always a woman, puts [1756]
to the piece of carbon the name of a person she may suspect. If the carbon floats the person in question is not guilty, if it sinks one evil eye at least is known. If more than one eye is suspected the process is continued. When the operator is satisfied that the worst has been uncovered, the sick or otherwise afflicted person is crossed with the water in the bowl forty times on the brow, the hands, the feet and the afflicted part if pain or other symptoms are localized. Finally, the patient drinks a little of the water from the bowl.

In putting names to the pieces of carbon the operator is guided by various considerations. Who, to her knowledge, has recently seen the afflicted person or animal? And, of these, who is generally noted for an envious nature, or has a reputation for unconscious bewitching, or is simply disliked by herself and her family? If none of these proves to be guilty, other names chosen at random are put to the carbon. But this rarely happens. From observations on five different occasions and a certain amount of personal experiment it appears that about one fragment of carbon in every five sinks. Therefore the guilty person almost invariably is among those whom the operator considers to be likely possessors of the evil eye. And this confirms the validity of the procedure.

Most people are probably found to be guilty of unconscious 1754
bewitching at some time in their lives. If the victim is a relation, [1755]
the bewitcher will generally co-operate to counteract the influence of his eye by giving a hair which is added to the draught administered to the patient. If the sufferer is unrelated, he will probably not learn of the fact, certainly not in a direct manner. Certain persons are generally believed by the community to have a powerful evil eye which they exercise from feelings of conscious envy. These persons may be of either sex and generally come from poor families of low prestige whose

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίνων Μάρτυρες: Πρὸς Τρόμον. M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)
776 46. Ibid., vol. II.
783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[M2] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

342 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 88, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII 128.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[39] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that
755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases.
755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox
824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

3: Kabbadias--318 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/278 cont./

755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 789 [954] The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

233 789 114 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the (793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism (789) against the spells. (86)

(155)

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

(151) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate (789) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

(825) The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/280 cont./

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snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic.,(88)

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88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: [illegible] p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

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Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[833] [755] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/313 cont./

789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by a quasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" [755] (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. ρξδ'

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/331 cont./

796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
474 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[188]
[252]

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
[596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[176] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[182] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
982 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
776 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
955 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
982 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./

796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
785 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
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Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
785 we shall speak later on.
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The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation,
(114) very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
171 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
[237] applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

/382 cont./

182 81 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship, 182 812 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 787 755 (787) The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity. The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

/383 cont./

182 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which
789 at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated
755 as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art,
53 specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-
789 religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

If, despite these precautions a person (or sheep) is bewitched, 1755
relief is generally found in a procedure which first identifies the possessor of the evil eye and then counteracts its influence. A bowl of water is taken and a hair of the bewitched person (or a strand of the sheep's fleece) is placed under the bowl. Small pieces of wood carbon are taken from the fire and after the surface of the water has been crossed three times the first fragment about the size of a small finger nail is dropped into the water. The operator, who is almost always a woman, puts to the piece of carbon the name of a person she may suspect. [1756] If the carbon floats the person in question is not guilty, if it sinks one evil eye at least is known. If more than one eye is suspected the process is continued. When the operator is satisfied that the worst has been uncovered, the sick or otherwise afflicted person is crossed with the water in the bowl forty times on the brow, the hands, the feet and the afflicted part if pain or other symptoms are localized. Finally, the patient drinks a little of the water from the bowl.

In putting names to the pieces of carbon the operator is guided by various considerations. Who, to her knowledge, has recently seen the afflicted person or animal? And, of these, who is generally noted for an envious nature, or has a reputation for unconscious bewitching, or is simply disliked by herself and her family? If none of these proves to be guilty, other names chosen at random are put to the carbon. But this rarely happens. From observations on five different occasions and a certain amount of personal experiment it appears that about one fragment of carbon in every five sinks. Therefore the guilty person almost invariably is among those whom the operator considers to be likely possessors of the evil eye. And this confirms the validity of the procedure.

Most people are probably found to be guilty of unconscious 1754
bewitching at some time in their lives. If the victim is a relation, [1755]
the bewitcher will generally co-operate to counteract the influence of his eye by giving a hair which is added to the draught administered to the patient. If the sufferer is unrelated, he will probably not learn of the fact, certainly not in a direct manner. Certain persons are generally believed by the community to have a powerful evil eye which they exercise from feelings of conscious envy. These persons may be of either sex and generally come from poor families of low prestige whose

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 16, ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ : Βιβλία VII 198.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος

IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (962) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

Theodorina, the wife of Theodoros, is criticized because of her lack of physical robustness. About three years ago she lost a baby girl. She was prostrate with grief and never fully recovered. She has been to a number of different doctors who have agreed that she is suffering from 'weakness' but have variously diagnosed this as due to infected tonsils, bad heart, and anaemia. She has had her tonsils and adenoids removed and a number of courses of injections; this treatment has cost a considerable sum of money and has produced no visible improvement. Demetrina, the wife of the second brother, is particularly scornful of Theodorina. 'Theodorina is down on the ground (κατὰ γῆς) again', she complains, and goes on to explain that she is leaving her children in the ditch to fend for themselves just because of an idea in her head. This refers to her grief for her little girl. It is right to grieve, but not to this extent where she is unable to care properly for her sons and daughters for whose existence she ought to thank God. No doubt what really annoys Demetrina and the other women is the money wasted on medicines, and the extra work which they have to do when Theodorina periodically says she is too sick to go about her tasks.

Demetrina, herself, is disliked by all the other wives and her mother-in-law because of her sharp tongue and her dogmatic holier-than-thou attitude. Her own family of origin is on the worst of terms with her husband's brothers and she is suspected, not without reason, of passing on information about the conduct of affairs in the extended family into which she has married. She is a storm centre in many quarrels with the other wives on account of her four-year-old son, an unpleasant and physically tough blonde-headed bully, who maltreats his young cousins by hurling stones and hitting them over the head with pieces of wood. They note that this child resembles his maternal kin.

The third wife, Eleutherina, is a good worker but graceless in body and personality. She suffers from some catarrhal complaint which makes her speech almost unintelligible and causes her nostrils to drool with mucus. Behind her back the other wives mock her for these defects and she is conscious of this. Her small son Alec, who is four years old, suffers from the same catarrhal complaint, appears to be mentally backward, and is subject to periodic fits. She is held responsible for the disabilities of the child which affect the prestige of the whole family.

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
(237) applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
298 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.
825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορόϊδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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156 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and
884 circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that
577 he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer
761 threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family.
577 Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should
885 be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possesss. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company',
885 has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures,
577 he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian
425 Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use
885 lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[1]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and los-
ing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [73]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountain-
side. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

848 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights
775 the pastures.

585 A recent unpublished source casts new light on
[114] the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a
[352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 The nomad approach to all feminine physio-
515 logical troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened
764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on
515 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar-
[523] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un-
[122] aneled. If he should die on the road — and the
[455] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for
[654] his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in
764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women
[767] thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[301] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[775] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[789] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity, They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [191] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [292] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 784 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [191] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. [761] [791] It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 602 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: Ἑλλ. Λαικὴ Λατρεία. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[776]

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 795 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY
AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) [798] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 185 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [359] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 499 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 812 771 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth, he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon [761] that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter [775] described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

763

763 DYING--omens and predictions of death; notions about dying; recognizing the approach of death; settlement of affairs; assembling of relatives; attempts to postpone death; preparing the patient for death (e.g., removal from dwelling, dressing in mortuary garments, last rites); preparing the funeral equipment (e.g., shroud, coffin); last words and last favors; criteria of death (e.g., coma, cessation of breath or heart action); attempts at revival; reaction to the impact of death (e.g., wailing, flight, self-mutilation); announcement of death; post-mortem examinations; etc. See also:

Deathbed testaments 428
Capital punishment 681
Omens 787

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.
787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

> 90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΓΤΑΡΧΟΓ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.
>
> 22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
582 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented
[833] by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[755] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

-/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is
[562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the
152 solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts
593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading
764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the
152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the
[533] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their
593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in
765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[301] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] [825] [128] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 392 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
82
823 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
372 virtues.
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
876

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
864 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/332 cont./
the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

~/335 cont./

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[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/336 cont./

765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
152 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
764 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so

[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of

[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take

[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/338 cont./

764 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
775 of representation which determines magic action.
[776]
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
776
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776
789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/341 cont./
up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus, psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear, especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 183

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/344 cont./

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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

> Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/371 cont./

585 Sorrow at separation, modesty before the wedding night, authorized
533 sentiments come together with the very beautiful poetic form, which
152 testifies to the sensitivity of the Sarakatsani. Another song, a funeral
764 song, says:
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--The birds, the nightingales have deceived me...
They told me that Charon would never carry me away...
--I have built my houses of marble
The doors are of gold, the windows of silver
And the keys pure and splendid pearls...
--But I see from afar Charon who comes on his mount.
He is black, and his horse, his clothing are black also
--Charon come, enter, sit at my table and share my respast...
--I have not come to eat and to sing,
I have come to seek your soul.

Or again:

--Yesterday, the day before yesterday, I passed the church of Saint Demetrius...
--I heard young people lamenting
young girls sighing...
/372/--The young men because they had no finery...
And the boys not married wept
because they had not known betrothal.
--Oh! It is not fair that young men die
And that young girls are forgotten...

Profound human reverberations echo in these verses.

533 That art or the song have psychological, "liberating" functions for
152 human sorrow does not escape the Sarakatsani. A female informant from
154 Tchépélovo spoke the following lines to us:
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539 "Songs are words that sorrow speaks. They would like to do away with the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and [562] transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

593 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the 152 solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts 593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading 764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the 152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the [563] corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges (μοιρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their 593 hair and cheeks (μαδιοῦνται). For a son a mother remains in 765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 765
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 558
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 577
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[201] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
● 765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[775] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[789] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

291
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Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

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301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their cheeks. The next of-kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An old Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

/336 cont./

765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
157 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
764 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
776 [602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
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16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/340 cont./

765 769 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: Θρησκ. Λαικ. Λατρεία. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and [533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts [533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in [765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries. 769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two 796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared [784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash [302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled [515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone! [761] [796]

from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she marries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and unaneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/152 cont./

596 428 [191] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 768 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 42 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[796] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29. D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

/205 cont./

671 [128] We shall conclude with certain critical reflections and an appreciation of Sarakatsani law.

Non-Criminal Law

Rules of law concerning family life.

Thanks to the detailed study of marriage and the family among the Sarakatsani, the corresponding laws are well known to us.

The rules of betrothal (the societal control of future spouses, the consent of the parents and the solemn confirmation by the exchange of gifts), the obstacles to marriage, kinship and its forms, the obedience of the wife and her protection, the internal hierarchy of the family, the legitimization of descendents (control, formal acceptance), conjugal fidelity and the widowed state, co-ownership of the patrimony, the shared business, the types management and internal organization of the extended family, the societal control of income, its distribution and accumulation, the hierarchy within the extended family, the right to separate from it, /206/ finally inheritance rights constitute so many issues for which legal regulation is required, as we have emphasized in the corresponding sections.

671 429 768 602 If the children are minors at the death of their father, a family council consisting of the nearest male relatives in the paternal as well as the maternal line undertake their guardianship and the management of their patrimony.

Although this principle is always valid, the guardianship is, in fact, almost exclusively exercised by a single individual, the nearest relative of the father, preferably his brother. The relatives of the father who take part in the family council are in reality more influential than the maternal relatives. The participation of the latter [494] [596] remains occasional, for it is necessary that they belong to the same Tséligato as the paternal relatives, or that the respective Tséligatos of the two parties be neighbors.

/206 cont./

671 768 562 429 [602] However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian" of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protection, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict nature to more permissive rules.

671 593 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes the form of strict law. (19)

> 19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each member of the family and social group. Its rigid character derives thus from its nature and from the social function of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons concerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding, co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities the parties decide upon.

671 593 428 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

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796 'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical
781 moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is [751] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back 796 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is ● 769 for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the [252] souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

796 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely
781 bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[4] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[4] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξδ'.

/327 cont./

Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead," is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[776]

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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The Sarakatsan family is not only a domestic association of individuals with mutual affections based on blood relationship, it is a corporate group owning in common all significant property; and of this the leader, whether father or brother, is the trustee not the owner. Economically it struggles to become a self-sufficient unit with a division of labour organized about the service of its flocks; politically its members invariably act together. The individual in his work and behaviour is entirely committed to his family, whose prestige and reputation for honour are his foremost concern.

The family is also a religious community with its own 'sacra', icons, and other objects. In the popular mind it is an earthly reflection of the Heavenly Family of God the Father, the Mother of God, and Christ. Relations between members of a family ought to be modelled on the attitudes which, it is imagined, inspire the relations of the Heavenly archetype Family and its members. A father ought to have wisdom and foresight, a mother compassion, a son courage and respect, a daughter virginity, and so on.[2] Through grace, which descends in the sacrament of the Eucharist and through the icons, and in other ways, they are helped to achieve these modes of being, and in achieving them they partake, in a sense, of the condition of the Holy Family and are therefore less vulnerable as a group to material disaster or the spiritual attacks of the Devil. Through reference to a divine model, a man or woman in family life participates in a reality that transcends individuality; the harsh and ceaseless struggle to survive, even simple and often repeated actions such as carrying water or milking sheep, come to possess a validity which is absolute and intrinsic.

of the joint household by his married sons. Yet so long as it does last, the family group has in other respects a corporate jural existence and personality. Cf. Sir Henry Maine, *The Early History of Institutions*, London, 1893, p. 78.

The Sarakatsan family is a system of closed relationships and a group with a recognized leader. It holds all property in common and controls the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. In principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is with regard to these characteristics that I describe this group as 'corporate'.

[2] In the different aspects of her person, the Mother of God provides a model for both the mother and the daughter in the earthly family.

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[p.321]

XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices 121
of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex 771
of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious 577
beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the 794
Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil- [648]
lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so 796
with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he 794
ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as 779
the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's horses, sheep or goats. 783

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest. 783 609

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures. 783 784 [754] [777]

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punishment of God as being realized essentially in this world either against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Paradise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 783 784 772 775 783 784 771

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
●771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

783 828 829 783 828 829 771 [851]

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

777 776 846 [171]

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776 [971] The object of the Devil, then, is the moral corruption of men, or where this is not possible, their physical destruction. 'The Devil has many feet', the Sarakatsani say, that is he works out his evil in many ways, assuming whatever physical appearance is suitable for his purpose. His power is immense, and particularly in the wilderness of the mountains and forests outside the circle of men's homes protected by the grace of God; but [825] even these he sometimes enters. In keeping with his degenerate nature, he appears frequently in the form of an animal, particularly as a black dog, donkey or hare. Sometimes he is half man, half animal, with the horned head of a goat or wild pig. When he assumes human form it is generally as an old man with a face black 'like an Arab's', and lame. In one instance he appeared as an Orthodox priest in red robes. Often he pretends to be a Sarakatsanos.

Some manifestations of the Devil are plural and of either sex. Bands of male demons (σαταναραίοι) with their leader, the black-faced limping Devil, sometimes surround and torment a lonely shepherd. The female demons are referred to as the 'ladies who bring good luck' (οἱ καλότυχες), a propitiatory euphemism which indicates their power. Like their masculine counterparts, these ladies prefer the mountain tops and forests or a lonely meadow in the plain. Very often they join the male demons in an orgiastic feast, the ladies of good luck wearing long white dresses, the men in kilts of the same colour. On a night when there is wind one often hears the Devil's music in the high crags. Otherwise, when they are not feasting or provoking humans, they pass their time eternally spinning and very occasionally one comes across a spindle-weight[1] which one of them has dropped.

Devils come from and disappear into the air which is thickly populated with spirits both good and evil, although in the imagination of the Sarakatsani the evil forms predominate. One of the tasks of Christ on earth was to cleanse the air of evil spirits so that the souls of men could find a way upwards to God. High winds, storms, whirlwinds are manifestations of demonic power. Evil spirits of the air (τὰ ἀεριά) may attack men and animals invisibly or without taking a more definitive

[1] On the sites of prehistoric settlements.

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[788] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
[788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
● 771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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man to maintain it. God and the Devil fight a pitiless and 776
continuing battle for the souls of men in which the three 771
elements are the grace of God, the cunning and subtlety of the Devil, and the will of man.

The Sarakatsani consider man's nature to be a trichotomy 828
of spirit (πνεῦμα), soul (ψυχή) and body (κορμί, σῶμα). Although 774
the views of different informants are not always clear about 771
these conceptions (for instance some people see no difference between spirit and soul) nevertheless certain simple assumptions appear to be generally accepted. Spirit and soul together form a union with the body, yet between the first two elements and the last there is a degree of tension. The body is a product of material and sexual generation and is only redeemed when it is informed by a nobility of spirit and soul. Conversely, when the spirit and soul are dependent on the values and passions of the body, honour is lost and communion with God is interrupted. Spirit refers to the intellect plus the conscience (συνείδηση). Its natural inclination is to prompt a man's will (θέληση) to lead his soul upwards to God. It is associated in a man's mind with the [776]
Holy Spirit (Ἅγιο Πνεῦμα) whose nature is imperfectly understood as some divine energy. Evil befalls where for one reason or another the power of a man's spirit is not guiding his actions. Of a Sarakatsanos who shot his brother accidentally while cleaning a pistol it was said that 'his spirit was not concentrated'. And it was added, 'the Devil pulled the trigger'. The soul is the divine element in the individual human personality. Perhaps spirit and soul are the active and substantive aspects of the same thing. Both tend in an upward direction, but if the individual as a total personality does not incline his will towards God they become corrupted by their union with merely material things; and this is the end sought by the Devil.

It may be added that where a high value is given to the 828
related notions of honour, strength, and manliness, the body 771
cannot be considered as evil in itself,[8] but only under the aspect of its subjection to sensual passion. Man, then, who is by nature noble, normally moves towards a closer communion with God but is held back partly by the sinful condition of the world

[8] In this connexion it is interesting to note that the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece.

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[835] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity. 771 781 [282]

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη). 771 794 778 788

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign 788 [264]

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than other Saints. Makryiannis, a hero of the Revolution, tells 776
in his memoirs how, being very poor, he entered the chapel of 782
his patron Saint to offer a silver candlestick if only he might
be granted a set of fine clothes and pistols. Sarakatsani behave
similarly. Without the least embarrassment the approach is
one of *do ut des*. The relations between Saint and worshipper [771]
resemble somewhat those of patron and client. But although
it is easy to see how the Sarakatsanos projects to some degree
the experience of his social relations into his religious life, it is
also true that the latter transcends the former. You may bribe
a lawyer to act dishonestly but you cannot do this to a Saint.
He will not aid in wickedness nor where the suppliant, however
great the gift he bears, approaches without a contrite heart.
On this point all insist.

Man acquires help and protection not only through personal
petitions to the divine Beings in the spiritual hierarchy,
although this is the mode of communion which is sought in all
critical matters. It is thought that by the grace of God divine 778
power enters and issues from a number of material objects.
Contact with or possession of these sacred objects and sub-
stances are believed to be defences against attacks of the Devil,
the envy of other men and general misfortune. The power
immanent in the Word of God is released when the priest
reads a passage over an afflicted person or when a worshipper
kisses the Book. The incense breathed in church, the possession
of a candle which burned on the representation of Christ's
tomb at Easter, the sign of the cross on a sick man's forehead
when made with oil from a lamp which has burned before an
icon, all these have 'power'. Blessed water brought from church
at the feast of Epiphany is sprinkled over the sheep. Salt,
incense, box-wood when these have been blessed and 'read
over' by the priest during the service on the Thursday of Holy
Week, are kept throughout the next year—loci of divine
strength. *Antidoron*, blessed bread, which is the remainder of
the offered loaf after the seal has been cut from it for the
communion cup, is similarly conserved. However, these
materials are not simply charms. Their efficiency, as with all
the manifestations of divine aid, depends on repentance and a
'good heart'.

God is in communion with men not only spiritually through 000

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787 God is in communion with men not only spiritually through grace but intelligently through messages, generally warnings of physical danger which may be avoided and premonitions of misfortune or death which may not. Many men claim that just before they escaped some disaster a Saint appeared to warn them of its approach. Dreams, divination of a sheep's shoulder blade, the behaviour of various animals and birds, are all interpreted as messages from God.

771 782 In all these modes of communion a man is concerned fundamentally with establishing a relationship with God or His spiritual subordinates in order to obtain help and protection in the many difficulties which his family faces. If he is able, he must raise himself some of the way towards God; for if he succeeds in at least displaying his will in this direction there is the hope that the power of God will descend to him. The means of a poor shepherd to do this, immersed as he is in his material troubles, are slight. He may achieve a small offering and a day's fast and sexual continence before presenting an important petition to a Saint. Always he must represent to himself that he repents his sins: and he must have a 'good heart'. A 'good heart' is the will to strain towards closer fellowship with God. In this context, however, repentance and a good heart imply only weakly and indirectly the idea of fellowship with other men. As in social systems of patronage, so in their everyday religious life each family strives to achieve a particular and exclusive relationship with subordinate spiritual beings and through them to draw down to their aid more of the divine power than other families.

771 776 But the grace of God, the favour of God, comes to men only through the sacrifice of Christ. It will not have escaped notice how little His name has appeared in this brief review of cult. [782] Sarakatsani, at least, seem to direct few prayers to Him. In their religious belief God has two hypostases or persons, Father and Saviour. When they refer to God, Θεός, they normally mean the Creator, Father, Protector, and Punisher of men, present everywhere yet separated from them morally by an immense distance. Christ is the Saint, Ἄης, or the Master, ὁ Ἀφέντης,[8] that is God in the person of a man like themselves, who sacrificed Himself that other men might overcome the

[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'.

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separating barrier of sin which was the original work of the Devil and Adam. The first of these terms reflects the sanctity of Christ, the second His concern for the well-being of men; both refer to His life under the limitations of the human condition. In their own experience the Sarakatsani see the reflection of the sufferings of Christ. From the moment of His birth He was persecuted and humiliated, yet He did not lose dignity or nobility. Nor in similar circumstances, the Sarakatsani believe, do they. 'Christ is our brother', they sometimes say. He made the first shepherd's flute (φλογέρα). He rounded up the wild goats, beasts of the Devil, and tamed them by placing His seal on the joints of their forelegs. He stands always by their side. They have only to think of Him and make the sign that recalls His sacrifice. Similarly, they believe that the Sarakatsani have always been the followers, worshippers, brothers of Christ. When the gipsy forged the five nails of the crucifixion for the Jews, it was the Sarakatsanos who stole one and drove it up the offending blacksmith's behind.

Christ is the key figure in Sarakatsan religious belief, and the events of the 'Great week' of Easter are the transcendent experiences of religious life. These I shall not attempt to describe in detail, but something must be said of the dramatic atmosphere which makes this complex of rites and customs quite unlike any others in the religious calendar. Normally villagers are exceedingly casual in church, and even the Sarakatsani, who are more devout in the outward respect they show to sacred objects, are quite pragmatic in their attitude and remarks about religious affairs even when they are anxiously presenting an important petition. In contrast, the dramatic intensity of emotion which seizes the community both in church and outside during this week makes an immediate impression on the observer. There is an air both of anxiety and anticipation. The historical events which the liturgy commemorates on the different days of the week are not treated as such. They are re-lived, people participate in them. They know what will happen, He will rise again; yet they are anxious. The women discuss the events in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times. As the drama proceeds the women in chorus make their simple and troubled comments, 'They have seized Him', 'He is being judged',

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil. 771 996 996

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of 831 577 884 [991]

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577 771 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of 783 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It 772 requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother-574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less 771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed 781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter 796 is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [829] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead. 771 776

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin. 783 788 771

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, κάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
● 771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[235] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 271 383 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 [156]

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

The author is now advanced in years, and the bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents of *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B]

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic; as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, 60, 39, 5 et 6, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἑκλογοποιητοῦ Διατάξεων σαλλογαί, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 940, etc.

771 177 178 [171] /254 cont./

[783] [844] [825] [842] [789] In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

771 776 178 177 That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

[171] 20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

842 776 771 177 178 Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

842 789 In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

842 777 [585] [833] There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/326 cont./

771 789 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
182 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
178 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
[178] the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
[171] for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
[484] to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
778 to fertility and abundance.

778 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/328 cont./

796 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of
533 catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then,
[532] seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while
[477] the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate them-
[596] selves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)
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2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of
[114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in
796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals
171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Π. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ. — Σ. ΣΥΓΚΟΛΛΙΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θρῆνος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, p. 234-239.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation.
771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform
796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and
171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis,
178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. ρξβ.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

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796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
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Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 596 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence 796 comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood 788 of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above 474 554

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782 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the
182 attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may
771 be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. ρμς'), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and, even that required a partial restoration) the ceromonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Ἑλληνική Λαϊκή Λατρεία, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolégomena, p. 84.

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782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity. They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

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764 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
775 of representation which determines magic action.
[776]
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[592] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
771 775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

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PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
775 [602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
775 789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
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16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

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761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [554] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 474 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 103

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19. See Ibid., A, I., p. [illegible]

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

> Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./

771 186 177 829 [429] who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand, since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 539 177 829 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another kind and very significant for our point of view.

--One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

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771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [174] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 176 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
776 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
114 Saint Paraskeyi appear. Now, within the framework of
171 Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
[illegible], index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.[illegible]) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/347 cont./

771 182 Next, on the general social level, religion, by its moral prescriptions and above all its teaching of family duties, respect for parents, the prohibition of adultery, etc., offers considerable support to the social structure by abolishing the causes of conflicts and stabilizing behavior.

771 462 562 182 From another angle, structuring is encouraged by the enrichment of social roles, the statuses of family members, which religious practice brings about. In the majority of cases it is the women who are charged with carrying out rites and funeral customs. Sacrifices, on the other hand, are the responsibility of men--particularly the head of the family. The result is an increase of prestige for the representatives of each sex, and compensation for the obligations of each, according to the mechanism /described/ in the section of our study /dealing with/ magic and family organization.

771 596 182 The family group assumes new functions derived from religion. It becomes the theater in which religious practices are carried out, and also the agent which carries them out. Perhaps when we focus upon the lamentations of the kolyva in the hut and the preparation and distribution of the psychoudia, it would be permissible to say that the Sarakatsani family preserves some /348/ traces of the ancient domestic worship of the dead. However, these same acts may be explained socially, that is to say, in terms of the solidarity which unites the living among the Sarakatsani and which, by extension, must link together the living and the dead. We are not in a position to solve this question, for lack of data.

006 /349/

Chapter III

KNOWLEDGE AND MYTHOLOGY

EDUCATION

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely
developed if is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the
Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive
almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from
the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter
is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has
no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a
syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely
coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another
and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to
conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account
all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 596 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ [771] through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [071] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

183 /399 cont./

578 In the second place, there is constraint in the general sense of
182 the term. It appears first in the influence of the Tséligas, the head,
626 who, to the extent that he has a strong personality and a true capacity
[474] to govern, is in a position to impose on his subjects the traditional
[554] norms by which the family group functions and thus to safeguard its
cohesion and its content /sic: "son conteny"/. Constraint manifests
[671] itself next in law and morality, the two aspects of group constraint
[577] which, armed with social support, act sovereignly in favor of the socio-
cultural status quo. The analysis of the way they are enforced has
demonstrated their effectiveness.

578 In the third place are the idealization and mythization of the
182 "Sarakatsani condition," the elevation to the rank of supreme value and
183 myth every cultural solution to each specific problem. No matter that
the application of these solutions, coldly considered, entails priva-
tions, concessions, and demands abnegation or sacrifice! In psychoanalytic
terms, one might call this phenomenon sublimation.

578 Religion for its part, with its teaching and traditions that
77 prescribe obedience to headmen, to elders, and justify the subordination
183 of the woman, while sanctioning the traditions by salvation, also supports
182 the social edifice by determining behavior and its motivation, that is
to say, by determining collective attitudes.

578 Finally, we encounter the mechanism of "obligation-compensation"
675 /400/ of which we have spoken above, (2)
182

2. See above, p. 205-206, etc.

and to which we should like to add some details--first of all terminolog-
ically. The notion of alienation is taken here in its primitive and
[121] legal meaning (Lalande) according to which alienatus is not free. Thus,
it is not identical with mental alienation or with alienation according

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the
812 grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth,
771 he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so
[761] that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon
that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter
[775] described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

/408 cont./

121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict:
Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--
See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:
829 /409/
462

TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of co-operation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [954]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [977]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 722
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 725
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
721

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίνων Μάρτυρες: Πρὸς Τρίφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[792] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

[171] Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement, reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief
[751] that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. 94.

[171] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/297 cont./

121 789 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example, with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

> 106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 772 789 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

/297 cont./

121 789 772 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

/355 cont./

121 5. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 32.
811 one could not do without if one hopes to enter this domain. In order that science may develop, J. Piaget says, (6)

6. J. Piaget: Epistémologie, vol. III, p. 261.
--See also the same author: Traité de Logique /Treatise on logic/, passim, and the comments of R. Bastide: Le Candomblé, pp. 240-241.

the human mind relies on classifications of reality, organized "into systems of concrete operation," which are translated into propositions, into hypotheses. Observation and experience ensure contact of the latter with reality. Next, one advances with the help of the "logic of propositions, joining concrete operations by means of new operations of implication or exclusion among propositions... "

811 /356/ In the case of the Sarakatsani, the classifications of realtiy to which the new operations lead have a double nature. First, we find once again mythical classifications. The different parts of reality are classed as wholes, not according to the principles of a scientific typology of phenomena, but in terms of mythical considerations.
811 There are many examples. Let us take the division of the world into
792 two parts: favorable and unfavorable, to which correspond other dichotomies dealing with the different aspects of life, namely:

Favorable	Unfavorable
East	West
Right	Left
Religious	Black magic
Curative magic	Obscure forces and influences
Life	Death
Health	Illness
Fecundity	Sterility
Birth of sons	Birth of daughters
Birth of ewes	Birth of rams
Fertility	Drought
Prosperity	Insolvency
Freedom	Slavery of imprisionment

/356 cont./

811
772

Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites
[773] elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7)

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier:
Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of

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Moreover, the produce of the
618 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
973 threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στη λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen.

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother.

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context.

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain

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577 archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred
593 to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal
562 attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different
[976] exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes
562 of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters
577 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the
578 Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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779 repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

776 I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. 773 The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred 825 thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God 776 was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral 777
sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense 828
of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release 829
a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. 783
In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause 773
of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and 776
his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
[788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

● 773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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[For a theoretical discussion of the inter-relationship of myth and knowledge, see Category 121 (or Category 116, pp. 416-423).]

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789 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic.
114 Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with
773 worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical
114 efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

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789 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth
773 is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation,
114 a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "These stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory
114 of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world
773 and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if con-
114 fronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

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789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

> 116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its
[798] efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

/315 cont./

789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
773 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
778 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 114

There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primieives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
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Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

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19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently
157 prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the
993 Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

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Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites (773) elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7)

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier: Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of

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811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [773] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about [773] the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

773 538 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

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See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim, dealing with myth.

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cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth, look at it from the inside.

* * * *

121 Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M. Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt: L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 281.

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event. Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and experienced before being comprehended intellectually and formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from concepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and thiradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [793] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play [516] seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyera, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/

/389 cont./

000 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders
182 over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they
561 are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face
182 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani
596 invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to
114 Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from
197 all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined
182 first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we
476 developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that
233 cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social
621 plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism.
476 They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle
[181] of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

--Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the
182 Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the
773 Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely
developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the
Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive
almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from
the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter
is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has
no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a
syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely
coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another
and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to
conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account
all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the
conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and
inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked
together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the
categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Every-
thing converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link
of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour 577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the 596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [604] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the 577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through 554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [794] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech- 754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed [755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and [794] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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man to maintain it. God and the Devil fight a pitiless and 776
continuing battle for the souls of men in which the three 771
elements are the grace of God, the cunning and subtlety of the Devil, and the will of man.

The Sarakatsani consider man's nature to be a trichotomy 828
of spirit (πνεῦμα), soul (ψυχή) and body (κορμί, σῶμα). Although 774
the views of different informants are not always clear about 771
these conceptions (for instance some people see no difference between spirit and soul) nevertheless certain simple assumptions appear to be generally accepted. Spirit and soul together form a union with the body, yet between the first two elements and the last there is a degree of tension. The body is a product of material and sexual generation and is only redeemed when it is informed by a nobility of spirit and soul. Conversely, when the spirit and soul are dependent on the values and passions of the body, honour is lost and communion with God is interrupted. Spirit refers to the intellect plus the conscience (συνείδηση). Its natural inclination is to prompt a man's will (θέλησή) to lead his soul upwards to God. It is associated in a man's mind with the [776]
Holy Spirit (Ἅγιο Πνεῦμα) whose nature is imperfectly understood as some divine energy. Evil befalls where for one reason or another the power of a man's spirit is not guiding his actions. Of a Sarakatsanos who shot his brother accidentally while cleaning a pistol it was said that 'his spirit was not concentrated'. And it was added, 'the Devil pulled the trigger'. The soul is the divine element in the individual human personality. Perhaps spirit and soul are the active and substantive aspects of the same thing. Both tend in an upward direction, but if the individual as a total personality does not incline his will towards God they become corrupted by their union with merely material things; and this is the end sought by the Devil.

It may be added that where a high value is given to the 828
related notions of honour, strength, and manliness, the body 771
cannot be considered as evil in itself,[8] but only under the aspect of its subjection to sensual passion. Man, then, who is by nature noble, normally moves towards a closer communion with God but is held back partly by the sinful condition of the world

[8] In this connexion it is interesting to note that the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece.

/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[794]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[559] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

/302 cont./

789 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action
121 of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is
[781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something
[794] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into
789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially,
153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are
789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

/346 cont./

771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [174] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above 771 157 all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 776 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 792 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [278] [783]

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the 776
knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the 783
man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes [829]
of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves
as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling
under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as
the physical and political environment is concerned, they are
able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of 775
the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and 776
women which return from the grave in a hideous distended
form often to terrify members of their own family. They are
persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide,
drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were
not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and
burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over
by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first,
the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the
mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and
rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since
the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them,
form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil,
remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit
emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of
family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed,
in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of 754
the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it 776
implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, 783
and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring
to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their
pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its
mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved
in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt
for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility,
nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it
represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or
sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church
as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which
may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication, adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are un-
[684] known, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a [352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on 573 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- [585] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- [22, aneled. If he should die on the road — and the nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow [265] gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for [554] his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women 761 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

764 travel with their *nekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[061] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[301] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.

181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

596 /155 cont./
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556 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
591 easier and more profitable.

596 These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
474 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
434 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
233 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony. However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[189] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible] .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [778] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as [789] an amulet.

[825] If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because [128] we intend to discuss them all together.

842 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the 821 Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personify- 823 ing the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. 825 All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible 831 in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4) 372

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tséligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like (532) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. Κ. Α. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Λαικαί Λατρείαι..., p. 100, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΓΑΣ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(191) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
(hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
[769] is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[387] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[331] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/336 cont./

765 Obviously, all these manifestations are social and not religious.
152 They are based on the social control of feelings, the regulation of
626 their intensity and their externalization. /337/ A widow's mourning
[562] is the external mark of her status, since, as we have said, the status of the woman must always be apparent. And if she mourns for life it is because the loss of her husband means for her, and in the scale of Sarakatsani social values, an inestimable loss which she must forever regret.

775 MAN IN THE BEYOND.

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.--GHOSTS.

The Sarakatsani believe that after death man continues to live, but an existence as different from earthly life as from that assumed by Christianity.

The soul lives spiritually, but also anthropomorphically. And the dead person may become a ghost. The idea of resurrection exists. But for the Sarakatsani the cycle of life complies more with non-Christian beliefs.

775 On the mouth of the deceased a silver coin or a trinket is placed, so
724 that he has the wherewithal to pay his passage to Hades--a reminiscence of the ancient practice of paying Charon to cross the Styx. If he does not have the means of paying, he will be destined for the nether regions.

Next to the corpse, and again on the basis of non-Christian beliefs, are placed cigarettes, apples, oranges, candy, combs, small pocket mirrors, etc. These objects will serve for his own use in the beyond. The fruits are gifts for those who died before him, and the donors add oral messages or messages written on pieces of paper. However, if the deceased is old, these objects are not placed on his deathbed. Next to men, their shepherd's crook is placed. Next to women, their distaff.

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so

[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of

[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take

[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/338 cont./

764 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
775 of representation which determines magic action.
[776]
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[592] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [292] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 789 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] [761] [791] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 262 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764
775 /339 cont./
777 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
777 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776
789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute
/the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the
812 grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth,
771 he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so
[761] that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon
[775] that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [776]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical [841]

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 796 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [776] [783]

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 562

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577 archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred
793 to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal
562 attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different
[976] exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes
562 of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters
577 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the
578 Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the 562
sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. 783
Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition 833
of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important [834]
religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be 562
in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), 577
but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for 831
shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of 828
sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, [276]
cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these [834]
reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as 562
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779 repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

776 I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of 776
men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are [782]
able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

But in His concern for the beings He has created God, also, 776
judges and punishes. He is a just God in the sense that no evil- 784
doer ever escapes His judgement, yet the form this punishment assumes frequently appears to men to be capricious and unpredictable. Sometimes vengeance is not immediate but falls on the children of a guilty person. Very often misfortune seems utterly undeserved by the sufferer himself and must be simply ascribed to the will of God which passes his understanding; even other men, who seldom find it difficult to refer a misfortune suffered by another to the sin committed, will sometimes agree that the measure of God's punishment is hard, particularly when the life of a small child is taken. God the 776
Father, then, appears to the Sarakatsani under two aspects; 781
first as He who provides and cares, He who is merciful, approachable and near at hand; but secondly as the judge and avenger, distant and without pity. Under the second aspect there is a sense of ambivalence, even resentment, in the attitude to God, not unlike the tension and strain that enters the relations of a Sarakatsanos with his earthly father. He cannot

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776 781 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resistance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ἕνα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ Ἀδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collaborator in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of [577] habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 829 59 The second category of personal sins relates to family life, and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of 783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

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Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

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2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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The object of the Devil, then, is the moral corruption of men, or where this is not possible, their physical destruction. 'The Devil has many feet', the Sarakatsani say, that is he works out his evil in many ways, assuming whatever physical appearance is suitable for his purpose. His power is immense, and particularly in the wilderness of the mountains and forests outside the circle of men's homes protected by the grace of God; but even these he sometimes enters. In keeping with his degenerate nature, he appears frequently in the form of an animal, particularly as a black dog, donkey or hare. Sometimes he is half man, half animal, with the horned head of a goat or wild pig. When he assumes human form it is generally as an old man with a face black 'like an Arab's', and lame. In one instance he appeared as an Orthodox priest in red robes. Often he pretends to be a Sarakatsanos.

Some manifestations of the Devil are plural and of either sex. Bands of male demons (σατανάραίοι) with their leader, the black-faced limping Devil, sometimes surround and torment a lonely shepherd. The female demons are referred to as the 'ladies who bring good luck' (οἱ καλλιτυχες), a propitiatory euphemism which indicates their power. Like their masculine counterparts, these ladies prefer the mountain tops and forests or a lonely meadow in the plain. Very often they join the male demons in an orgiastic feast, the ladies of good luck wearing long white dresses, the men in kilts of the same colour. On a night when there is wind one often hears the Devil's music in the high crags. Otherwise, when they are not feasting or provoking humans, they pass their time eternally spinning and very occasionally one comes across a spindle-weight[1] which one of them has dropped.

Devils come from and disappear into the air which is thickly populated with spirits both good and evil, although in the imagination of the Sarakatsani the evil forms predominate. One of the tasks of Christ on earth was to cleanse the air of evil spirits so that the souls of men could find a way upwards to God. High winds, storms, whirlwinds are manifestations of demonic power. Evil spirits of the air (τὰ ἀεριχά) may attack men and animals invisibly or without taking a more definitive

[1] On the sites of prehistoric settlements.

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776 ●
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[1]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [73]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountainside. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[1] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλβ'

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776 784 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 751 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil [789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by [788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block 776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot 771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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man to maintain it. God and the Devil fight a pitiless and continuing battle for the souls of men in which the three elements are the grace of God, the cunning and subtlety of the Devil, and the will of man. 776 771

The Sarakatsani consider man's nature to be a trichotomy of spirit (πνεῦμα), soul (ψυχή) and body (κορμί, σῶμα). Although the views of different informants are not always clear about these conceptions (for instance some people see no difference between spirit and soul) nevertheless certain simple assumptions appear to be generally accepted. Spirit and soul together form a union with the body, yet between the first two elements and the last there is a degree of tension. The body is a product of material and sexual generation and is only redeemed when it is informed by a nobility of spirit and soul. Conversely, when the spirit and soul are dependent on the values and passions of the body, honour is lost and communion with God is interrupted. Spirit refers to the intellect plus the conscience (συνείδηση). Its natural inclination is to prompt a man's will (θέληση) to lead his soul upwards to God. It is associated in a man's mind with the Holy Spirit (Ἅγιο Πνεῦμα) whose nature is imperfectly understood as some divine energy. Evil befalls where for one reason or another the power of a man's spirit is not guiding his actions. Of a Sarakatsanos who shot his brother accidentally while cleaning a pistol it was said that 'his spirit was not concentrated'. And it was added, 'the Devil pulled the trigger'. The soul is the divine element in the individual human personality. Perhaps spirit and soul are the active and substantive aspects of the same thing. Both tend in an upward direction, but if the individual as a total personality does not incline his will towards God they become corrupted by their union with merely material things; and this is the end sought by the Devil. 828 774 771 [776]

It may be added that where a high value is given to the related notions of honour, strength, and manliness, the body cannot be considered as evil in itself,[8] but only under the aspect of its subjection to sensual passion. Man, then, who is by nature noble, normally moves towards a closer communion with God but is held back partly by the sinful condition of the world 828 771

[8] In this connexion it is interesting to note that the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece.

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[739] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the 776
knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the 783
man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes [829]
of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as the physical and political environment is concerned, they are able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of 725
the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and 776
women which return from the grave in a hideous distended form often to terrify members of their own family. They are persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide, drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first, the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them, form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil, remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed, in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of 754
the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it 776
implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, 783
and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility, nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

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754 776 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye
783 (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this
152 evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide.
[825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it
[833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of
[554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are
[771] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their
751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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788 expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any
[1178] other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault
[1189] of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion
776 with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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than other Saints. Makryiannis, a hero of the Revolution, tells 776
in his memoirs how, being very poor, he entered the chapel of 782
his patron Saint to offer a silver candlestick if only he might be granted a set of fine clothes and pistols. Sarakatsani behave similarly. Without the least embarrassment the approach is one of *do ut des*. The relations between Saint and worshipper [771]
resemble somewhat those of patron and client. But although it is easy to see how the Sarakatsanos projects to some degree the experience of his social relations into his religious life, it is also true that the latter transcends the former. You may bribe a lawyer to act dishonestly but you cannot do this to a Saint. He will not aid in wickedness nor where the suppliant, however great the gift he bears, approaches without a contrite heart. On this point all insist.

Man acquires help and protection not only through personal petitions to the divine Beings in the spiritual hierarchy, although this is the mode of communion which is sought in all critical matters. It is thought that by the grace of God divine 778
power enters and issues from a number of material objects. Contact with or possession of these sacred objects and substances are believed to be defences against attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men and general misfortune. The power immanent in the Word of God is released when the priest reads a passage over an afflicted person or when a worshipper kisses the Book. The incense breathed in church, the possession of a candle which burned on the representation of Christ's tomb at Easter, the sign of the cross on a sick man's forehead when made with oil from a lamp which has burned before an icon, all these have 'power'. Blessed water brought from church at the feast of Epiphany is sprinkled over the sheep. Salt, incense, box-wood when these have been blessed and 'read over' by the priest during the service on the Thursday of Holy Week, are kept throughout the next year—loci of divine strength. *Antidoron*, blessed bread, which is the remainder of the offered loaf after the seal has been cut from it for the communion cup, is similarly conserved. However, these materials are not simply charms. Their efficiency, as with all the manifestations of divine aid, depends on repentance and a 'good heart'.

God is in communion with men not only spiritually through 000

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787 God is in communion with men not only spiritually through grace but intelligently through messages, generally warnings of physical danger which may be avoided and premonitions of misfortune or death which may not. Many men claim that just before they escaped some disaster a Saint appeared to warn them of its approach. Dreams, divination of a sheep's shoulder blade, the behaviour of various animals and birds, are all interpreted as messages from God.

771 782 In all these modes of communion a man is concerned fundamentally with establishing a relationship with God or His spiritual subordinates in order to obtain help and protection in the many difficulties which his family faces. If he is able, he must raise himself some of the way towards God; for if he succeeds in at least displaying his will in this direction there is the hope that the power of God will descend to him. The means of a poor shepherd to do this, immersed as he is in his material troubles, are slight. He may achieve a small offering and a day's fast and sexual continence before presenting an important petition to a Saint. Always he must represent to himself that he repents his sins: and he must have a 'good heart'. A 'good heart' is the will to strain towards closer fellowship with God. In this context, however, repentance and a good heart imply only weakly and indirectly the idea of fellowship with other men. As in social systems of patronage, so in their everyday religious life each family strives to achieve a particular and exclusive relationship with subordinate spiritual beings and through them to draw down to their aid more of the divine power than other families.

771 776 But the grace of God, the favour of God, comes to men only through the sacrifice of Christ. It will not have escaped notice how little His name has appeared in this brief review of cult. [782] Sarakatsani, at least, seem to direct few prayers to Him. In their religious belief God has two hypostases or persons, Father and Saviour. When they refer to God, Θεός, they normally mean the Creator, Father, Protector, and Punisher of men, present everywhere yet separated from them morally by an immense distance. Christ is the Saint, Ἄης, or the Master, ὁ Ἀφέντης,[8] that is God in the person of a man like themselves, who sacrificed Himself that other men might overcome the

[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'.

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separating barrier of sin which was the original work of the Devil and Adam. The first of these terms reflects the sanctity of Christ, the second His concern for the well-being of men; both refer to His life under the limitations of the human condition. In their own experience the Sarakatsani see the reflection of the sufferings of Christ. From the moment of His birth He was persecuted and humiliated, yet He did not lose dignity or nobility. Nor in similar circumstances, the Sarakatsani believe, do they. 'Christ is our brother', they sometimes say. He made the first shepherd's flute (φλογέρα). He rounded up the wild goats, beasts of the Devil, and tamed them by placing His seal on the joints of their forelegs. He stands always by their side. They have only to think of Him and make the sign that recalls His sacrifice. Similarly, they believe that the Sarakatsani have always been the followers, worshippers, brothers of Christ. When the gipsy forged the five nails of the crucifixion for the Jews, it was the Sarakatsanos who stole one and drove it up the offending blacksmith's behind.

Christ is the key figure in Sarakatsan religious belief, and the events of the 'Great week' of Easter are the transcendent experiences of religious life. These I shall not attempt to describe in detail, but something must be said of the dramatic atmosphere which makes this complex of rites and customs quite unlike any others in the religious calendar. Normally villagers are exceedingly casual in church, and even the Sarakatsani, who are more devout in the outward respect they show to sacred objects, are quite pragmatic in their attitude and remarks about religious affairs even when they are anxiously presenting an important petition. In contrast, the dramatic intensity of emotion which seizes the community both in church and outside during this week makes an immediate impression on the observer. There is an air both of anxiety and anticipation. The historical events which the liturgy commemorates on the different days of the week are not treated as such. They are re-lived, people participate in them. They know what will happen, He will rise again; yet they are anxious. The women discuss the events in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times. As the drama proceeds the women in chorus make their simple and troubled comments, 'They have seized Him', 'He is being judged',

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil.

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of

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577 771 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 But men are also divided from God and from one another 783 by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of 772 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother- 574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less 771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed 781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter 796 is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [827] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
● 776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

114 lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

114 The author is now advanced in years, and the 178 bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken [115] some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

221 The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is [239] never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

● 996 Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

226 All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or 187 Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires, werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony [237] and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by ~~phylacteries of dogs'~~

[p. 82-B] drop. ngs;

776 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
[789] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
[231] ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
[588] der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daoutí*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large
[221] twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks; and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they
[825] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
[782] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
[231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
[372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

776 spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

825 787 GOOD and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their 782 sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of 262 cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the [825] rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsiliingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these [252] are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking [989] into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

531 The approach to Lent, and especially the Satur- 532 day night and the early hours of the Sunday before 531 Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior 533 which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

[p.83-B]

/23 cont./

361 621 474 612 The small groups correspond to the extended families, the isolated huts to conjugal families, the carefully finished hut to the chief, and the whole to the Tséligato.

[113] This organization is thus found to be engraved on the soil. (17)

17. See M. Halbwachs: Morphologie Sociale, p. 9.

233 The sheepfolds are not unusual in this respect. From their number one can deduce only the size of the flock they shelter; each contains 100 to 200 animals.

361 [776] In reality, the organization of space is much more complex. The Sarakatsani also single out evil places, others constituting the abode of supernatural beings, etc. All this will be examined in connection with the study of their magical and religious beliefs.

***

361 233 474 The encampment of our herders is called "konakia." This word, of Turkish origin, primarily means "dwelling." It is in this sense that it has been adopted into the popular language of all the inhabitants of continental Greece. However, among the Sarakatsani it also refers to the outbuildings of the dwellings, the sheepfolds and the installations for the tending of the animals in a word: the entire space they occupy.

[622] Moreover, the name of the chief of the group is added to the word "konakia"; and the different places occupied by the different groups are called "konakia of so-and-so."

The word "stani," also common to the herders of Greece, indicates the spot where the animal husbandry takes place.

Now, with respect to their referrent there is no difference between the terms "konakia" and "stani"; the nuance depends on the point of view from which one considers them: habitation in the first instance, husbandry in the second.

361 233 Finally, one finds a third term, "mandria," which /24/ designates again in general, with the cluster of shelters for the flocks. But this term should not be confused with the preceding ones, since it refers

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[776] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
796

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
764 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 134 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: das/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
19 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) II, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕ : Βυζαντινὰ Βίος, τ. VI, p. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(η16) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible], 60, 80, 5 et 5, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : [illegible] [illegible], in : M. P. G., 138, 1 [illegible], etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[262]
[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[716]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[191]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

233 /258 cont./
825
789
[777] in Byzantium: ~~Ἰωάννου~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--
[527] This is the unlucky person.
[175] Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.
731 The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the
821 seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy
789 everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself
[221] again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the
[776] Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan
171 Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Couretes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/259 cont./

796
191

the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : [illegible] I, 214, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαίδαλος τῶν Πλατωνίου, 4.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆσσαι, Fragm. 472, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

796
[198]

These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

796
536
[533]
[535]

/260 cont./

796 and the multicolored viper
789 as a collar around your neck...
535 /261/ May the stones of this house
533 never loosen
[539] and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[82] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[520] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded procautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any 777 22 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to 776 the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed 19 [789] to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 821 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [153] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 776 153 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [151] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [183]

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίνων Μάρτυρες: Πρὸς Τρίφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
789 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[992] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
772
911
[770]
[170]

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand. Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
776 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary"
789 gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

[751]

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. 9ff.

[171]

The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted.
[824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. [illegible], n. 2.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung.
[411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[312] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
[823] the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[171] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμικτα, Τ. Β', p. 299 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[412]
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [153] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above [789] all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

/269 cont./

in a way that is inescapable. (58) The young Sarakatsani mother /270/

58. A belief that goes back to the farthest Hellenic antiquity. The moires spin one's destiny, Oddyssey, VI, 191, etc. Propitiatory offerings to the moires are generally carried out by the Greeks. See D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 8, who also cites the works of

Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Παραδοσις Α', p. 880, et Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, p. 50-57.

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
be sweet"... a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a
regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
burned bit of the father's cloak.

/273 cont./

751 789 (237) (832) used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming and insures his success in romance. (66)

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

(771) 66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible]

(778) It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 585 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning. (778) (785) First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches, aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

(776) And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[176] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[239] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[194] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί δαιμόνων Δαιμόνων, Μ. Ρ. G. 122, p. 873.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

[171]

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

[184]

/295 cont./

121 789 peculiarity of the original phenomenon which is only apparent. As for the rest, this phenomenon, for the same reason as the other original phenomenon, is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society, and finally becomes a myth. But the social aspect and the mythical aspect are inseparable elements of all magic.

121 IDEAS GOVERNING THE APPLICATION OF POSTULATES AND PROCEDURES. CHARACTER OF THESE IDEAS. THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMOGENEITY.

The ideas governing the application of the postulate of transmissibility are developed on two levels, depending on the nature of the problems to be solved.

The latter are divided into two broad categories: fundamental problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, problems which are certainly important but presuppose that the first have been posed and resolved.

/296/ The fundamental problems are related to the sources of life (creation of a new life: fecundity) and to the functioning of nature (regeneration of nature: universal fertility).

The other problems concern the determination of sex, the acquisition of physical, physiological or biological properties, the acquisition of a state of being, the fulfillment of curative effects or of certain practical effects. (104)

> 104. The terminology which we have used here distorts reality up to a certain point since the Sarakatsani do not have the same classification of reality as we. Nevertheless, the examples and explanations that follow will permit an avoidance of misunderstanding.

In order to arrive at a solution of the fundamental problems the [789] Sarakatsani, as we have seen, appeals to forces that his mythology has [776] revealed to him: beliefs centered on the Mother-Goddess and her avatars. (105)

/296 cont./

121 789 772

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[288] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
735
791

/328 cont./

796 533 [532] [478] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Β. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χριστός, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΠΑΡΙΣΣΗΣ — Ι. ΣΥΚΟΛΑΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χριστός, p. 251-[illegible]

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/331 cont./

796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
474 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[188]
[252]

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
[596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[176] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[182] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
982 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
796 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
955 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
982 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so

[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338 / the sadness of

[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may

[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take

[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

/338 cont./

incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate of representation which determines magic action.

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall, however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity, according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani, as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

/339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [292] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 784 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. [761] It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, [771] but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 782 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764
775 /339 cont./
776 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: Kolyv. Antoi Antpais. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[789] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[796]

/346 cont./

771 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively
181 and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an
829 expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is
157 not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)
781

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them
[774] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above
771 all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere,
157 seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His
[182] religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f.,
776 maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation
114 of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
776 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
114 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
191 Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
[redacted] index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.[illegible]) that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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585 Her relatives, leaping to their horses, rode after the cavalcade
602 insisting that the bride return and take shelter. The groom's
578 kinsmen angrily refused to halt, pointing out that if a bride
578 retraces her steps or even looks round upon the house she has left, it brings ill luck upon her new home. Refusing to be drawn into further argument, they rode on. The enraged kinsmen of the bride dismounted, and blaspheming against the sisters and mothers of their future affines, sent them away to a fusillade of rifle shots over their heads and stones aimed at their bodies.

However, the separate celebration of the wedding feast, each family in its own home, the denial of commensality, and the mutual display of antagonism institutionalized in wedding custom, are the last occasions on which the two families are permitted to bear witness openly to the aspect of mutual opposition in their relationship. Before the eldest brother of the bridegroom leaves the bride's house, he is offered a glass of ouzo by the bride's father or brother who says, 'We shall wait for you'. This refers to the customary visit or 'return' (ἐπιστροφή), which is made by the bride and groom and the latter's close relatives to the former home of the bride, generally on the second Sunday after the wedding. Meat is killed, quantities of wine are bought, and there is feasting and dancing through the night.

585 The 'return' is an important occasion. By this time, the new
602 marriage relationship has been established both by the secular
581 contract of betrothal between the two families and by the joining of the two individuals in the religious sacrament of marriage. In the first words of the service which refer to the bride and groom, the priest says, 'Let us pray to the Lord for his servants (X., Y.) who are now joining the one with the other for the common life of marriage.' The two individuals are now a social unity, a man-and-wife (ἀνδρόγυνο). It is not possible to help the one and not help the other, or withdraw support from one without withdrawing support from the other. Thus, the behaviour of both families at the 'return is necessarily oriented towards co-operation and forced goodwill.

585 At first conversation between the two families is stilted and
602 formal, and restricted to neutral topics such as weather and taxes. The bride and groom, under the eyes of their respective affines, sit silent and constrained. But as the evening wears on,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακοριζικο χέρι). S 608 851 [277]

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God. S [554] [571] G 608 851 571

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them. S 608 557 G 608

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and S G 608 626

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
771

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

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Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

777 776 846 [191]

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral 777
sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense 828
of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release 829
a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. 783
In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause 773
of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and 776
his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833]

21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

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[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

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[824]

23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

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233 825 789 [171] [842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [171]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ effecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ [illegible]. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

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31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: [illegible] and even

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΥ. [illegible] 172

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[777]
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in Byzantium: 'Ιωάνου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

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Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

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These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

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32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 179, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[273] [182] [823] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden 789 825 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes 322 53 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the 233 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of 283 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance 777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the 236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] 777 22 Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 776 759 [789] All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [153] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above [789] all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close 777 to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

3: Kabbadias--305A E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

/269 cont./

776 in a way that is inescapable. (58) The young Sarakatsani mother /270/

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58. A belief that goes back to the farthest Hellenic antiquity. The moires spin one's destiny, Oddyssey, VI, 191, etc. Propitiatory offerings to the moires are generally carried out by the Greeks. See D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 8, who also cites the works of

p. 56-57. Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Παραδόσεις Α', p. 888, et Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα,

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
822 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[758] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

/280 cont./

789 825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: [illegible] p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 842 789 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity. 771 781 [282]

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη). 771 794 778 788

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign 788 [264]

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788 expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any
[1178] other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault
[1189] of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion
776 with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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776 782 about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

776 782 778 If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

776 782 A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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than other Saints. Makryiannis, a hero of the Revolution, tells in his memoirs how, being very poor, he entered the chapel of his patron Saint to offer a silver candlestick if only he might be granted a set of fine clothes and pistols. Sarakatsani behave similarly. Without the least embarrassment the approach is one of *do ut des*. The relations between Saint and worshipper resemble somewhat those of patron and client. But although it is easy to see how the Sarakatsanos projects to some degree the experience of his social relations into his religious life, it is also true that the latter transcends the former. You may bribe a lawyer to act dishonestly but you cannot do this to a Saint. He will not aid in wickedness nor where the suppliant, however great the gift he bears, approaches without a contrite heart. On this point all insist.

Man acquires help and protection not only through personal petitions to the divine Beings in the spiritual hierarchy, although this is the mode of communion which is sought in all critical matters. It is thought that by the grace of God divine power enters and issues from a number of material objects. Contact with or possession of these sacred objects and substances are believed to be defences against attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men and general misfortune. The power immanent in the Word of God is released when the priest reads a passage over an afflicted person or when a worshipper kisses the Book. The incense breathed in church, the possession of a candle which burned on the representation of Christ's tomb at Easter, the sign of the cross on a sick man's forehead when made with oil from a lamp which has burned before an icon, all these have 'power'. Blessed water brought from church at the feast of Epiphany is sprinkled over the sheep. Salt, incense, box-wood when these have been blessed and 'read over' by the priest during the service on the Thursday of Holy Week, are kept throughout the next year—loci of divine strength. *Antidoron*, blessed bread, which is the remainder of the offered loaf after the seal has been cut from it for the communion cup, is similarly conserved. However, these materials are not simply charms. Their efficiency, as with all the manifestations of divine aid, depends on repentance and a 'good heart'.

God is in communion with men not only spiritually through

825 842 789 /281 cont./
itself is also a magic act.

825 789 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked [783] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not [778] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ηπειρωτικὴ Ἐστία, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us [173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

/311 cont./

789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its (778) efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

/312 cont./

789 778 114 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:

1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 114 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

/313 cont./

789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by aquasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 798 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[171] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127). [155] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/314 cont./

789 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as
798 a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still
114 very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is
114 because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

/315 cont./

789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
773 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
776 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

/316 cont./

789 773 114 778 more, mans as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not motion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 144 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

/326 cont./

771 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] [171] [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

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761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY
AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

771 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) [778] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [559] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oi , meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hadjimichali, (19)

Fig. 169

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sin and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 796 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [779] [783]

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
577 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[779] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices 121
of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex 771
of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious 577
beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the 794
Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil- [648]
lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so 796
with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he 794
ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as 779
the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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783 the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the
828 social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy
[812] because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the
[779] potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

But in His concern for the beings He has created God, also, judges and punishes. He is a just God in the sense that no evil-doer ever escapes His judgement, yet the form this punishment assumes frequently appears to men to be capricious and unpredictable. Sometimes vengeance is not immediate but falls on the children of a guilty person. Very often misfortune seems utterly undeserved by the sufferer himself and must be simply ascribed to the will of God which passes his understanding; even other men, who seldom find it difficult to refer a misfortune suffered by another to the sin committed, will sometimes agree that the measure of God's punishment is hard, particularly when the life of a small child is taken. God the Father, then, appears to the Sarakatsani under two aspects; first as He who provides and cares, He who is merciful, approachable and near at hand; but secondly as the judge and avenger, distant and without pity. Under the second aspect there is a sense of ambivalence, even resentment, in the attitude to God, not unlike the tension and strain that enters the relations of a Sarakatsanos with his earthly father. He cannot

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776 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resis-
781 tance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ἕνα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ Ἀδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collabora-
[577] tor in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 The second category of personal sins relates to family life,
829 and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes
59 and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of
783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ κσλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign

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separating barrier of sin which was the original work of the Devil and Adam. The first of these terms reflects the sanctity of Christ, the second His concern for the well-being of men; both refer to His life under the limitations of the human condition. In their own experience the Sarakatsani see the reflection of the sufferings of Christ. From the moment of His birth He was persecuted and humiliated, yet He did not lose dignity or nobility. Nor in similar circumstances, the Sarakatsani believe, do they. 'Christ is our brother', they sometimes say. He made the first shepherd's flute (φλογέρα). He rounded up the wild goats, beasts of the Devil, and tamed them by placing His seal on the joints of their forelegs. He stands always by their side. They have only to think of Him and make the sign that recalls His sacrifice. Similarly, they believe that the Sarakatsani have always been the followers, worshippers, brothers of Christ. When the gipsy forged the five nails of the crucifixion for the Jews, it was the Sarakatsanos who stole one and drove it up the offending blacksmith's behind.

Christ is the key figure in Sarakatsan religious belief, and the events of the 'Great week' of Easter are the transcendent experiences of religious life. These I shall not attempt to describe in detail, but something must be said of the dramatic atmosphere which makes this complex of rites and customs quite unlike any others in the religious calendar. Normally villagers are exceedingly casual in church, and even the Sarakatsani, who are more devout in the outward respect they show to sacred objects, are quite pragmatic in their attitude and remarks about religious affairs even when they are anxiously presenting an important petition. In contrast, the dramatic intensity of emotion which seizes the community both in church and outside during this week makes an immediate impression on the observer. There is an air both of anxiety and anticipation. The historical events which the liturgy commemorates on the different days of the week are not treated as such. They are re-lived, people participate in them. They know what will happen, He will rise again; yet they are anxious. The women discuss the events in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times. As the drama proceeds the women in chorus make their simple and troubled comments, 'They have seized Him', 'He is being judged',

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796 'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical
781 moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is [751] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back
796 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is
769 for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the [252] souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

796 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely
781 bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[6] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[6] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξβ'.

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577 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person
991 this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another
771 by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of
783 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It
776 requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother-
574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less
771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed
781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter
796 is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from
[829] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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789 121 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is [781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something [794] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into 789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially, 153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 789 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

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789 114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/346 cont./

771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20) it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [174] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 157

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

771 796 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

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788 [978] [989] expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 776 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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776 782 about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

776 782 778 If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

776 782 A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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than other Saints. Makryiannis, a hero of the Revolution, tells 776
in his memoirs how, being very poor, he entered the chapel of 782
his patron Saint to offer a silver candlestick if only he might be granted a set of fine clothes and pistols. Sarakatsani behave similarly. Without the least embarrassment the approach is one of *do ut des*. The relations between Saint and worshipper [771]
resemble somewhat those of patron and client. But although it is easy to see how the Sarakatsanos projects to some degree the experience of his social relations into his religious life, it is also true that the latter transcends the former. You may bribe a lawyer to act dishonestly but you cannot do this to a Saint. He will not aid in wickedness nor where the suppliant, however great the gift he bears, approaches without a contrite heart. On this point all insist.

Man acquires help and protection not only through personal petitions to the divine Beings in the spiritual hierarchy, although this is the mode of communion which is sought in all critical matters. It is thought that by the grace of God divine 778
power enters and issues from a number of material objects. Contact with or possession of these sacred objects and substances are believed to be defences against attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men and general misfortune. The power immanent in the Word of God is released when the priest reads a passage over an afflicted person or when a worshipper kisses the Book. The incense breathed in church, the possession of a candle which burned on the representation of Christ's tomb at Easter, the sign of the cross on a sick man's forehead when made with oil from a lamp which has burned before an icon, all these have 'power'. Blessed water brought from church at the feast of Epiphany is sprinkled over the sheep. Salt, incense, box-wood when these have been blessed and 'read over' by the priest duri g the service on the Thursday of Holy Week, are kept throughout the next year—loci of divine strength. *Antidoron*, blessed bread, which is the remainder of the offered loaf after the seal has been cut from it for the communion cup, is similarly conserved. However, these materials are not simply charms. Their efficiency, as with all the manifestations of divine aid, depends on repentance and a 'good heart'.

God is in communion with men not only spiritually through 000

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787 God is in communion with men not only spiritually through grace but intelligently through messages, generally warnings of physical danger which may be avoided and premonitions of misfortune or death which may not. Many men claim that just before they escaped some disaster a Saint appeared to warn them of its approach. Dreams, divination of a sheep's shoulder blade, the behaviour of various animals and birds, are all interpreted as messages from God.

771 In all these modes of communion a man is concerned fundamentally with establishing a relationship with God or His spiritual subordinates in order to obtain help and protection in the many difficulties which his family faces. If he is able, he must raise himself some of the way towards God; for if he succeeds in at least displaying his will in this direction there is the hope that the power of God will descend to him. The means of a poor shepherd to do this, immersed as he is in his material troubles, are slight. He may achieve a small offering and a day's fast and sexual continence before presenting an important petition to a Saint. Always he must represent to himself that he repents his sins: and he must have a 'good heart'. A 'good heart' is the will to strain towards closer fellowship with God. In this context, however, repentance and a good heart imply only weakly and indirectly the idea of fellowship with other men. As in social systems of patronage, so in their everyday religious life each family strives to achieve a particular and exclusive relationship with subordinate spiritual beings and through them to draw down to their aid more of the divine power than other families.

771 But the grace of God, the favour of God, comes to men only through the sacrifice of Christ. It will not have escaped notice how little His name has appeared in this brief review of cult. [782] Sarakatsani, at least, seem to direct few prayers to Him. In their religious belief God has two hypostases or persons, Father and Saviour. When they refer to God, Θεός, they normally mean the Creator, Father, Protector, and Punisher of men, present everywhere yet separated from them morally by an immense distance. Christ is the Saint, Ἅης, or the Master, ὁ Ἀφέντης,[8] that is God in the person of a man like themselves, who sacrificed Himself that other men might overcome the

[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'.

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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
● 782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

776 spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

825 787 Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their 782 262 sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the [825] rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas*' son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these [252] are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking [989] into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

536 The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before 522 Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior 831 which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of [224] masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *kourbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

[p.83-B]

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789
[262] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[716]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[527] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy (606) (607) which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the (273) (782) ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians (171)

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
171 pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."

203 say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
182 Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh
823 as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
53 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[789] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a
regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[953] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[952] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
burned bit of the father's cloak.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. Χρυσοστόμου: M. P. G. 61, 104. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/331 cont./

796 474 554 [188] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [776] [474] [554] [574] [782] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./
the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
171 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

/334 cont./

782 182 771 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. 946), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: Griechische Religion, p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolégomena, p. 84.

[114]

782 771 171

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity. They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
(783) distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
(841) term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
(838) have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
(515) those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
(596) preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

(178) Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
(782) the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
(779) which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 772 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [776] [783]

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608 generally not connected by kinship or marriage. It is therefore, despite the ritual sanction it contains, an inherently fragile bond which can only be sustained through the meticulous disciplining of attitudes and feelings on both sides. Two people formerly unrelated are drawn into a relationship of exacting ethical standards in which their mutual esteem and respect are profoundly committed.

[283] Just as the gift of God's grace which is implied in the rite of Baptism is a free gift, a gift without motive, and one which expects no reciprocity, so it is held that a godfather ought not to refuse any reasonable request of his godchild. In practice a godchild has little to do with his godfather, to whom, however, he must show a formal respect more punctilious than the respect he observes to his natural parents. While the ritual relation between the godfather and his godchild is more important than that between bridegroom and sponsor, the social relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent, persons of the same generation with common or complementary interests, is more important than that between the spiritual father and his godchild. Nevertheless, when a man seeks a favour from the godfather of his child, he asks for this help implicitly, or explicitly, in the name of the child; for it is understood that he has the right to make this request because of the ritual relation which exists between his child and its spiritual father. It follows that, in an important sense, the social relationship between the natural and the spiritual parent is dependent on the ritual link between godfather and godchild.

608 The wedding sponsor, in theory, has the right to baptize all
851 the children of the marriage. The Sarakatsanos, however, sel-
557 dom wastes these opportunities by allowing a single godfather to baptize all his sons. When the second son is born he tactfully asks the godfather of his first son if he would mind surrendering his right on this occasion because X has asked him if he might have that honour. He may add that as X is an important man he fears to give him offence. This, of course, is not true but the lie serves its purpose. In this way a man may establish almost as
608 many links of spiritual kinship as he has children. If the first
851 child is a girl, the sponsor baptizes her but normally he must also become the godfather of the first son when he is born. However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be

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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
579 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[979] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as

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776 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resis-
781 tance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

● 783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ἕνα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ Ἀδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collabora-
[577] tor in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 The second category of personal sins relates to family life,
829 and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes
59 and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of
783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a com- 783
munity where masculine values are paramount, it has led 577
the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women 562
must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt.

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from 783
within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. 152
Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve 156
identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic [254] hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral [577] sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form.

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not 783
unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of 828
guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with

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783 828 the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy [812] because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the [779] potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, 783 a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be 828 near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. 829 In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation 783 sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani 828 from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred 829 through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make 771 communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, [851] innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The 777 Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe 776 that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three 846 Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's [171] cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[835] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
● 783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as the physical and political environment is concerned, they are able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and women which return from the grave in a hideous distended form often to terrify members of their own family. They are persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide, drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first, the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them, form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil, remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed, in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility, nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

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754 776 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye
783 (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this
152 evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide.
[825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it
[833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of
[554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are
[271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their
751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

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sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead.

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin.

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[235] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
● 783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 771 783 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 [154]

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
592 626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
684 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.

[694] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[693] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dar of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another
577 rule:

783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

/221 cont./

685 577 783 [784] responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the Church of the wax that the bees could produce.

685 577 825 [674] [799]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice and reparation in these specific instances.

685 577

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

[625]

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

[555] [783]

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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
53 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87). The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

/See p.119--Analyst/

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 776 82 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 776 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani. 776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίνων Μάρτυρες: Πρὸς Τρύφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
989 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
987 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[992] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted.
[824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: Λαϊκοί δοκιμασμοί ανεμίων, p. 48, n. 2.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung.
[411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 233 789 [372] [823] /267 cont./
imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[191] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, Τ. Β', p. 302 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A.. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/271 cont./

likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the childbirth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

825 842 789 /281 cont./
itself is also a magic act.

825 789 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked [783] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not [718] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. (Ἡπειρωτικὴ Ἑστία, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us [173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/307 cont./

789 114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/326 cont./

771 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints
789 in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this
182 threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must
178 now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day
[178] and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and
788 professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle
462 human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is
[178] the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out
[171] for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours)
[484] to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a
788 means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy
783 water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement
798 to fertility and abundance.

798 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons,
783 to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [292] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 789 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] [761] [771] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 262 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764
775 /339 cont./
776 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 - The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[793] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[839] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
[782] disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[779] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/374 cont./

534

Fig. 109

The tziradi is a reduced flute, approximately 35 centimeters long. It is a portable instrument made of wood, metal or the long bones of the eagle (fig. 109). In the latter case the bones must remain 40 days in a church, before being used, for the birds of prey "are of the devil" and must therefore be purified. The tziradi has but seven holes, on one side only. The sound it produces is rather shrill.

[237] [183]

Formerly, the Sarakatsani also used the bourboule, an instrument bought commercially and consisting of two flutes joined. This instrument has today disappeared.

[178]

/375/ PART FOUR

/376/ REMARKS ON THE WHOLE

121

After the partial aspects, an introduction to the whole of Sarakatsani society and culture: a step all the more necessary since, in the world of socio-cultural phenomena, the whole far exceeds the simple sum of its parts.

In this section we shall not concern ourselves with what is external and apparent only secondary. We intend above all to try to fathom the inner composition, to show how the parts are concretely integrated.

But if we succeed in defining the process that leads to the integration of the parts into the whole, that is to say, in bringing to light how we pass from plurality to unity, we shall, at the same time, be in a position to explain and to understand the whole. More than that.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour 577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the 596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [604] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the 599 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through 554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech- 754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed [755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [784] [794] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

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married woman he showed that he was not honourable and, further, by hiding in his hut he revealed his cowardice and exposed his manliness to public ridicule. He failed to measure up to the critical qualities required of a man; this was a matter for shame. The young son of Pistiolis, who possesses only sixty sheep, told me that on migrations the family is so ashamed of its poverty that it delays its departure until a few days after the other Sarakatsani have left the village. 'Otherwise people would see how poor we were and would laugh at us.' Eleutherios has a small son who is subject to fits. His brother admitted that this was a matter for shame because people would say that God was punishing the child for its parents' sins. It is a mark of indelible parental failure if children are spotted by any moral or physical blemish. A modest maiden has shame in two respects. She is aware of the power of her sexuality; in a sense she has already failed by being a woman at all, and for this she 'feels shame'. She is also a girl 'with shame' in the sense that she carefully conforms to a strict code of modest behaviour and movement. This expresses the fear of failure in disciplining sexuality according to the ideal pattern of maidenly conduct. Finally, a little child feels shame before a stranger because it lacks experience of a situation it does not understand. It fears failure and criticism. 'The child is ashamed. He does not understand yet,' says the father.

These different contextual situations in which the concept of shame is used are linked by the notion of failure, or fear of failure, whether the emphasis on inadequacy is internal to the social personality, producing feelings of self-disesteem, or whether, as is more often the case, these sentiments are made more acute through public loss of prestige. The laughter, ridicule, and insults actually experienced, or more often imagined, are the marks of failure so far as the external reference of shame is concerned. Between the two sanctions of right conduct, self-regard, and shame, there is a close affinity. While self-regard is the positive incentive to achieve what is expected, shame is the fear, or the realization, of not achieving it. This difference of emphasis is reflected in the fact that to some extent these two sentiments are sex-linked. The idea of self-regard contains the notion of a positive competitive attitude, especially between men of similar age and standing. Women do not go

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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of 776
men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are [782]
able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

But in His concern for the beings He has created God, also, 776
judges and punishes. He is a just God in the sense that no evil- 784
doer ever escapes His judgement, yet the form this punishment assumes frequently appears to men to be capricious and unpredictable. Sometimes vengeance is not immediate but falls on the children of a guilty person. Very often misfortune seems utterly undeserved by the sufferer himself and must be simply ascribed to the will of God which passes his understanding; even other men, who seldom find it difficult to refer a misfortune suffered by another to the sin committed, will sometimes agree that the measure of God's punishment is hard, particularly when the life of a small child is taken. God the 776
Father, then, appears to the Sarakatsani under two aspects; 781
first as He who provides and cares, He who is merciful, approachable and near at hand; but secondly as the judge and avenger, distant and without pity. Under the second aspect there is a sense of ambivalence, even resentment, in the attitude to God, not unlike the tension and strain that enters the relations of a Sarakatsanos with his earthly father. He cannot

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between brothers; wanton cruelty to, or neglect of, the family's 783
horses, sheep or goats.

The third category of sins are those which exist in the field 783
of general morality in the behaviour of one man towards 609
another. A man feels little obligation to discipline himself in his conduct towards an unrelated person, but there are limits which ought not to be transgressed, and generally speaking these limits are related to the consequences that immoderate behaviour would have for the victim's family. To exploit a very poor man, or refuse charity to a beggar, is sinful. To slander the name of an unmarried girl is a sin. In these instances there enters a hint of the idea of *hubris*, an arrogance of act, or thought, overstepping bounds set by God and involving wrongdoing to others which threatens the moral or physical existence of a family and is not excusable on grounds of self-interest.

The essence of sin is that, in one form or another, it is wilful 783
rebellion against God and His institutions. And for such an 784
act of personal sin a man may expect to be punished by God through sickness, death, or some catastrophe that leads his family into want. Catastrophe or misfortune is by no means always explained as the punishment of God, but where a man is guilty of a known sin, any misfortune which befalls him, or another member of his immediate family, will certainly be recognized as divine punishment. As I have already suggested, Sarakatsani are skilled in listing the sins of others. The sufferer [754]
and his kin, on the other hand, will more often ascribe their [777]
ill luck not to God's wrath, but to the evil eye, a manifestation of other men's sinful and envious natures.

It must be stressed that the Sarakatsani visualize the punish- 783
ment of God as being realized essentially in this world either 784
against themselves, or their children. Hell is a place of vaporous 772
darkness where sinful men suffer in cauldrons of pitch; Para- 775
dise is a plain of well-watered grass covered with spring flowers. These conceptions exist, yet seem to make little impression. If an evil man dies unscathed, men are not content with thoughts of the torments he may suffer in Hell; they concentrate their attention on the misfortunes which will certainly overtake his children in this world. The wages of sin is death. But it 783
is not the spiritual death which follows physical death which 784
771

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
●784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[8]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and los-
ing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [73]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountain-
side. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[8] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil [789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by [788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[774]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[559] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any 777 22 person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 776 75 [789] All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[196] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[194] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί δαιμόνων, Μ. Ρ. G. 122, p. 873.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 239 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75) [184]

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, the married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

233 /279 cont./

789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.

[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the

784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until

221 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal

[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a

514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)

233 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well

[171] known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to Ta Narthex, M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/307 cont./

789 114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] [783] [788] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: Ἑλλ. Λαικ. Λατρεία. pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[789] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[796]

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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and 796
coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality 785
and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes conti- 771
nent and unrelated men behave towards one another with [262]
unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent 796
his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he 783
ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. 771
He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition 182
of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet 577
to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, 771
whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence [174]
of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period [279]
the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civiliza- [177]
tion. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237]
[832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: [illegible], 8, 473.

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
[178] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
[785] aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

764
775 /339 cont./
776 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776
789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

791 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) (778) On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain (474) (594) (688) holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

2: Fermor

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

527
786

/General information on feasting, dancing, music and drinking, accompanying the Sarakatsani wedding held at Sikarayia will be found in category 585./

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These,
[787] generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[835] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

787 God is in communion with men not only spiritually through grace but intelligently through messages, generally warnings of physical danger which may be avoided and premonitions of misfortune or death which may not. Many men claim that just before they escaped some disaster a Saint appeared to warn them of its approach. Dreams, divination of a sheep's shoulder blade, the behaviour of various animals and birds, are all interpreted as messages from God.

771 782 In all these modes of communion a man is concerned fundamentally with establishing a relationship with God or His spiritual subordinates in order to obtain help and protection in the many difficulties which his family faces. If he is able, he must raise himself some of the way towards God; for if he succeeds in at least displaying his will in this direction there is the hope that the power of God will descend to him. The means of a poor shepherd to do this, immersed as he is in his material troubles, are slight. He may achieve a small offering and a day's fast and sexual continence before presenting an important petition to a Saint. Always he must represent to himself that he repents his sins: and he must have a 'good heart'. A 'good heart' is the will to strain towards closer fellowship with God. In this context, however, repentance and a good heart imply only weakly and indirectly the idea of fellowship with other men. As in social systems of patronage, so in their everyday religious life each family strives to achieve a particular and exclusive relationship with subordinate spiritual beings and through them to draw down to their aid more of the divine power than other families.

771 776 But the grace of God, the favour of God, comes to men only through the sacrifice of Christ. It will not have escaped notice how little His name has appeared in this brief review of cult. [782] Sarakatsani, at least, seem to direct few prayers to Him. In their religious belief God has two hypostases or persons, Father and Saviour. When they refer to God, Θεός, they normally mean the Creator, Father, Protector, and Punisher of men, present everywhere yet separated from them morally by an immense distance. Christ is the Saint, Ἄης, or the Master, ὁ Ἀφέντης,[8] that is God in the person of a man like themselves, who sacrificed Himself that other men might overcome the

[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν χουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[787] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

585 [51] knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *kombolói* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, [413] and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. [233] They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; [532] the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

585 291 Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for 585 [57] the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. [191] They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

19 THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly 192 chopped and consonantal ring. It was made 233 harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They [787] have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsnoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

776 spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

825 787 Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their 782 262 sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the [825] rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these [252] are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking [787] into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

531 The approach to Lent, and especially the Satur- 522 day night and the early hours of the Sunday before 831 Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior 247 which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] or disastrous.
[787]

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali
[114] (ibid., p. 9v') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, ~~shepherd~~ reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analyst/

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωάννου Μόσχου: Πρὸς Τρόφιμον, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
989 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
787 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[002] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
822 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.

787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 825 582 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing. That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for everybody--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] [833] [155]

91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 825 787 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 787 [171] Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoulès: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 713 787 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.

787 [887] [554] However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

[787 887 554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

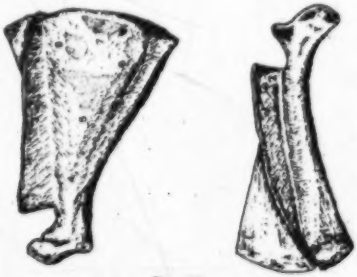

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: [illegible], p. 18.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ: [illegible], Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on M. ΨΙΛΛΑΟΣ

/285 cont./

787
171

in the periodical Philologus, pp. 166-168, according to a Viennese code: G. Megas: Ibid., p. 5.

(Huns, Mongols, Yugoslavs, Scots, Corsicans, Spaniards, French, Germans, English and as far as the region of Labrador). (95)

95. K. Birket-Smith: Histoire de la civilisation, p. 390.

According to the same author, its very large dissemination in Byzantium is due to the fact that the Church, which did not tolerate the pagan methods of divination on the occasion of sacrifices, showed itself more tolerant of it /scapulamancy/ (96)

96. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21; citing also the work of Bouche-Leclercq, Histoire de la divination, I, 180: Scapulamancy /divination by the scapula/, about which we are informed by Psellus, must have been one of the last transformations of empyromancy/divination by fire/ born of the bloody sacrifice.

We believe that this hypothesis is well founded, for it is corroborated by that fact that the lambs of Easter, of St. George, etc., are the main objects of observation. There is thus an intervention of religion in this practice which divests it of its original pagan character.

(178)

787

Connections between the signs of the shoulderblade, on the one hand, and the life of men, on the other, are justified in the thinking of those who use scapulamancy by their intent. Before the animal is put to death its owner must plan the subjects about which he will consult the shoulderblade. (97)

97. See The code published by G. Megas: Ibid., p. 8: "Take a ewe or a lamb and after you have named what you want to find out, kill it..."

* * * *

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
759 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

/382 cont./

182 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated
81 by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship,
182 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain
812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal
789 to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have
755 also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity.
(789) The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil
[789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by
[788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity. 771 781 [282]

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη). 771 794 778 788

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign 788 [264]

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788 The sign expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any
[1178] other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault
[1189] of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion
776 with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead. 771 776

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin. 783 788 771

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

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771 for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static,
783 always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled
788 downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

796 The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must
782 give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater
231 religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of
771 Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, κάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of
[782] sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

796 A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast
785 for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and
771 in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many
[262] villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

582 /129 cont./
Now, the Sarakatsani respect this rule and prohibit marriage between individuals linked by such relationships. Their expression "sixth degree by affinity" has no other meaning.

608 That is not all. There are, besides, among the Sarakatsani (7)
582 7. In the official law as well.
two other kinds of kinship, artificial ones in this case, which also create obstacles to marriage.

These are, first, a spiritual kinship which is established on the one hand between the godfather and his god-daughter (the former is considered the spiritual father of the latter), and, on the other hand, between the godfather's son and the god-daughter (considered siblings). Obviously, marriage between these individuals is prohibited.

608 The second kind of kinship is that of fraternization. /130/ This is a practice observed among male friends over 18 years of age who, choose a woman, or rather a young girl, "to fraternize" with them; she is considered a sister to all of them. (8)

8. According to D. Loukopoulos: Poimeniká, p. 211: "the participation of the woman makes the fraternization bond stronger."

The ritual of fraternization, of Byzantine origin, is a religious [188] ritual: the priest ties with "the belt of the Holy Virgin" the hands of those who "fraternize," while pronouncing the prayers provided by the Orthodox church for this ceremony. (9)

9. It should be noted in this connection that the Byzantine Church has condemned fraternization officially on several occasions. See: N. Pantazopoulou: Éllenōn..., p. 32, note 45 where one finds a copious bibliography. The interdict has not been followed. Fraternization has been practiced since the Byzantine era continuously to [191] this day. It is likewise practiced in various forms, among other peoples, such as the Serbs, for example.

/271 cont./
844 574 789 [783] likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 783 789 [788] Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos [842] of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 789 [527] The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I. pp 3.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child [237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 28, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Βουκολικοί VII 128.

[825] It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀριστοτ.
IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 [462] that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

[539] "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./
755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[39] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that
755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases.
755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox
824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

/278 cont./
755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

/279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected [788] individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes 789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new [754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

233 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to 789 oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely 114 criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

/303 cont./

121 789 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 789 788 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 789 811 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

/307 cont./

789 by G. Gurvitch (113)

114

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

789 /322 cont./
562 the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for
462 maintaining relations with the dark forces.
[233]
[791]

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential
[182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion,
554 develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks
182 once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some
[188] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

788 /322 cont./
789
554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[851] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[604] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
596 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./
182 families and the Tséligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and
554 affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up
596 into its components. Sarakatsani society is safe from these dangers,
788 thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears
182 on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

/326 cont./

771 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] [171] [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
(hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
[769] is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[887] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[188] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ; during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 516 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

796 788 474 554

/331 cont./

796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
474 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[188]
[252]

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
[596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[176] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[182] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
982 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
796 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
955 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
982 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ',

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacrements. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient
a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses.
And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [817]
the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will
relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may
take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463]
that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they
happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally
necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult
Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no
specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554]
the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the
lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each
day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more
from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the
better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sara-
katsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around
the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with
their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at
a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maxi-
mum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to
the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the
shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours
before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is
driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a
situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe
is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf.
Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231]
warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789]
various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten
the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these
weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be
constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the
flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth.
A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to
ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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233 udder and that the ewe and lamb recognize one another by
461 smell. For this reason, too, the sheep-fold must be moved to dry ground when it becomes fouled by mud and excrement since
[232] this makes recognition by smell difficult. Sometimes when a ewe has a difficult delivery the shepherd must try to manipulate
[136] the lamb into the correct position to ease its passage. At night, in bad weather, and with the ever present menace of wolves, these various operations are exceedingly difficult.

233 With the establishment on the first of February of the cheese-
234 maker's station the ewes whose lambs have been weaned are
461 milked twice a day at dawn and dusk. Any men of the stani, including the tselingas, who are not away with the other flocks, come to assist the two shepherds of the milking ewes. There is competition to discover who is the strongest milker, who draws off most milk into his bucket and milks the greater number of sheep without suffering cramp in his hands. But there is a more general anxiety about the total quantity of milk taken at each milking and the shepherds watch apprehensively for symptoms of a disease that attacks the udder and turns milk to water (παρμάρα). The Sarakatsani say that shepherds have a great σεβντάς for lambing and milking, a word perhaps impossible to translate, which includes the ideas of love and longing, anxiety
[754] and envy. It follows that the milking-pen is the part of the stani
[309] most threatened by the evil eye of other shepherds, and also the part of the stani where the shepherds are careful to deploy different objects such as a viper's head or an egg dyed red on the Thursday of Easter week which have the power to neutralize this pervasive and destructive force of envy, as well as more direct attacks by the Devil.

233 The next demand upon the strength of the shepherd comes
221 in the early days of May when the stani sets out for the moun-
461 tains. This is a moment almost of festival. The sheep again carry their bells which are not worn in the winter. As well as their practical function of identifying the flock they express the joy of the stani that the difficult winter period is over and its pride in the appearance of its flock. But the journey itself is not
[648] pleasurable for the shepherd. Particularly in recent years it has become difficult to find grazing on the road and there are hostile and sometimes violent encounters with villagers and agricultural guards. The sheep travel eight to ten miles each night on

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. 585 596 [576]

The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry [583] wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or, 585 596 if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him.[8] The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive 283 789 one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction in her new situation, the humility required of her on the 585 596 one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, 152 only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband 585 gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He 593 may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of 596 her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

[8] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [762]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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776 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest
784 value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety
751 of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil [789] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by [788] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block
776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot
771 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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The sign

788 expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any
[1178] other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault
[1189] of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

782 These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion
776 with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

114 lavished on these books. A third volume is in preparation — the great task, alas, has been delayed by ill health — which promises to be the most interesting of the three.

114 The author is now advanced in years, and the
178 bulk of her exploration, perforce, was undertaken
[115] some time ago, and many of the nomads among whom her researches began were chosen on account of their age and their long memories. Since then, the agents of detribalization, of which the author writes so sadly, have been hard at work. The last quarter of a century has probably done more than the last three thousand years to change the traditional life of the Sarakatsáns. It is amazing that so many clans have remained intact. Yet even among these, which are fortunately still the majority by far, the last few decades have taken toll of many ancient ways. The life described, then, in *I Sarakatsáni* is truer of forty years ago, when the nomads still had no documents or *état civil*, and when schools, state religion, taxes, and military service were unknown to them, than of today. It is a record of their life before the virus of disintegration attacked them, and a fascinating and curious picture it presents.

771 The pre-Christian legacy, all over Greece, is
[789] never far from the surface. Among the Sarakatsáns pagan magic survives in a yet more pronounced shape, and the superstructure of Christian form, owing to the remoteness of the nomads from the normal sources of doctrine and practice, is correspondingly more shaky.

796 Traditionally, in Sarakatsán dogma there is no awareness of the existence of the Trinity: God the Father and Jesus are considered the same Person, and He is known as *Aï*, which is a dialect abbreviation of *ayios* (*hagios*), the word for "saint" or "holy one." Sometimes He is known as *Proto Aï*, or "First among the Saints," and sometimes as *Aphenti*, "the Lord," from the ancient Greek word *authentes*. All over Greece, the army of saints has taken the place of the ancient polytheistic pantheon. This is especially true among the nomads; *Aï's* status is only a little higher than that of the first among His peers, and, as one would expect in a severely masculine and patriarchal society, male saints have cornered the high places in this celestial company. But their numbers have been drastically reduced: only a handful, from the thousands of Orthodox saints who overlap and crowd each other in the villagers' calendars and the synaxary, have found their way into the wigwams.

776 All the usual Panhellenic spirits — Pagan or
789 Airy Ones, Exotics, Shadowy Ones, vampires,
werewolves, dragons, ghosts, and the Kallikantzaros centaur — people the Sarakatsán cosmogony
[237] and infest the folds. They can be exorcised by counterspells and baffled by phylacteries of dogs'

[p. 82-B] droppings;

776 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
[789] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
[237] ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
[588] der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large
[221] twirling horns. Along with certain other demons, *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they
[825] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
[742] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
[231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
[372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

[p.83-A]

764 travel with their *sekrallaxia*, or death change — a
[961] new suit of clothes to be buried in. A body is laid, clad in this new attire, pointing away from the sun on the floor of his hut or his tent, with his hands and feet bound together. Kinsmen watch over the dead all night, lest a dog, a cat, or a hen should walk over him. Finally the body is wrapped in a woolen blanket or two goat's-hair cloaks and then borne away to burial on a bier of branches. As he is carried out, somebody breaks a wooden spoon, and no one looks back, for fear of Charon, who lurks behind them in search of fresh prey.

In the old days, they buried the body without a priest — "he died unchanted," the phrase goes. Before the earth covers the body, his hands and feet are unbound and his clothes are torn, so that he may move more freely "to where he is going." If a shrine were handy, there they would lay him; but a shepherd who died in the mountains was buried below a rock or on the top of a slope, whence he could look down on his flocks, should they return another year. His crook was planted nearby, and a woman's grave was marked by her
[301] distaff with its spindle and thread. She was buried with all her rings and chains and earrings
765 and her festival array of gold coins. When her
[171] relations went to dig her up again, after three, five, or seven years, to translate the bones in a box or a bag (as they do all over Greece), these trinkets were retrieved and washed and handed
[275] on to the children. Occasionally the bones of the skeleton are found to be rigid, "not to be cut"; this means that the deceased has turned into a vam-
[289] pire. It calls for priestly intervention and exorcism, and the body is left for another year to loosen up. Mourning for a dead son lasted for five years, and to emphasize this sad period, women would sometimes wear their clothes back to front. The two traditional hours of the day for the renewal of lamentation are sunset and the dim hour before daybreak, when the first crows begin to caw.

000 All this is a far cry from Daphnis and Chloë, a long, long way from Theocritus and Moschus and Bion. The shepherds of Vergil are further off still, early milestones on a flowery path that meanders through Herrick and Watteau and Fragonard to the Petit Trianon and Sèvres. The attributes of the Good Shepherd in the New Testament are as irrelevant as the virtuous and rather simple image that the shepherd's calling conjures up in the West.
181 Shepherds who never leave the plains have little interest. But those of the mountains are active, lean, spare, hawk-eyed men, with features that strike one as having been scooped out and chiseled

/139 cont./

593 562 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife protection socially as well as economically.

594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.

[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.

[789] [844] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order pertaining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them. [121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here . Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

596 /155 cont./
474 derived from a good relationship with it. Business will thus become
556 easier and more profitable.
591

These benefits and advantages would never be realized if one
596 sought to enrich oneself individually and improve one's mode of life.
474 By establishing large flocks--which is only possible for a group, for
434 reasons that we shall see--a person certainly increases his patrimony.
233 However, by acting in this way he aims chiefly to assert himself socially, to create situations whereby the group will benefit by means of a certain disposition of the income.

596 Yet there is more. Each family has the right to a certain portion
474 of the milk products and the wool, in terms of its own needs and indepen-
434 dently of the share that goes toward the family wealth. Now this type of income "in kind" is also controlled by the group. In order to
[126] examine this fact more specifically we shall reproduce a little story which we recorded on the spot:

596 /156/ An old Sarakatsani woman threw to the dogs the food that
474 the men had not eaten. This woman died. One night, after her burial,
689 her daughter-in-law heard noises coming from the dog shelter. She ran
775 there and saw her mother-in-law eating with them. She immediately
434 alerted her husband, the son of the deceased. But he, knowing that his wife was not on good terms with her mother-in-law, believed that it was a question of malice and paid no attention. But the appearance of the dead woman continued and finally the son was convinced that his mother had really become a ghost. In their dilemma, the couple called
[789] a priest who conducted a service on the grave. Thereupon gifts were
[431] handed out "in the name of the mother," and the dead woman, finally at rest, never reappeared.

596 In order to understand the profound significance of this anecdote
474 we must interpret the gravity of the punishment and the mode of
689 redemption for the sin committed. If the old woman was punished so
434 severely it was because she misused food--common property acquired by

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596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)

529 37. For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmoshpere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

* * * *

596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[954] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil
[789] eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the new-born child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must
593

/245 cont./

128 as he too plots his course in the half-light of his conscience, reacts in the presence of the unknown, the mysterious, the marvelous in the cosmic and human universe, through action (magic), contemplation both rational and affective (knowledge, myth, religion), strong emotion harmoniouly ordered (esthetics). We shall thus proceed in broad outlines, though the order followed in our analysis will not be exactly the same. No matter. Our goal this time is to come near to the Sarakatsani soul. We shall seek it out in the hope of reaching it through its external manifestations--through the works which it engenders and encompasses.

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CHAPTER I

SARAKATSANI MAGIC

123 The path to the study of magic is barred by numerous obstacles.

609 First the terminology. Our herders designate by the term "magic"

789 everything that pertains to black magic, the magic of charms and spells.

754 For them white magic, curative, indissolubly connected with everyday life,

755 does not deserve this name.

Next, the curative ritual is hidden in the shadow of the secret and mysterious, for fear that its communication, especially to a stranger, would desecrate it and make all manipulation ineffective. Similarly, and all the more so, discussions about black magic are forbidden in order to avoid attracting the evil, the mere mention of which might provoke it.

In the third place, the beliefs and ideas underlying the practices are inaccessible. They are either forgotten or purposely hidden or falsely formulated to confuse the investigator or give him a reply which "would please him."

123 All we can do is merely to record some scraps of information and con-

124 versations, to observe daily life, to make a list of actions, words, materials used and, as much as possible, to resort personally to magic cures. Then comes the effort to cross-check the information and observations,

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
[825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/250 cont./

844 animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes
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3. Ibid., A.I. p. . --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial.
[715] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God,
[262] "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as
[789] an amulet.
[825] If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because
[128] we intend to discuss them all together.

842 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the
821 Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personify-
823 ing the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility.
825 All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible
831 in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)
372

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περὶ ζωῆς ἰατρικῆς λίθου.

[789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περὶ ἔμψ. προσώπου σελήνης.

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« ἀνωθεν καὶ κατωγίγνεται.

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833]
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21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[842] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[529] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

529 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] [787] or disastrous.

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
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[714]

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

/See p.100--Analyst/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[262]
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
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27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[191]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
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29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

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(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: 'Η Βασιλόπιτα. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

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mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

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31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 /258 cont./
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in Byzantium: Ἰωάννου ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

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The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776 These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

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32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/259 cont./

796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

[124] 33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with
[831] great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its
796 sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali
191 gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I.
536 ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: Ἑλληνικὰ Ἔθιμα, the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
796 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed
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/260 cont./

796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I.

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

[842] [233] [171] 34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madanā" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[182] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses
{606} around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy
{607} which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once
{293} under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the
{782} ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

{171}

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[213] [782] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[823] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
53 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/263 cont./

777 236 Thursday is moreover considered /264/ as a propitious day for a certain number of practices that will be dealt with in the chapter devoted to religion. (39)

39. Carsten Höeg, in the work cited, says about shearing (p. 14-15): "I have sought with much interest to discover whether this act...gave rise to ceremonies or demanded precautions, giving evidence of more of less conscious superstitious ideas. But I have seen absolutely nothing that could be interpreted in this sense." This admission of the Danish ethnographer, surprising though it is, shows the difficulties that the explorer of Sarakatsani life must overcome at every turn.

[574] 777 22 Moreover, during the shearing, it is necessary to avoid the visit of any person who brings ill luck. (40) As for the seasonal migration, it must

40. On the influence of a visitor on destiny see pp. 289-290, footnote 31.

not begin on Tuesday, Friday or Sunday. (41)

41. See above, the notes on the days indicated for conception and the comments about them, pp. 283-285.

The Well-Being of Men and of Animals

784 776 754 [789] All the magic procedures examined thus far certainly contribute to the well-being of men and animals. However, men and animals are exposed to threats from different sources: supernatural beings, illnesses, malevolent human acts and influences (evil eye, black magic)--so many sub-topics which will be set forth in this section.

* * * *

776 The realm of feared spirits is filled with demons, fairies, moires, and finally ogres. Each of these has its characteristics and exerts a particular influence which determines the specific manner in which one should defend oneself against its activity.

Demons belong to several categories. Certain ones, of whom the

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783 44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Τουρλιανοῦ Μάρτυρος: Πρὸς Τρύφωνα, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
787 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[992] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
772 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand.
776 Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
789 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary" gesture. (49)

49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. [illegible]

The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.
776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted.
[824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: Λαϊκαὶ δεισιδαιμονίαι; συνέλευσις, p. 48, n. 8.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung.
[411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[392] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
[823] the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[171] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικὰ Σύμμεικτα, Τ. Β', p. 292 et suiv.:

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukates: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικάντζαροι, says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead.

which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

2

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
(824) hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
(412)
(372)

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
(515) head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
(251) had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/269 cont./
776 [789] men comes from the Church. We shall speak of it in connection with religion.

As in the case of the demons, one also distinguishes several categories of fairies. There are fairies dressed in white and others dressed in black. The former also wear multicolored clothing "like the gypsies," the Sarakatsani say. All are dangerous. The first can metamorphose man into anything and even carry him off if they are able to steal from him an object that belongs to him. On the other hand, if the man happens to appropriate one of their personal objects he becomes their master. People even tell of a man "who, having stolen a fairy's [588] kerchief subdued her and finally married her." The second /type of [191] fairies/ have the habit of calling to a passerby and anyone who is rash [753] enough to answer becomes voiceless. They can also strike him with in- [734] curable illnesses, make him insane, disabled or infirm for life. The first type frequent springs and streams. One can hear from afar, especially after twilight, their voices and their laughter. For they love lively conversation and jokes and they give themselves up to it while spinning. Very often their presence is announced by the sound of violins. It sometimes happens that a Sarakatsani, passing these places the next day finds on the ground the weight from a spindle left there by the supernatural spinners. (57)

57. The Sarakatsani of "Plaka" (Pélasghia) showed us a "fairy weight" on which we shall comment farther on.

The black fairies haunt gorges and wooded ravines and the depths of the [789] mountains. Avoidance of these places, of sleeping near springs, and above all carrying incense and salt always on oneself are the common methods of [263] protection of the Sarakatsani. They explain that salt, a heavy substance, makes a man heavy and thus the fairies cannot take him away.

776 777 The moires, fairies of fate who are three in number, come down close to the newborn child three nights after its birth and determine its destiny

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.ρξη'

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

/270 cont./

000 751 789 [237] burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.

[825] All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... versu 88 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ἐκ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναπολία καὶ Τάξις διὰ τὸν ἅγιον Μ. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 574 789 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having [822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] [171] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ Μ. P. G. 61, 165 et commen- Ἰωάννου τοῦ Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 684. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 280 et suiv. — Ἐ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς Θράκης, p. 80-82, etc.

/271 cont./

likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/271 cont./

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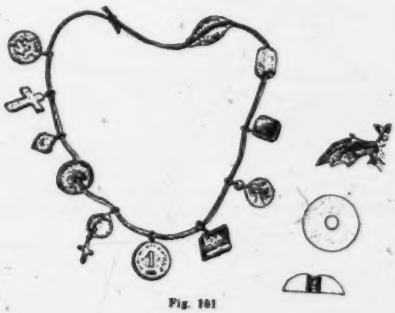

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[237]
[824] On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237]
[832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΥ: Δημοσιεύσεις, Δ, σελ.

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
[178] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
[785] aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

789 /273 cont./
585 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
[176] take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[237] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
789 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore
372 Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the stroughа. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[196] [191] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 878.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[191] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the [184] animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 104. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 22, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII 126.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circumstances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
756 (462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/278 cont./

755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

[788] /279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 789 [754] The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes appropriate exorcisms. (83)

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

233 789 114 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

233 /279 cont./
789 by the Council of Laodicea (36th rule), Mansi, vol. II.
[114] Then one strikes the rim of the bell in order to close it and puts it around the neck of a ram of the finest ewe of the flock. This amulet protects against sickness as well as evil spirits. (84)

[534] 84. The bell, the hand bell, the sleighbell in themselves protect against every kind of evil, see Chrysostomos: Ibid., p. 105.

233 As for the commands of silence, the shepherd must not talk about the
784 breeding of the animals and the head man must not tell anyone until
22 the last moment the date, hour and destination of a forthcoming seasonal
[754] migration. Thus no one can be envious or influence the animals with his evil eye during these decisive stages of their lives (occasions of "transition").

789 From the therapeutic standpoint, an exorcism of the Church or a
514 wound dressing made with human urine (85)

233 85. The use of blood and excrements in magic is well
[171] known and is found universally. Once more Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., p. 232 referring to [illegible], M.P.G. 88, 1904, tells us that urine represented in the Byzantine epoch the vital force, here opposed to the force threatening life, that is to say, the evil eye. From all evidence the urine of man protects the animals because of the superiority of man over them.

and placed on a limb of the animal affected, are sufficient.

754 /280/ The lack of data on black magic, stressed at the beginning of this chapter, prevents us from speaking of it in detail. The little that we know about it allows us to understand that this magic is performed chiefly by casting a spell; an object belonging to the victim is usually indispensable for the sorcerer to show his power. Nevertheless, the sorcerer is very often able to make the necessary substances and figurines

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

[821] Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

[791] There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the [793] person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism [789] against the spells. (86)
[755]

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

[751] Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate [789] objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.
[825]

The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/280 cont./

789 825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their [755] harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first 825 797 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to 789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess Maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the 842 regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and 789 rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 /281 cont./
842 itself is also a magic act.
789

The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest
825 church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked
789 with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not
[783] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.
[718]

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ηπειρωτικά Ἔπη, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us
[173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

825 /282 cont./
283
[173] according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

/285 cont./

128 These last observations complete this general survey of the magic practices of our herders and their historico-cultural origins.

Though the pages we have devoted to them do not exhaust the subject--the choice of the more significant facts constituting the requirement /286/ for every work of this kind--it seems to us that the picture drawn is sufficiently rich to permit us to push our analysis forward toward new problems.

THE MAGICAL THINKING OF THE SARAKATSANI

121 What is the specific /type of/ thought that defines and justifies
789 the magic practices and rites of the Sarakatsani? That is the new
153 problem which we shall attack within the context of this study whose chief concern is anthropological.

If studied from the outside, this thinking proves to be entirely oriented toward action, leading toward the end to be reached. It takes into consideration only the methods handed down by tradition, without ever questioning their effectiveness, whether the desired effects are obtained or not. In this thinking, means and effects are not bound together by a rational type of judgment, but are joined together in belief.

However, this definition is very general and, on that account, applicable to all kinds of magic. We must therefore seek to formulate another /definition/, more subtle, hence more representative of the characteristics of the magic of these herders.

124 In this matter we were unable to count on the possible aid of our informants. Those who practice magic never ask themselves about the thought underlying it. Thus we find ourselves obliged to proceed by inference and to conduct our research from materials included in the foregoing title /section/. We can pin-point its stages in relation to the following reflections:

If it is true that in order to "recognize" a thought we must retain the ideas in which it is expressed, it will be necessary, in order to recapture

/286 cont./

121 Sarakatsani magical thinking, to try to keep the ideas that emanate
789 from it apart from the phenomena in which these ideas manifest the-
153 selves.

We shall therefore start by determining the fundamental ideas governing both the magic action and the means put at its disposal. There is here a static aspect which, as such, offers to our eyes only a limited view of our problem. In order to broaden it, its transposition to a dynamic perspective seems indispensable. We shall therefore examine under what conditions magic and the corresponding ideas are born, what is /287/ the process of their formation, what is the totality of ideas that accompanies their application.

That is not all. It is also necessary to see what the Sarakatsani idea is concerning their magic. We shall rediscover it included in their attitude toward magic. Then, by using the conclusions drawn from these observations, we shall proceed to an attempt to define the magic thought.

Finally, we shall compare magic thought and non-magic thought in order to emphasize the characteristics and the structure of the former, and we shall conclude with some critical reflections bearing on our interpretations and our conclusions.

The Postulates that Make Possible Magic Action.

The magical thought of the Sarakatsani puts forward certain fundamental ideas, true postulates, which serve as points of departure and a basis for magical action. We shall enumerate them:

The postulate of transmissibility. This is the conviction that virtues, qualities, characteristics, functions, etc., existing in the forces ruling the universe or in certain definite objects can be transmitted to men or to beasts if they /the latter/ are put in contact with these forces or these objects.

The postulate of the opposition of forces. In order to defend his person and his goods against threats arising from various sources

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121 789 153 (supernatural beings, hidden evils, evil eye, etc.), man can oppose them with forces in his favor. The result is a mutual neutralization of opposite influences which permits men and animals to keep safe from evil.

The postulate that forces will not destroy themselves. The fact that a person is a harmful force, or rather its symbol on themselves, suffices to hinder the latter from releasing its baneful influence: it cannot act against itself.

The postulate of simple removal. The evils, represented anthropomorphically, can be forced to remove themselves if one attacks their supposed senses (sight, hearing, smell, touch, etc.) in a disagreeable fashion.

The postulate of purification. If, despite the precautions taken, man or beast are attacked by magic influences, they are at the very least contaminated. A purification is /288/ possible by means of favorable forces which neutralize the contamination by exerting an opposing influence on it.

Finally, the postulate of representation of desired situations and effects desired. Sometimes, all that is needed in order to cause a situation or obtain a desired effect, is to represent them in one way or another, by gestures, words or dramatic scenes. In this case the representation is as good as the reality.

This postulate is connected, up to a certain point, with the conviction that man, in certain circumstances, is in a position to set in motion for his benefit the forces ruling the universe.

The most important of these postulates (98)

98. A certain number of examples illustrating them will be found below, p. 290.

is that of transmissibility, not because it is found in most of the rites and practices, but because it is one of the assumptions underlying the

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

989 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves

153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the

[826] case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of

[844] the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

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This kind of association also includes the juxtaposition in space of the two components of the magic action.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH MAGIC IS CALLED UPON TO INTERVENE.

We may distinguish four categories:

a) Psychological: the Saraktasani must cope with problems of urgent necessity. In most cases the issues are vital.

b) Cultural: Sarakatsani knowledge and technology are incapable of solving these problems.

c) Social: it is Sarakatsani society, in large part, that defines the needs and makes them urgent. Furthermore, the social framework hampers the development of knowledge and technology. Thus it thwarts, albeit indirectly, the rational solution of problems.

d) "Human": man, like all the other species, must act upon his environment in order to survive. Magic is a means of dominating the world through the action that it inspires.

Two conclusions are to be drawn from this classification:

a) Each of the conditions enumerated above may be isolated from the others only abstractly, which means that in reality all four make up an indissoluble whole.

b) These conditions are reduced in practice to strong motivations, at once intellectual, affective, socio-cultural and even instinctive (it is self-preservation which, basically, is involved), which set in motion the magical thinking and constitute an atmosphere favorable to its development.

It would therefore be erroneous to assert, as has been done on several occasions, that magic, as thought or as action, is based solely on man's fear and anguish before the unknown and the mysterious, on the thought of his weakness in the face of entities /290/ that are beyond him. Reality demands that we approach the study of magic on the basis of all the phenomena that underly it, in other words, in a multidimensional manner.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE FORMULATION OF POSTUALTES AND MEANS OF ACTION.

The postulates as well as the means of magical action are based on the observation of the sentient world. Transmissibility, mutual neutralization of opposing forces, non-self-destruction of forces, withdrawal from the painful and disagreeable are phenomena derived from the everyday /experience/.

Man, through his own experience of heat transmission from a warm body to a cold body, of the contagiousness of diseases, of putrefaction of organic matter placed near matter already decomposed, readily concludes that contact with an object possessing a desired property of quality is a sufficient means of acquiring it. (99)

99. This same ideas is also found in H. Webster: La magie "the magician is incapable of distinguishing the category of resemblance from that of identity... It is an axiom of magic that imagination is the equivalent or reality: Ficta pro veris accipi," p. 71.--However, Webster does not see that if the magician does not make the distinction between resemblance and identity, the reason is not a logical incapacity, but psycho-sociological factors, as we shall see later on.

Similarly, he concludes in favor of other postulates from analogous facts. If two men push a rock from opposite sides and they are equally strong, the rock will not roll. If a person wants to pass through a hedge of thorny shrubs, the thorns will make him turn back. And it is contrary to all probability to suppose that a source of any influence, especially when basically it is anthropomorphically conceived, can act against itself and in such a way as to destroy itself.

Thus, by deduction, man arrives at the two principal ideas of all magic, that of transmissibility, on the one hand, and that of the effectiveness of contact, on the other, and consequently /he arrives/ at all the others.

/290 cont./

121 789 153 At the base of all this may be seen an activity of the mind developing from analogical reasoning, which makes possible the deductions in question.

Nevertheless, how can one not ask oneself what impels the Sarakatsani to accept and apply practices supported only by analogical reasoning, not objectively /291/ verifiable? It is all the more impossible to escape this question since these herders have enough critical and rational mentality, as their technology and their social organization show, to test the efficacy of the procedures based on the ideas expressed above. Thus, the failure to verify postulates and procedures shows that in the process of their formation other factors intervene which make them a subject of general belief. It is not the established value of the analogical reasoning which imposes the postulates and the methods of action. It is the dynamics of these other elements which force their acceptance.

We are therefore faced with one of the most delicate problems of Sarakatsani magic which we must clarify before proceeding further. We believe the way to solve it is through the following hypotheses.

Everything may begin by chance. A coincidence, a combination of circumstances or some result taking place in the presence of two components, actually or presumably related, suffices for the relationship to be considered the cause of the effect.

It may likewise be supposed that man, under the emotional impetus arising from the need to face a problem for him and those around him that is serious and otherwise insoluble may decide to act by analogical reasoning. If a certain effect is produced, though it be illusory, or, what amounts to the same thing, if other factors intervene which, rightly or wrongly, seem to hinder the realization of the desired result, he will be led to believe that his procedure is effective.

In the third place, it is probable that a simple hypothesis based on analogical reasoning related to a treatment or any curative goal and

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121 put forward in a doubtful manner is assumed by an interlocutor, finding
789 himself in conditions favoring this type of reasoning, to be a
153 prescription or a method of action to be followed.

These examples, which could be multiplied, may give an inkling of how the nucleus of a future conviction originates.

Once this method is established, the collective consciousness of the group in which this phenomenon develops will pass judgment on it; it will accept it or reject it. But if /the method/ is accepted, the group will give it its prestige, its authority over individual consciousness, and will sacralize it.

/292/ Furthermore, duration, time will add its own confirmation. The comments, the narration, the repetition, will enrich the initial idea. In view of the fact that the beginnings of the initial experience are rooted in the past, manipulation will draw from it increased prestige. And insofar as technical or cognitive progress do not disturb it, the belief in its effectiveness will remain alive.

121 Obviously, all this is merely hypothesis, not diachronically verifiable since ethnographic observation has no way of studying traditional phenomena at the time they are born. Nevertheless, it seems to us that these hypotheses are governed by certain phenomena of an analogous order, which are produced in our societies and of which we herewith give a brief description.

First, analogical reasoning in connection with curative phenomena is not foreign to our "civilized" mentality. Some examples drawn from recent experience show this in a striking manner.

The introduction of antibiotics in the therapy of certain scientifically defined diseases was immediately followed by their immoderate use for everything, even for simple ailments for which they are not effective. The beneficial action of novocaine on arthritic pains of old people has led to the conviction that this medicine combats old age. At one time (100)

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121 accentuation and enrichment of certain components of the fact spread by rumor, so that precisely because of this inflation, other components of the same fact are obscured and thus reality is distorted. Finally, 121 according to G. Durandin, "from the moment one knows that a thing was 789 real, one knows all the more that it is possible, and one is led to invent other things of the same type." (102)

102. G. Durandin: Les rumeurs, p. 17. See also p. 25; also his statement that roseate rumors "belong to the domain of magic thinking," p. 18.--Yet this author, by his statement, has merely established a parallelism of motivation which, according to him, is the same in both cases: "the roseate rumor represents the imaginative realization of a desire," he says (p. 18); and he implies that magic is only that. But he does not push his comparisons far enough to arrive at the role that the mechanism of rumor plays in the birth of magical beliefs.

Now, by combining these several assertions on "analogical practices" with the mechanism of the spread of rumors, we succeed in understanding how a fact becomes a model of action, a curative practice, even though it is based on fortuitous relationships and judgments: in each case where one event, occurring in a climate of emotional exaltation, is transmitted from mouth to ear, it goes through successive transformations in which desire and reality are confused, it is crystallized into a coherent account and finally becomes the object of general conviction.

At the end of this process one has helped in the creation of a myth. The conviction that one may obtain a curative effect by the means described, basically constitutes but a myth. It is precisely the mythical character of the conviction in question which prevents the verification of its effectiveness and which produces it. By following this course, man subdues the unknown and in so doing obtains hope and consolation. (103)

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103. On the relations of this myth which might be called a "sdcial myth (through all myths are social) to the cosmological myth see below Chapter VIII.

/294/ This said, we must ask ourselves whether actually this parallel between the mechanism of the formation of "analogical" curative procedures observed in our societies and that of magical procedures of traditional societies is a fortunate parallel, and also whether our conclusions with regard to the first can be applied to the second, in view of the difference that exists between these societies.

We believe that the reply is affirmative:

Contemporary instances of analogical curing and the procedures of traditional white magic are called upon to serve the same needs. They originate under the same objective conditions, that is to say, where knowledge cannot intervene. They respond to the same psychological needs of security and deliverance from the anguish in the face of the unknown; therefore they manifest themselves in a climate which does not favor a distinction between the wished-for and the real.

Finally, the influence that society exerts is the same in both cases. The expectation of a solution in the past of the group as well as individuals comes before every creative event of practice and conviction. And at the moment this event takes place the channels of its diffusion--individuals, sub-groups, groups, etc.--are the same; they are called upon to take part in it and they actually do so, determining the same results.

Therefore, the inference from synchronic phenomena to diachronic phenomena is not arbitrary, and does not constitute a «[illegible]». Our hypotheses are legitimate and it seems to us that they do not distort reality. Consequently, we may definitively conclude that: 1st, both the postulates and the means of Sarakatsani magical action are based on analogical reasoning.--2nd, this reasoning born under

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789 /294 cont./
121 the pressure of necessity and in an emotional climate that springs
[153] from it, then is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society by way of a mechanism very close to--if not identical with--that of the creation of rumors.--3rd, finally owing to these conditions, it /this reasoning/ is transformed into patterns of action--objects of an unshakable belief from which it derives its validity and the reason for it its existence. It then becomes myth which, while summoned to action and repetition, has no need for a foundation other than its own character of myth, since myth is never accompanied by doubt.

/295/ Nevertheless, we have not yet shown how two phenomena came about. These are, on the one hand, the postulate of the representation of situations and desired effects and, on the other, the represented contact.

121 Now, the acceptance of this postulate and this type of contact implies
153 once again the use of analogical reasoning.
789 If an effect is produced by bringing into contact two already existing components, why should not another effect be produced by bringing into relation one component (man or animal) with the representation of a situation or a desired reality?

Likewise, if material contact permits transmission and other effects, resulting from it why does contact merely represented not allow this?

The fact that the second component of the magical action as well as the means of action are merely symbolized in the representation is not a sufficient reason to consider this postulate and this means as qualitatively different from others. The relationship between symbol and thing symbolized is so intimate that finally symbol and thing symbolized become identified.

121 Thus we see that the process by which the postulate and the magical
789 means in question were formed cannot differ from that which has been accepted in connection with other postulates and means, despite the

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121 peculiarity of the original phenomenon which is only apparent. As
789 for the rest, this phenomenon, for the same reason as the other original phenomenon, is acted on by the dynamics of Sarakatsani society, and finally becomes a myth. But the social aspect and the mythical aspect are inseparable elements of all magic.

121 IDEAS GOVERNING THE APPLICATION OF POSTULATES AND PROCEDURES. CHARACTER OF THESE IDEAS. THE PRINCIPLE OF HOMOGENEITY.

The ideas governing the application of the postulate of transmissibility are developed on two levels, depending on the nature of the problems to be solved.

The latter are divided into two broad categories: fundamental problems, on the one hand, and, on the other, problems which are certainly important but presuppose that the first have been posed and resolved.

/296/ The fundamental problems are related to the sources of life (creation of a new life: fecundity) and to the functioning of nature (regeneration of nature: universal fertility).

The other problems concern the determination of sex, the acquisition of physical, physiological or biological properties, the acquisition of a state of being, the fulfillment of curative effects or of certain practical effects. (104)

> 104. The terminology which we have used here distorts reality up to a certain point since the Sarakatsani do not have the same classification of reality as we. Nevertheless, the examples and explanations that follow will permit an avoidance of misunderstanding.

In order to arrive at a solution of the fundamental problems the
[789] Sarakatsani, as we have seen, appeals to forces that his mythology has
[776] revealed to him: beliefs centered on the Mother-Goddess and her avatars. (105)

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105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/297 cont./

121 789 mechanical device sometimes suffices. This is the case, for example, with the rope and the knots placed on the mother-to-be so that the child will remain firmly bound to her.

--Finally, in order to create certain practical effects, the results of certain favorable situation, the latter are reproduced in allegorical representations: young girls sitting on the ground to represent ewes suckling their lambs.

These examples are significant from several points of view. We see first that, for the Sarakatsani, the conception of the child and the determination of its sex are phenomena of a different order; that the fertility of nature is independent of the volume of products; that these phenomena which, according to our science, we would classify under the same headings (biology--a mechanism of the yield of the earth) for they come from different parts of reality. (106)

> 106. That is why our language can, as we have pointed out, cause confusion when it is applied to certain facts of Sarakatsani life. We use it for want of anything better. We hope that our explanations will clarify these peculiarities.

121 772 789 This shows that for them the world is divided into two parts, the one governed by the creative force of the universe, the other subject to the reciprocal influence of elements that these forces have already created.

The part that is subject to forces is, basically, subordinated to what the Sarakatsani consider to be the first causes of the world. These causes, which release fecundity and fertility, the foundation of all existence, escape their knowledge and their technology, and this by definition, because of the grandiose and mysterious element that characterizes them and that far exceeds the properties of the visible world. No creature, no object created possesses sufficient power to act on that which created it.

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121 789 792 842 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

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121 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it
789 aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world
82 based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously,
789 this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with
[153] analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

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121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

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boys against anemia) requires a direct, if not material, contact.

* * * *

The ideas connected with the application of the postulates of the opposition of forces, of the non-self-destruction of forces and of purification, through the medium of practices which they inspire, are the same as the preceding ones.

These are forces evoked in connection with practices aiming at the neutralization of obscure and mysterious threats, and the forces, as we have said, always come from myth: the caul of the child and the log buried at the entrance of the enclosure, symbols of creative forces that neutralize the threats against life. The dogs' excrements and the /weights from/ the spindles of the fairies, worn as amulets, prevent demons and fairies from acting against the child, for the latter has appropriated their properties, and the forces will not act against themselves. Water, like fire or the earth is the source of life, these sources purify whatever is contaminated by evil spirits and remove the latter, for they are the opposites of the latter.

Once again the principle of homogeneity goes into effect, forces neutralizing forces.

The placement into contact obeys the same principle because it is practiced through the medium of symbols, as is fitting when one deals with forces.

* * * *

Nevertheless, the practices of simple removal seem to resist explanation on the basis of the ideas behind the action inspired by the postulates thus far enumerated, since, in order to remove the evil spirits considered as first causes, one has recourse to second causes--malodorous fires, thorns, noises, colors, etc. But this inconsistency is only apparent. Since evils are /301/ represented anthropomorphically, they are acted against as though they were men, second causes, hence through

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121 789 the medium of elements of the sentient world. It is in this manner, moreover, that direct contact is used in order to bring into relationship the components of the action.

* * * *

Finally, with regard to the ideas bound up with the application of the postulate of representation, we must emphasize first that their study must be adapted to the demands of each case. Specifically, the corresponding practices consist of the ritual of Pure Monday, the scene of Christmas Day, vows and curses and, clearly, black magic.

The evocation of forces, and consequently the recourse to myth, takes place in all cases except in the scene of Christmas Day. The orientation of the practices--fertility, state of being and longevity, threats against existence--determines the recourse to first causes.

(536) On the other hand, the scene of Christmas, during which young girls, seated motionless on the ground, imitate nursing ewes, comprises only non-mythical elements, since this action is based on second causes. A situation is reproduced which must be carried out in connection with elements of this world. We have shown, moreover, the role that analogical reasoning plays in this practice.

In all these cases, the placement into-contact is represented.

Now, the homogeneity between the components of the action as well as between the kind of action and the means chosen is absolutely complied with.

THE SARAKATSANI IN THE PRESENCE OF THEIR MAGIC.--THE RITES.

The Sarakatsani practicing his magic is not "cold-blooded." It is not only desire, conditioned by need, and the hope of arriving at some kind of result; it is not even the abstract idea of having to do with cosmogonic forces which moves him. What thrills him is the nature of these forces that myth discloses and suggest to him, dictating at the same time specific attitudes toward them. The study of these attitudes

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121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
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108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
121 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

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789 121 These remarks, though brief, show very well that the magical action of our herders has about it nothing mechanical or constraining. The forces do not act automatically or obligatorily simply because the magic practice has been carried out. The wish of man, expressed in his acts, is evocative but not determining. It seems that the wish represents, rather, a challenge thrown out to these forces, but without the certainty that the latter will rise to it. Finally, when the desired effect is [781] produced the Saraktasani is dominated by the feeling that something [794] exceptional has been accomplished, and his soul is filled with wonder and exaltation.

121 All these states of the soul, a product of mythical ideas put into 789 /303/ magical thought, are bound up indissolubly, actually or potentially, 153 with his thought. This enables us to understand that Sarakatsani magic, despite the intellectual aspects that we have particularly emphasized, is not a mechanical or rational magic, but includes components and living experiences which make it much richer than analogical reasoning or any other reasoning.

To come back to our problem, the states of the soul as described constitute for Sarakatsani magical thinking a sort of ambience with which the latter is suffused, although in actuality they cannot be separated from it. Seen from the standpoint of structure, this ambience represents the foundations of all the layers of their magical thinking, whether the rites involved or those transmission or any others.

121 This means that the rites of simple transmission, too, are 789 accompanied by uncertainty with regard to the achievement of the desired effect, and by respect and wonder at the result accomplished. Obviously, these feeling are relatively subdued as compared with those that arise in connection with other magic practices. One finds here nothing mechanical, automatic or, coercive that would require the desired property and quality to be transmitted to man or animals.

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121 789 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 789 788 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 789 811 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

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121 789 811 deduction through analogical reasoning. Thereafter it is put in concrete form and gives rise to certain postulates which are likewise pragmatic, and which determine the action.

This point of departure having been established, the magical thinking, in search of a suitable source of influence, oscillates between two poles which are not external to it, but are integrated in it, following closely the Sarakatsani scheme of classification of the different parts of the universe: myth and the perceptual knowledge of the external world and common sense. Magic thinking turns toward myth when it finds itself in the presence of fundamental cosmological and anthropological problems (life--fecundity--fertility) and also obscure forces and influences arising from first causes or representing them, which stand outside all experience and all knowledge. On the other hand, it is prompted by knowledge when it deals with all other problems relating to secondary causes.

Magic action is thus organized accordingly. The "placing-in-contact" is sometimes oriented toward mythic entities, sometimes toward perceptible or intelligible elements, depending on the ideas on which it is based. In order to act upon first causes /305/ it is necessary to proceed by mythic entities. To act on second causes, either may be used depending on the case. Hence the differences in the content of ritual and magical practices. Hence also the conclusion that magical action is possible only within a given category of reality, a fact which gives rise to a working principle, that of the homogeneity of the components of the action, of homogeneity of the property to acquire and the property to transmit.

However, magical thinking is thinking "under certain conditions." It is therefore engaged in, and consequently exposed to, various psychological, social and cultural dynamics which render its propositions and manifestations objects of social myths. The latter give it veracity and make unnecessary any effort to verify its statements through experience.

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121 789 811 The result is that magical thinking is a complex in which multiple elements, bound together by dialectical relations, meet and intersect: cosmological and anthropological myths, social myths, rational proceedings and elements (classification, knowledge, experience, judgment, reasoning), intentions, imagination, various "actual experiences" and motivations, affective and otherwise (desires, hopes, fears, anguish, as well as respect and exaltation in the presence of the mysterious, the grandiose, the transcendent), social dynamics collective elements, etc.--in a word, manifestations of all psychic and social phenomena.

All these elements are present in magical thinking and naturally in the action that it determines.

Magical Thinking and Non-Magical Thinking: Their Respective Structures.

The procedure and the structure of magical thinking being thus circumscribed, comparing it with non-magic thinking will prove relatively easy.

At the level of procedure, the two follow an identical process. Starting from certain premises, they advance by successive propositions to a conclusion.

On the level of their structures they are different. The difference manifests itself in the nature of their premises and the /306/ guarantees for the veracity of their conclusions, as well as in the general structure of their components. While, as a whole, non-magical thinking uses premises made up of rational elements and proceeds to rational and experimental verification of its conclusions, magical thinking involves mythical premises, and its conclusions are supported by myth. Between these two extremes there are intermediary situations which minimize the difference. Non-magical thinking also backs up its conclusions with social myths. And magical thinking bearing on rites of simple transmission contains premises and propositions with a rational coloring while buttressing its conclusion by the myth. These observations show that a certain continuity

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121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships. the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

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121 789 811 However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114 Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. VERAOE: [illegible]

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

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789 114 by G. Gurvitch (113)

113. G. Gurvitch: "La Magie," pp. 70-74 in Vocation Act., vol. II.

and many others. Even in the case of "magical practices of simple transmission" the affective aspect is present in the motivation and the myth of efficacy accompanying them. As for mythic transmission and /308/ [781] the rites against supernatural beings and contamination, the various "real life experiences" of the Sarakatsani in this connection, dominated by fear, respect, the feeling of dependence on "forces," the desire to be in favorable relations with them, etc., show that the Sarakatsani practicing his magic finds himself in a psychological climate that is complex and full of vibrations, and has nothing in common with that of "the artisan at work." To give an illustration of this, let us recall [784] the Sarakatsani aversion to speaking of these rites, the purification of [783] the woman in childbirth from life-giving forces, the ritual performance [788] of all the practices.

In opposition to the theory of Frazer we may place that of Bergson--a brilliant exposition, in his work Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion. For Bergson, magic is based on the life force which has caused man to rise above the animal world and has endowed him with intelligence (p. 208). Since his intelligence is in direct proportion to his knowledge, and since this knowledge is limited, man is conscious of his ignorance "would feel lost in its immensity. But instinct is awake" (p. 170). "The pressure of instinct has called forth...from the very bosom of intelligence...the fable-making function" (p. 172) which does not come from the imagination but which, expressed in mythology, answers "a fundamental need of life...; fable-making thus results from the conditions of existence of the human species" (p. 207). Thanks to it, the part of the universe not dominated by homo faber /man the maker/ proves impregnated with humanity (pp. 172-174)... "I should say charged with a force capable

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of entering into the plans of man. From this disposition man was able to profit by extending his action beyond that which physical laws would permit" (p. 174). The fable-making function operates in two directions. Either, it manufactures gods and spirits, that correspond to religion, or it invents forces that are not purely mechanical and that yield to our desires and wishes and which correspond to magic (p. 173). In any case, it protects man from "whatever there might be in the exercise of intelligence which could depress the individual and dissolve society" (p. 217). As for magic strictly speaking, its operations do not obey theoretical principles (the rules of magic action), for "if primitive intelligence had begun conceiving principles at this point it would very soon have gone on to experimentation which would have demonstrated the falseness /of magic/." Principles come later on.../309/ "there is a logic of the body, an extension of desire, which is exerted well before intelligence has found a conceptual form for it" (p. 175). "Magic is therefore innate in man, being only the externalization of a desire that fills the heart" (p. 176). And Bergson adds, a little farther on: "Magic appears to us therefore to dissolve into two elements: the desire to act on anything, even on that which cannot be reached and the idea that things are charged, or let themselves be charged, with what we might call a human fluid" (p. 178). It is therefore contrary, in inverse ratio to science (pp. 178-182), and it differs from religion in that "the one claims to force the consent of nature and the other implores the favor of a god."

We are quite willing to agree with the idea that magic presupposes desire and that it protects man from discouragement. But we cannot reduce Sarakatsani magic either to instinct or to a fable-making function derived from it or from the logic of the body which, according to Bergson, in the final analysis guarantees the effectiveness of magic. For us, magic includes rational and mythical elements which are infinitely richer and more complex than any instinctive impulse. Motives must not be confused

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with their effects, the "fable-making function" with myth, which is an interpretation of the world, and desire, the "logic of the body," with social myths which lead to the belief in the efficacy of magic. Thus, it seems to us that Bergson's theory is not capable of interpreting Sarakatsani magic.

The explanation of magic advanced by Br. Malinowski is found chiefly in two of his studies: Magic, Science and Religion /cited in English/ (1925) and Myth in Primitive Psychology /cited in English/ (1926). In the first, Malinowski says that magic is based on desire and on affective elements: "All such acts...are prima faciae expressions of emotion" /quoted in English/ (p. 72). It is not created from an abstract concept about the existence of a universal force applicable in all concrete cases that occur--the mana (pp. 6, 77, and 78). If there is something universal in magic it is the uniformity of the process that leads to magical thought and behavior (pp. 78-79). The sociological analysis of the belief in magic shows that, under the influence of a strong emotion (vexations, dangers, fear, hatred, love, etc.), or from an obsessive desire, man reproduces in mimicry, through gestures, words or acts that which he desires (Extended expression of emotion /310/ in act and in word, p. 80 /quoted in English/). If a result is then produced, man believes that these same manifestations have created it. Then he thinks that during his emotional exaltation he had some sort of revelation which henceforth enables him to know how he must act in similar instances. This process determines the formation of rites and practices (p. 81). With respect to the problem of the acceptance of rites as efficacious despite the fact that they are not verified by experience, Malinowski gives us a psychological explanation. The memory of men always retains the cases that correspond to their hopes and represses those that refute them (p. 82). But there is more. Around each great magician a halo of glory is formed, woven from the accounts and commentories of his exploits, his successes, his

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789 114 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic. Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 793 114 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

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789 773 114 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation, a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "Those stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 114 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 773 114 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if confronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

/311 cont./

789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
773 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth."

It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its
(778) efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

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789 The partial problems raised by these assertions are the following:
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114 1. Though it is the belief in the force, in the "physis," the mana, which leads to the idea of magic efficacy, it is still necessary to see what this mana consists of and how the belief in it originates. First of all, mana is a category of collective thinking. "It is not present in individual understanding, like time and space; the proof is that it has been possible to reduce it very much by the progress of civilization and that it varies...with societies" (p. 112). Mana is a social notion which grants certain beings or objects /313/ a value attached not "to the intrinsic qualities of things and persons, but to the place and the rank which are attributed to them by sovereign public opinion, by its prejudices. The qualities are social and not experimental" (p.114). To explain the origin of the belief in mana, Mauss refers to the origin of the common belief in the sacred and in mana. "We believe," he says, "that magic is like religion, a matter of feelings" (p. 114). And he adds: "Magic like religion is a play of value judgments," that is to say "aphorism based on feeling, attributing various qualities to various objects which enter its system...These value judgments...are the expression of social feelings..." (pp. 114-115).

2. Now, it is necessary to explain the process by which these "value judgments" concerning the effectiveness of mana and consequently of all magic are formed.

789 "Now," says Mauss, "only collective needs felt by whole group can
114 compel all the individuals of this group to bring about the same synthesis at the same time. The belief of all, their faith, results from the need of all, from their unanimous desire. The magical judgment is the object of social consent, the translation of a social need, the pressure of which unleashes the whole series of phenomena of collective psychology: this need felt by all, suggests to all the end...The synthesis of cause and effect is produced only by public opinion" (pp. 118-119). And a little farther on he concludes "that at the very root of magic there are affective

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789 114 states, generators of illusions, and that these states are not individual, but that they result from the blending of feelings peculiar to the individual with feelings of the whole society."

3. As for the general, a priori character of magical judgments, their foundation lies in the reflections which we have just cited. "A magical judgment is imposed by a quasi-convention which prescribes prejudicially that the sign creates the thing, the part the whole, the word the event and so on. Actually, it is essential that the same associations be reproduced in the minds of several individuals, or rather a mass of individuals" (p. 118). And we have seen in the preceding how Mauss conceives "the common synthesis" based on common needs.

789 998 114 These points established, two major questions remain for us to examine: /314/ first, how is this convention arrived at, this public opinion which sanctions mana and magic effectiveness in general? And second, if the analysis of a specific magic shows that the latter does not presuppose mana, then what is its vehicle of magic effectiveness, "the verb which binds the elements of the magic judgment?"

[191] To answer the first question, Mauss, citing examples from Madagascar, from the Dayaks or the Pitta-Pitta, tells us that the rite is carried out and a magician operates in a state of collective delirium, of general overstimulation, and that consequently it is this ambience which causes the rite or the medical magic to be accepted as efficacious (pp. 126-127).

[155] Similarly, for medical magic, "the rites which are carried out at home" (the former presuppose public magic) there is an analogous ambience. "We see there a tiny social group...with a head...the magician, and an embryo crowd which is all expectation, all dread, all hope, all credulity and all illusion" (p. 128).

With reference to the second question which coincides chiefly with Greek reality, Mauss (pp. 109 and 110) believes that, though the formerly universal notion of mana was later forgotten, some of it remains all the

/314 cont./

789 same in the "physis" of alchemists, the "dynamis" of astrologers "as
798 a sort of material, non-individual, transmissible soul...which is still
114 very close to mana" (p.110). And in another passage he tells us that in our societies there is a "state of social disquietude and sensibility in which the remnants of the ancient category of mana give substance" (p. 131), which is espressed in a belief in magic. We see thus that for Mauss, mana, even though scarcely perceptible, is inseparable from magic.

789 Now, if we have dwelt at length on Mauss's theory of magic it is
114 because objective analysis of the facts of Sarakatsani magic, without the previous assumption of a theoretical position, has led us to conclusions similar to his--a fact which demonstrates the validity of this important theory. However, between the interpretation of this magic and the explanation that Mauss proposes for magic in general there are certain differences that we wish to make clear.

First of all, there is the problem of the process by which rites are formed and of the belief in magic effectiveness. It is obvious that Mauss vacillates among three different methods. He speaks of /315/ social consent, of public opinion, of states of collective exaltation. But the truth is that these solutions do not correspond to the demands of the problem. Consent as such is much too lifeless a procedure to be acceptable as creating the belief in magic, an area too unsettling, shot through with too many tumultuous psycho-social currents to be thought of as dominated by agreements. One clings to magic almost unconsciously after profound vibrations, and not by giving it one's consent. Moreover, from the sociological point of view, we cannot very well see how a society can succeed in obtaining the consent of all its members on a certain question, and how this decision remains valid for subsequent generations. We believe that this formula of Mauss' derives more from a vivid style than

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789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
773 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
778 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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789 773 114 778 more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

789 114 There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

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789 114 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One [124] of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our [825] questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

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789 114 essential to this experience in which emotion suppresses rationality /318/ and common sense. Mythical and sometimes magical would often fit better" (p. XV). We believe that this thought of Leenhardt's, which relates to the demands of the problem, at once ontological and methodological, renders unnecessary any other critical evaluation on our part. Moreover, when the Sarakatsani proceed with the formation or acceptance of their mythologies, their immediate experiences are not mystical, but mythical. The terminology of Lévy-Bruhl confuses the outlook and obscures the reality of our problem.

Nevertheless, as was the case with Mauss, Lévy-Bruhl has clearly felt the importance of myth to the phenomena in question. However, he has oriented his observations toward the non-conceptual character of mythical thinking, its fluidity, its recreational value, etc., (118)

118. An idea very close to that of Plato: Timée /Timaeus/, 59 edition.

(pp. 73-74), without trying to go further.

These critical reflections on the theories enumerated do not exhaust the problem. We are thinking, particularly, of the theories that explain magic by psychoanalysis, which propose solutions in keeping with that discipline. (119)

119. These interpretations have been harshly criticized by anthropologists such as Malinowski: Moeurs et Coutumes... p. 101, and C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie...p. 229.

789 121 We shall deliberately remain outside this circle of ideas, for neither our training nor the way in which we have conducted the enquiry permit us to enter this domain.

Yet these same critical reflections constitute a supplementary justification for our terminology. All through our analysis we have carefully avoided using the traditional terminology of magic, as for

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789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space [822] into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill- (823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 82 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

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789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
761 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
[233] contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
[232] utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

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121. Of course, in connection with another society. See R. Firth: Primitive Economics in New Zeeland /sic/ Maoris /cited in English/, p. 265.--A similar idea is found in Br. Malinowski: Les Argonautes, pp. 420-421, and in R. Benedict's article /entitled/ Magic.

789 182 Magical beliefs and magical thinking impede the progress of knowledge and the creation or adoption of new techniques. Often, magical practices, examined coldly, lack any rational meaning. Sometimes they are dangerous (for example, child-bearing on the ground). However, there is compensation. Magic restrains progress but, on the other hand, it influences the psychological climate, hence action.

* * * *

121 789 Let us now try to show the influence of magic on collective behavior, statuses and social roles. It is certain that all three have close relationships with it. A number of forms of collective behavior, ritual and procedural, owe their existence to magic. [562] The status of men and women includes, among other things, magical prerogatives for each sex. [554] Social roles with magic content are encountered constantly in Sarakatsani social reality.

789 182 /321/ In connection with technology, we have said that magic hinders its change. The same is true for collective behavior statuses and social roles which are sustained by magic. This is due chiefly to the conservative and traditional character intrinsic to its very nature. Magic that changes every day is no longer magic. There is, therefore, a standardization of the elements in question, which produces a stabilization [571] of the social relationships that arise from them and, as a consequence, a consolidation of the social structure in sofar as it involves these relationships.

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789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, [291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 462 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

789 /322 cont./
562
462 the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for
[233] maintaining relations with the dark forces.
[791]

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential
[182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion,
554 develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks
182 once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some
[788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

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789 /322 cont./
554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[351] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[604] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious,
of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants
recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
592 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In
studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by
the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme
importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions
connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which
would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now,
it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are
rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward
the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit
from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand.
And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person,
it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act
and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive
situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegiti-
mate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical
instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/323 cont./
182 families and the Tsēligato would fight, dragging in their kinsmen and
554 affines; and the extended family (of the successor) would break up
596 into its components. Sarakatsāni society is safe from these dangers,
788 thanks to the sanction by magic of social statuses.

The same considerations may be formulated with regard to the hierarchy of persons. The preceding analysis has demonstrated this.

* * * *

789 A final point, still regarding the social functions of magic, bears
182 on the psychological repercussions that it /324 / involves. This aspect has already been approached in connection with technology and economic life. The conclusions we reached at the time of its examination, although partial, apply likewise to the totality of the social life of our herders. No one can be certain that the life of the group will develop favorably. It is necessary above all, to find the means of guaranteeing the survival of society in the immediate future and in the distant future. Anxiety focusses chiefly the well-being of the children, the couple, the material conditions of all. These means of survival are the sole guarantee of the perpetuation of Sarakatsani society. A concern with health and prosperity aims in the last analysis at ensuring continuance. At any rate, it is not profit which is sought, but the protection of the very foundations of society. This explains why the greatest number of magic rites deal with situations "of transition." One protects the new in order to guarantee the future. And if newness causes anxiety it is first of all because something new is always more vulnerable and marked by uncertainty, and also because the new (spouses, children, the new yield) represents continuity. Thus, as in the case of technico-economic efforts, magic allays anxiety and establishes confidence. Life thus becomes easier and security takes the place of distress.

/325/

CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

(182) The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/326 cont./

771 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] [171] [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining
[387] to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[531] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/329 cont./

drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated. But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among themselves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. 83.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/330 cont./

796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
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Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
[773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
[789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 596 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence 796 788 474 554 comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764
775 /339 cont../
775 postulate of representation.
[602] Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
789
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
[262] forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
[602] and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
[261] in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
[785] fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
[533] chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
[775] world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 751 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

791 The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

[353] [798] On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

791 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain [474] [554] [688] holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

791 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/362 cont./

12 prosaic...while at the same time very much a matter of routine." However, Abraham and the prophets of Israel struggled continually with Jahveh, the Achaians argued and lived side by side with the gods, the nymphs, etc., our Sarakatsani constantly summon up their magic. Besides, we cannot agree that Hebraic, Greek or Roman mythology was a prosaic mythology. Hence daily life was not prosaic either as far as it was guided by mythology. This is not to say that the "secular" aspects does not exist. It is only a matter of giving it its true proportions.

It remains to be seen whether these conclusions are applicable in the Sarakatsani case.

* * * *

[137] [12] As a matter of fact, in analyzing their magic, we have seen that, since their knowledge is limited, the Sarakatsani have recourse to magic ritual in order to enlarge their field of action. We have likewise seen how rational thought and myth go together for practical ends, how they cooperate and structure one another to explain and dominate phenomena such as fecundity, fertility, birth, death, sickness, health, prosperity, etc. In short, we have understood how Sarakatsani intelligence and experience, on the one hand, and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess, on the other hand, combine in their magic ideas, forming their pragmatic cosmology and anthropology. We therefore need not repeat this. However, the whole of this account testifies to the complementarity of myth and knowledge among the Sarakatsani.

* * * *

This phenomenon is, moreover, universal. (15)

/365 cont./

53 intended to answer the aesthetic requirements of these herders it must, at the same time, fulfill important functions. (1)

1. For a parallel study see the bibliography and the comments of G. Balandier in his article "Afrique Noire et Madagascar" in Encyclopédie de la Pléiade, Histoire de l'Art, 1, Le monde non chrètien (1962).

[128] We shall try to consider it in this chapter from this double point of view. Its morphological aspect will necessarily remain in shadow, for it does not enter into the scope of this work.

* * * *

The artistic world of the Sarakatsani is expressed in music (melodies sung or played), poetry (almost always in the form of words to songs), the dance (performed while singing), sculpture in wood, embroidery, narratives and tales.

Its manifestations, in any of these branches, may be classified into two fundamental categories: expressions that are "incorporated" into other aspects of culture, those that are "not incorporated" and the "free."

53 789 The "attached" manifestations are an indissoluble part of the magico-religious ritual and social proceedings. Their subject matter and form are strictly determined by tradition and the ideas that accompany [178] it. No innovation is tolerated, for any change would risk making the ritual ineffective and disrupting the principles of social life. The works of art which correspond to this category are carried out under conditions prescribed in advance and have in view the interests of the group. To /366/ furnish an illustration it is sufficient to recall the 789 533 585 [531] [535] [538] snakes that ornament the /shepherd's/ crook, the distaff and the ritual breads, the embroidered moons, the dances of the dramatic scenes, the verses recited during exorcisms, the phases of the wedding ceremony in

/366 cont./

789 533 585 [531] 535 [538] which songs are the keynote marking the stages of the procedure followed, dictating the sentiments and attitudes which the participants must experience, (2)

2. On the Thursday before the wedding, the girls, relatives of the betrothed couple, set out to gather wood that will be used to bake the wedding cake. And while walking they must sing the following song:

[539]

--The little "Rosebush" sets out to cut wood.
--The trees are hard and the girl frail and delicate.
--She wounds her small hand and cuts her little finger.

On Friday evening, at the dwelling of the fiance, the large nuptial flag is made, which is carried at the head of the procession when the latter departs for the dwelling of the fiancee. Here is the song that accompanies this work:

[539]

--For whom is this red and white flag?
--It is for the bridegroom, this red and white flag.
--Who makes it and who colors it red?
--His brothers, his sisters (etc.).
--All the cousins of the bridegroom must be there
--All must be armed and all must fire guns
So that the flag will know prosperity...
--Take care, stitch it tight
It will travel over the mountain
It will be torn by brambles
And the mother-in-law (father-in-law) will make fun
Of it.

When the procession is ready to leave with the fiancee, the

/366 cont./

789 533 586 (539)

company sings in her name and addresses the companions of the fiance:

--My new friends, do not hurry
Wait while I say goodbye to my mother
(my father, brothers, etc.)

See also the chapter on the family where are other examples of songs accompanying the phases of the wedding.

bereavement which is expressed by lamentations meant to ensure also the peace of the deceased, and so forth. Art then becomes the vehicle of magic, one of the agents of man's control of nature. The fashioning of symbols and the performance of dances must be faultless, because the perfect, hence artistic, form produces a more powerful effect.

53 789

The "free" manifestations are connected with relaxation, amusement, pleasure., However, though "free," they must conform to the general style of Sarakatsani art. Innovations and little fantasies are tolerated insofar as they do not change the accepted style. The corresponding works may be carried out when custom demands it or allows it, and even at the pleasure of the Sarakatsani. It will be interesting to give a /367/ brief glimpse of these manifestations. First, there is a group of songs which includes:

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Table songs sung during feasts and divided into epics and sentimental songs. Slow and serious, the first of these celebrate the exploits and the heroism of those who, during the Turkish occupation, sacrificed themselves for freedom. The second, more lively, tell stories of love. Since love is officially excluded from Sarakatsani life, there seems to be a contradiction here. This came to the attention of C. Hoeg who was given the following explanation by his informants: "The songs are lies," which means they relate to fictitious situations. Perhaps one might

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182 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated
81 by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship,
182 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain
812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal
787 to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have
755 also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity.
(789) The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

/383 cont./

182 789 755 to an understanding of the influences which come into play here and which at the same time are derived from all the fundamental ideas enumerated as these take on individual characteristics in concrete phenomena.

182 53 789 In conclusion, there remains for us to speak of Sarakatsani art, specifically insofar as this art is "incorporated," reproducing magico-religious symbols and providing the signs which keep the Sarakatsani in contact with the cultural treasures of his society. Its manifestations are therefore linked with the same ideas as the manifestations of magic--so that any further explanation is rendered unnecessary.

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF IDEAS. ABSTRACTIONS

121 Having completed the confrontation of ideas and phenomena, we may immediately draw from it a conclusion of fundamental importance: there is a correspondence between the ideas and the phenomena.

However, does this conclusion constitute a reply to the three questions that motivated the confrontation?

With regard to the first, and without going further, we /384/ can answer affirmatively: the fundamental ideas enumerated are not artificially constructed, but exist in reality. Their very correspondence with the phenomena proves it. If it were not so, the ideas would not be able to claim any reality for themselves.

But in order to reply to the other two questions, to know whether the ideas do or do not govern Sarakatsani life and whether they represent true abstractions, a specific task imposes itself. We must examine the correspondence in question, we must try to determine its content, its nature.

By observing anew the confrontation of ideas and phenomena we see that around isolation, herding and nomadism, kinship, male primacy, cooperation, community, conformity, cosmology and anthropology, finally religious syncretism, a great many phenomena converge. The ideas send

/389 cont./

The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
773 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely
developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the
Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive
almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
771 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from
the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter
is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has
no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a
syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely
coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another
and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to
conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account
all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

[821] Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

[791] There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the [793] person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism [789] against the spells. (86)

[755]

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

[751] Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate [789] objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

[825]

789 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

825 /282 cont./
789
[173] according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[171] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

784 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
754 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
593 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or
603 grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
233
791

789 /322 cont./
562
422 the goats. The Sarakatsani woman is considered more suitable for
[233] maintaining relations with the dark forces.
[791]

This division of magical tasks between the sexes, which constitutes for each of them both a right and an obligation, involves considerable consequences, especially for the women. For it determines their social condition.

The women, obviously subordinate persons in the social hierarchy, increase their importance through their magical competence. Since magic occupies a prominent place within the framework of this kind of life, the esteem of the woman--indispensible, open to the execution of rites--increases in proportion.

The women are thus freed from the feeling of frustration which they experience with regard to the men. Their "we," according to the Gurvitch terminology, becomes active and transformed into a real group whenever they carry out rites together, and it takes precedence over the "we" of the men who, in other circumstances, enjoy superiority. The potential
[182] conflicts between the sexes that the inequality of roles and conditions would faster is thus neutralized to a certain extent, to the great benefit of integration and cohesion, hence of social order and structuring.

Magic, though differentiating between human beings, thus throws bridges across the gap that it creates between them and permits the peaceful symbiosis of opposite parties.

789 Finally, another category of potential conflicts which, on occasion,
554 develops from social statuses and roles, is neutralized in advance, thanks
182 once again to the dynamics of magic. This aspect can be demonstrated if certain rites are considered their nature related to the statuses of the persons who carry them out. Putting these together we arrive at the conviction that the choice of persons who carry out these rites constitutes a formal confirmation of the status of the executants. Let us take some
[788] examples and try to interpret them in the sense we have just formulated. The

585 Black-clad Sarakatsáns crowded below the nuptial car, the bride was hoisted to earth, and in a hubbub of shouts and greetings and a rattle of musketry, the whole mob headed for the little white church. The train, letting off an answering whistle and an obbligato of steam, swayed away down the valley.

585 346 Inside the church two rows of columns sustained the white barrel vault of the basilica. A gilt iconostasis blazed, and overhead hung a great candelabrum formed by double-headed brass Byzantine eagles joining their wing tips in a ring, and from the center an ostrich egg was suspended. [223] The noise and the heat in the church were considerable, and thonged wooden flasks full of warm red wine circulated freely among the congregation.

585 301 292

585 [293] [292] [302] [142] The chanting of the priest — a fine figure in a white dalmatic and a wide blue and silver stole, with hair which uncoiled to his waist — soared heroically and effortlessly above this hubbub. All the faces were scorched, many were aquiline with blue eyes, and the hair of several nomads was bleached by the sun to a flaxen fairness. Apart from the priest, the only other grave faces were 585 292 [302] those of the bridal couple. The bride's withdrawn expression, her downcast eyes under her flowered headdress and a small blue cross which was strangely penciled or painted on her brow, never changed. The groom was dressed in a gold-embroidered red velvet waistcoat, a silk sash with the blue and white Greek colors, white jutting

[p.76-A]

3: Kabbadias

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793

[Although the Sarakatsani employ village priests, apparently of Greek origin, in various religious rituals, "by their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest "(p.399). Therefore references to the use of priests in the text have been left under the functional religious categories (e.g., 796, 788, 585, 782, etc.) with the further addition of Category 177 (acculturation and culture contact) to indicate the use of the non-Sarakatsani priest.]

/280 cont./

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/329 cont./

771 drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the
796 form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated.
19
198 But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic
796 Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among them-
771 selves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. p.83.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does
[793] not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

796 There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from
789 each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the
[596] Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for
[474] sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than
[755] religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

128 The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt
796 here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/343 cont./

19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ρξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacraments. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of
others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that
causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a
greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often
through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The
attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with
[294] these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only
twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the
feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings
which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they
do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age
[561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect
[286] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought
to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving
cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the
public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested
[584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-
katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or
through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way
to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her
vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that
she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be
as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,
if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.
A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her
public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in
the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I
have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express
exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.
Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to
move about more freely and with less supervision. She must
appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).
It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife
of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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[p.321]

XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices 121
of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex 771
of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious 577
beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the 794
Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil- [648]
lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so 796
with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he 794
ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as 779
the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign

/332 cont./

796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
755 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
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262

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585
795 we shall speak later on.
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The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any
(114) animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
171 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

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But these visits are unlikely to be merely social and the main 612
purpose of the journey is generally the arrangement of some 574
business. At festivals, on the other hand, kinsmen meet to enjoy 612
one another's company and other considerations are secondary. 527
On the Tuesday after Easter Monday a man often sets off on a journey to a close kinsman living at a distance whom he has not seen during the winter. And after the feast of St. George before the migration to summer pastures there may be a wedding to attend. Later in the year when the Sarakatsani have moved up to the mountain villages of the Zagori there are other opportunities to meet less closely related kinsmen. About the end of [575]
July when the impregnated ewes gradually cease to yield milk, there is more leisure for the shepherds to attend the weddings, most of which occur in August and September. Also a number 796
of the villages in the Zagori celebrate in the summer the feast- 612
day of their patron saint. These village feasts (πανηγύρια) last for three days and nights during which there is almost continuous [535]
dancing in the village square with much eating and drinking besides. Many Sarakatsani go to these village festivals not only when it is the feast-day of the saint of their own summer village, but also to the celebrations of other villages where they have a kinsman. In the holiday atmosphere they are hospitably welcomed and their company and conversation give pleasure to their hosts. It makes no difference whether visitors are near or [556]
distant relatives; the more visitors a family entertains the more its prestige increases. But in addition to these public festivals each Sarakatsan family, or stani, celebrates privately one of the three summer religious festivals which they consider important. These are: the prophet Elias, 20th July, Saint Paraskeve, 26th July, and the Assumption of the All Holy One (The Virgin Mary), 15th August. On these feast-days meat is killed, wine is [273]
drunk, and in the larger stanis there is dancing. It is essentially a family celebration but kinsmen, who live in other villages and celebrate a different festival, will come to visit and share in the festivities. These are the various occasions which help to maintain a certain minimal frequency of contact between dispersed kinsmen, although the demands of the sheep prevent any individual shepherd from being present at more than one or perhaps two of these events each year.

But weddings are, undoubtedly, the most significant of these 585
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S G 621 648 S 186 591

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[2] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S A [796]

S G [838]

[2] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 796 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [774] [783]

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as χουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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these transactions secret from his cheese merchant but generally with only partial success. In April the shepherds hurry to meet the summer cheese merchants, conclude their agreements, and take an advance on their summer milk which for 200 ewes will be about £30. But this spate of spring revenue is often quickly dissipated in paying the heavy costs of winter pasturage, possibly of more legal wrangles, and sometimes of an Easter wedding. The celebration of Easter also brings its expenses. New shirts and shoes are bought for the family, cloth is sent to the tailors to be made up into new jackets and trousers. For if the family attends the Easter church service in old clothes it loses prestige. Also it is believed that at the service on Easter Saturday night each person ought to wear something that is new, to honour the resurrection of Christ.

About the middle of May the heads of shepherd families visit the merchant to agree with him the statement of their accounts. Money advances and the value of the flour issued are balanced against the value of the milk delivered to the cheese-making station. In an average year the result is generally a small profit or loss for the shepherd of perhaps £10 which is added to, or subtracted from, the total debt owed to the merchant. But in bad years when the grass has been poor, or many ewes have not produced lambs, the loss may be more substantial and this the merchant must bear if he does not want to force his client into selling his stock. If the shepherd is in difficulties, he may seek a further loan before leaving the plains. When the merchant grants this favour, the shepherd must accept a slightly lower price for his milk in the coming winter, about a farthing an 'oke' less than whatever proves to be the ruling rate for the next season.

When the shepherd arrives in his summer village in Zagori, he will generally have some money in his pocket. He immediately pays off the greater part but not all of the debt which in most cases he left behind in the village shop the previous autumn. This may amount to £20–£30 in some instances. Having paid off part of this debt he is in a better position to ask for credit later in the summer when he may again become short of cash. In the same way he will pay off some of his debts to winter shopkeepers when he first reaches the plains in the autumn.

At the end of July the shepherd takes the balance of his

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her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the community probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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XI

THE VALUES OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF

1. GOD AND SIN

I DO not propose to discuss in any detail the ritual practices 121
of Sarakatsan religious life, nor the peripheral complex 771
of magic techniques which are sometimes linked to religious 577
beliefs and sometimes not. My purpose is to indicate the general character of Sarakatsan religious conceptions and to show in what way a form of Christian belief may co-exist with the values of honour and prestige that were examined in the previous chapter.

In certain respects the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the 794
Greek Orthodox Church, as an institution, is tenuous. They have never been regular churchgoers. Before 1938 their huts were often far from villages and few adult men and women would have been able to escape from the imperative routines of family and flocks to make the long journey over difficult country. And since they have come to live in or near the vil- [648]
lages, the almost open ridicule and contempt of the villagers have discouraged the Sarakatsani from altering this traditional pattern.

When a Sarakatsanos goes to church he normally does so 796
with the intention of taking Holy Communion, and this he 794
ought to do, preferably, twice a year. During Easter week almost every man, woman, and child in the community will find a means of attending one of the services, and the majority will discover an opportunity to communicate again later in the year on the feast day of the Assumption of the All Holy Mother of God on 15th August, or at Christmas, or at one of the other more important festivals of the Church.

The Eucharist, in the simple way that they understand it as 779
the sacrifice of Christ's blood which overcomes the barrier of sin separating man from God, is the central belief of Sarakatsan religious life. Otherwise, when they attend a service they understand nothing of the structure of the liturgy, they do not know that the liturgy is a symbolic representation of the life and sacrifice of Christ. Only the shorter and more frequently

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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776 782 about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

776 782 778 If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

776 782 A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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separating barrier of sin which was the original work of the Devil and Adam. The first of these terms reflects the sanctity of Christ, the second His concern for the well-being of men; both refer to His life under the limitations of the human condition. In their own experience the Sarakatsani see the reflection of the sufferings of Christ. From the moment of His birth He was persecuted and humiliated, yet He did not lose dignity or nobility. Nor in similar circumstances, the Sarakatsani believe, do they. 'Christ is our brother', they sometimes say. He made the first shepherd's flute (φλογέρα). He rounded up the wild goats, beasts of the Devil, and tamed them by placing His seal on the joints of their forelegs. He stands always by their side. They have only to think of Him and make the sign that recalls His sacrifice. Similarly, they believe that the Sarakatsani have always been the followers, worshippers, brothers of Christ. When the gipsy forged the five nails of the crucifixion for the Jews, it was the Sarakatsanos who stole one and drove it up the offending blacksmith's behind.

Christ is the key figure in Sarakatsan religious belief, and the events of the 'Great week' of Easter are the transcendent experiences of religious life. These I shall not attempt to describe in detail, but something must be said of the dramatic atmosphere which makes this complex of rites and customs quite unlike any others in the religious calendar. Normally villagers are exceedingly casual in church, and even the Sarakatsani, who are more devout in the outward respect they show to sacred objects, are quite pragmatic in their attitude and remarks about religious affairs even when they are anxiously presenting an important petition. In contrast, the dramatic intensity of emotion which seizes the community both in church and outside during this week makes an immediate impression on the observer. There is an air both of anxiety and anticipation. The historical events which the liturgy commemorates on the different days of the week are not treated as such. They are re-lived, people participate in them. They know what will happen, He will rise again; yet they are anxious. The women discuss the events in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times. As the drama proceeds the women in chorus make their simple and troubled comments, 'They have seized Him', 'He is being judged',

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796 781 'Now they are crucifying Him'; and finally, at the critical moment of the service on Easter Day, 'Christ is risen'.

The Liturgy on the Thursday has a particular sanctity and significance for this is the day on which Christ is placed on the cross. The older women, particularly the grandmothers who may die during the year, together with the younger children, always communicate on this day; for the Communion which is [751] received on the Thursday 'lasts' for a year. They take with them to the church a sack filled with the various apotropaic substances, some of which will be put into the phylacteries of the children while the remainder is an armoury of divine energy with which the family is able to face and defeat the Devil during the coming year. This sack, which is for 'the living', is blessed and read over by the priest and taken back 796 to the huts. They leave with the priest a second sack which is 769 for 'the dead'. This contains boiled wheat (κόλλυβα), incense, candles, wine. For on this day the Sarakatsani believe that the [252] souls of the dead return to earth. As soon as the older women and children return from church, the younger women knead the dough and bake small breads (ψυχούδια). These are at once taken together with cooked beans and wine and are given to all the neighbouring families, who receive them, one for each person, with an expression of hope that God may forgive the sins of the dead. In this way is symbolized the union of the quick and the dead and their mutual forgiveness of trespasses committed.

796 On Good Friday the intensity of emotional feeling is scarcely 781 bearable. The effigy of Christ is taken from the cross and placed in the representation of the tomb which is carried round the village and returned to the Church as to the sepulchre. During this service the atmosphere is heavy with grief; tears stream down the faces of the women. Before 1950 the Sarakatsan women used to make their own representations of the tomb and the body of Christ which three of them guarded throughout the day, their black scarves low over their faces, silently weeping, while one of them intoned monotonously the dirge of the Mother of God for her only Son.[4] Finally, the service which begins after midnight on the Saturday is a transformation of joy and exaltation. Christ who was crucified is risen again.

[4] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρξθ'.

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil.

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of

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577 771 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 But men are also divided from God and from one another 783 by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of 776 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother- 574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less 771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed 781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of • 796 greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [829] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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The Sarakatsani seldom communicate more than twice a year. The most important of the possible occasions for taking communion is, naturally, Easter. It must be stressed that this communion is for the Sarakatsani not something which is taken or received 'at' Easter, it is an integral part, the climactic happening of the week's events. During this time they have watched Christ suffering, they have identified themselves with Him as He in His sacrifice has identified Himself with them. At the end of it all the miracle happens, Christ rises from the dead and they in His blood partake of the life which He has poured out to unite them again to the Godhead. 771 776

One can discern three, as it were, related 'indulgences' which Sarakatsani believe are conferred upon them through communion. First they are released from sin. Sarakatsani are not oppressed by a sense of personal sin and indeed, as we have seen, the list of transgressions which constitute personal sins is not imposing. But they are very conscious of the sinful condition of the limited world in which they must live and in which the nobility of men is, to some degree, inevitably compromised. This sinful infusion into human nature, the inevitable meanness of everyday life, depresses their spirit in a very literal sense, it turns their thoughts from God to material things and against their fellow men. 'We are all sinners' they often say with a dispirited shrug of the shoulders. These uncomfortable sentiments are banished by the regenerating blood of Christ. As my friend Aristoteles left the church, he smiled and said, 'A weight has left me' (μοῦφυγε ἕνα βάρος). In saying this he was not referring to personal sin. 783 788 771

The second of these indulgences conferred by communion is that it both expresses the transcendent ideal of the union of all men in Christ and it gives an opportunity, all too fleeting, for unrelated men to show goodwill towards one another. As I have said, the yearning for union with other men is always present but it is inevitable inhibited by attitudes of pride and distrust.

The third indulgence is more pragmatic. By removing the barrier of sin which interrupts the communion between men and God, Christ's sacrifice makes it possible for men to draw down divine aid for their protection in this life against the attacks of the Devil, the envy of other men, and in their struggle

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for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static, always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

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families live for the last few days on vegetable soup, beans, and coffee. For this week, at least, the ancestral sins of sensuality and envy must be suppressed. The community becomes continent and unrelated men behave towards one another with unaccustomed warmth and goodwill. A man must truly repent his personal sins. Whenever a confessor is within reach, he ought to make a confession of his sins before taking communion. He must approach God with a 'good heart'. In these ways a man to a degree, loosens the hold which material things and the senses hold over him and, in some measure, is purified so that he may receive into himself the divine element. The Sarakatsanos believes that if he is properly prepared ritually and spiritually to receive the sacrament, then his sins are forgiven. The wine he drinks is indeed the blood of Christ (the body is seldom mentioned) and it is considered a sin if any man suffers a fit of vomiting in the 40 days which immediately follow communion. It is also described as a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. Thus the wine is at one and the same time a symbol of the first sacrifice and a material substance in which divine energy exists. It represents, and it is, the blood of Christ.

4. SOCIAL VALUES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

At the risk of some repetition, the problem of the opposition of two systems of values, one social the other religious, has yet to be explicitly considered. This community of Sarakatsani, whose coherent and distinctive traditions suggest, in the absence of any certain historical proofs, that it may have existed since, at least, the late Byzantine period, possesses a body of social values based upon a number of simple and unambiguous concepts of honour, strength, prestige and pride. And in the previous chapter I have emphasized the exclusive and particularist form of these social ideals. Yet throughout this period the community has belonged to an Orthodox Christian civilization. Allowing for its primitive material culture and geographical isolation, it has clearly been profoundly influenced by this wider membership as, for instance, even a cursory examination of Sarakatsan wood-carving immediately suggests. Although it is true that the relationship of the Sarakatsani to the Orthodox Church, as an institution, has been sufficiently tenuous to result in a popular religious life that is a gross

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

GOOD and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 THE feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p. 84 A]

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[996] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
199 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

[233] --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept [964] work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

[256] --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are [286] occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

[656] --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior. The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [796] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] or disastrous.
[787]

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[796] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

[114] 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. 9v') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
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25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, shepherd reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A. /See p.100--Analyst/

/259 cont./

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the latter passes to Rome and from there, in the form of May festivals, to Central and Western Europe: H. Graillot: Le culte de Cybèle, p. 131, Firmicus Maternus: De errore profanarum..., p. 22, E. James: Ibid., p. 189-190 where one finds again a description of the Roman festival Hilaria. For the Semites it is Astarte who is accompanied by Adonis and who plays the same role.--In Greece it is Demeter and the Kora Proserpine and also Hera, protectress of the fertility of women and of the earth:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ : Θέρισμος I, 914, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις .II, 17, 8, IX, 8, 1, ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ : Ὁ Δαιδάλος τῶν Πλατωνίων, 4.

but she is subject to the Olympian Zeus. A separate place must be reserved for Bacchus who in the beginning is only Zeus Couros, god of fertility, not of the vine:

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ : Κρῆσις, Fragm. 475, but also god of spring whose festival is celebrated in Athens in the Anthesteria: M. Nilsson: Geschichte der Griechischen Religion. 1, 547 f.

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These same ideas survive in the Sarakatsani rites, though submerged in a syncretism with Christianity.

As a matter of fact, Pure Monday (the first day of Orthodox Lent and 40 days before Easter) is an important festival among our herders. When night falls, they light fires near the huts. Only the men perform, the women are content to be spectators. The entertainment starts with a sham marriage, the wife being merely a disguised man. After the so-called celebration of the nuptials the couple retire into a hut for their first night. The others, who drink heavily, start to sing and dance a special dance around the fire, the movements of which consist in touching the ground several times. But the newly married couple go through difficult moments. It seems that the husband becomes impotent and his partner protests; then she leaves the hut and looks among the company for another companion whom

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796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

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33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomnios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
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concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed

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796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichalè: Ibid., A. I. 47-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tséligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 [842] [233] [171] Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/260 cont./

796 789 535 533 [539]

and the multicolored viper
as a collar around your neck...
/261/ May the stones of this house
never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 789 533 796 174 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 789 796 823 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil subterranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun, driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same forces, (35)

533 796 789 796 [821] [825]

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski. Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
776 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
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Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/266 cont./

776 religious and the left, magic. The Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, fire
792 pistols during the mass for the resurrection of the Lord by pulling the
776 trigger with the right hand. (48)
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811
(790)
[791]

48. See J. Cuillandre: La droite et la gauche dans les poèmes homériques.

Firing a shot with the left hand is a "contrary" movement reserved for the demon who is a "contrary" being; according to the explanations of our herders, the true, the beneficent way is represented by the right hand. Finally, the detonation which frightens men and animals, also terrifies
776 the bad spirits by an analogy intensified and guided by the "contrary"
789 gesture. (49)

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49. That noise has warding-off properties is a belief that goes all the way back to antiquity. Noisy objects were given to children to amuse them, but equally to protect them; see J.H. Harrison: Thémis, p. 17, footnote 4.

776 To these components of Sarakatsani "demonology" are added other categories of evil spirits, the most fearsome among them is Daoutis. (50)

50. See also the description by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. p. 94.

[791] The demon Daoutis also figures in the mythology of shepherds throughout continental Greece.

776 This abominable being can take various shapes, such as half billy-goat,
233 half donkey, etc., and swoops down on the flocks at night. He mates with the females and transmits a fatal disease (anthrax) to them. His attack is accompanied by noise, cries and sardonic laughter that makes the blood of the terrorized shepherds run cold. Several hours later his victims begin dying by the dozen.

776 Preventive as well as curative measures are taken against him. In
233 a corner of the sheepfold is placed salt, incense and a piece of liturgical
789 bread blessed at church. With /267/ pitch a cross is drawn on the fore-

/321 cont./

789 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the
182 same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis
182 of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of
462 the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect.
562 We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-
796 being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of
[776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it
[831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude,
[291] word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts:
562 it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms;
462 and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,
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CHAPTER II

RELIGION AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

771 121 The Sarakatsani are Christians under The Orthodox Church. The study of their official religion is not within the scope of this work. What merits analysis here is their interpretation of the teaching of the Church, that is, their way of applying Christianity to the conditions of their life.

771 128 This interpretation appears: first, in their way of celebrating certain religious festivals; second, in their funeral customs; third, in their religiosity and in the nature of their religious feeling.

The present chapter will be organized around these three aspects. Our account will conclude with some remarks on the social dynamics of religion among these nomads.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS AND PRACTICES

796 771 The difference between the offical interpretation of Christianity and that introduced by the Sarakatsani appears in the celebration of the festivals of Christmas, St. Basil (New Year's Day), Epiphany, St. Lazarus, Holy Week and Easter, St. George, St. Demetrius and certain other saints of whom we shall speak in due time.

[182] The principal aim of the ritual followed in connection with these festivals is to appeal to the beneficent influence of religion and cause it to intervene favorably in life. Religion represents forces: it is fitting to profit from them.

771 789 182 178 We rediscover here the fundamental conception that dominates Sarakatsani magic. More than that. The study of concrete facts will show that certain ideas determining magic practices survive in religious practices, but this time "Christianized." Thus, between the magic and the religion of our herders there is a certain continuity, a common threshold which insures passage /326/ from one to the other, without, however, denying the originality of each. However, the participation of

/326 cont./

771 789 182 178 representatives of the Church and the invocation of God and the saints in numerous magical rites (exorcisms) testifies to the existence of this threshold. The latter, already studied in connection with magic, must now be examined from the perspective or religion.

* * * *

796 [178] The way in which the Sarakatsani celebrate Christmas, New Year's Day and Epiphany is known to us. Beliefs of non-Christian origin incorporated in the celebration of these festivals have been analyzed in the preceding chapter. However, Epiphany has additional rites of which we have not spoken and which are carried out in the following way:

796 788 462 [178] [171] [484] On that day, throughout Greece, priests make the rounds of houses and professional places and, in memory of the baptism of the Lord, sprinkle human beings and dwellings with holy water. Among the Sarakatsani it is the women who carry out this practice. At daybreak they must set out for church (which they sometimes reach after walking three or four hours) to attend mass and return home with a supply of holy water. They then sprinkle the men, the huts, the sheepfolds, the enclosures, the livestock, the beasts of burden. Thus, it is the women who, in this particular function, takes the place of the priest who cannot make his way to the Sarakatsani konakia situated on the borders of his parish.

796 788 783 798 In addition to being the blessing of the Church, this practice is a means of purification against contamination by evil spirits (for the holy water absolutely removes the kalikantzari) and, by sprinkling an inducement to fertility and abundance.

798 783 In each family a supply of holy water is kept beside the icons, to be used, always by sprinkling, as a means of neutralizing evils and the influence of the evil eye.

796 The festival of Saint Lazarus occurs on the Saturday before Palm Sunday. Its celebration among the Sarakatsani consists of two phases. The first

/326 cont./

796 takes place the day before (Friday), and the other on the holiday itself. On Friday, at twilight, the boys of each /327/ Tseligato form a group. One of them is chosen to play the role of the saint. He stretches out on the ground, his eyes closed, his hands crossed on his chest; he represents the dead saint. His companions then lift him up and start making the rounds of all the hits. They stop in front of each door, deposit "Saint Lazarus" on the ground, and sadly sing of his death. When the tour of the huts is finished, the group disbands. The next 796 morning the boys gather anew and go to the fields to gather flowers. 795 Afterwords they make a figurine out or pieces of wood, dress it like (532) an infant and cover it with the gathered flowers. This figurine represents the infant Lazarus reborn. The boys recommence their tour of the huts, (533) singing joyous tunes, rejoicing in his resurrection; the women give them sweets and eggs. The symbolism of this scene is identical with that of the "pure Monday" dance. The death and resurrection of Saint Lazarus, "the friend of the Lord," here take on the meaning of the periodic regeneration of nature; they are therefore put at the service of fertility. The simulated death of the young man, his rebirth in the form of an infant, the gathered flowers, the eggs which contain life, etc., leave no doubt about the accuracy of this interpretation. (1)

1. Κ. Α. ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ : Ἀπόκρεω Λαογρ..., p. 166, note 1. — Γ. ΜΕΓΑΕ Ἑλληνικαὶ Ἑορταί, p. 148.

(191) --It is a custom found almost everywhere in Greece.

* * * *

Maundy Thursday is a day of extreme importance in the popular religion of Greece, on the one hand, because in church "the twelve gospels" are read, recounting the arrest, the judgment and the crucifixion of the Lord, and on the other hand, on account of the belief "that the souls of the dead, freed by the descent of Christ into hell, rise up on Maundy

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
775 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
775 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[187] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[188] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

/328 cont./

796 533 [532] [470] [596] 796 178 dead Lord," sung by the women. The latter erect in a hut a sort of catafalque on which they place a figurine representing Christ; then, seated all around, they perform a special hymn of popular origin, while the members of the Tséligato come, one after another, to prostrate themselves before the catafalque. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (2)

2. Ibid., A. I. p. ρξδ'.

who reports this custom which has now disappeared, it is another instance of a survival of Dionysian beliefs or /beliefs/ related to the death of the companion of the mother's Goddess, here incorporated in the worship of [114] the Lord. However, it seems to us that this explanation is exaggerated. From our viewpoint, one must see in it a manifestation Sarakatsani religiosity and the omni-functionalism of their society. For Greeks in 796 general, Holy Week and Easter are the most important religious festivals 171 of the year, and everyone takes active part in them. /329/ Greek piety is such that in many villages the women gather at the church on Good Friday and, between the morning and evening service, they watch at the tomb of the Lord, represented according to the canons, while chanting laments of popular origin. (3)

3. Cf. Π. ΣΤΑΜΟΥΛΗ-ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χριστός, pp. 249-253 and the bibliography drawn up by Σ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΗΣ — Σ. ΣΥΚΟΛΑΝΤΗΣ : Ὁ Θάνατος καὶ Χριστός, p. 251-256.

[796] An identical ritual is also performed on 15 August, the day of the death of the Holy Virgin who is very much venerated in the nation and who, according to the Byzantine tradition, is leader /"stratège"/ of the nation. 771 The laments chanted by our nomads on these occasions are meant to conform 796 to these more general customs that have their origin in Christianity and 171 in popular devotion and not elsewhere. Of course, and as a hypothesis, 178 comparisons between the ancient cults of Dionysus, etc., and the Christian

/329 cont./

771 drama would be legitimate, especially when one takes into account the
796 form of the rite and the season of the year during which it is celebrated.
171 But the lament for the Holy Virgin points to the explanation we have
178 proposed, in view of the fact that no similar practice exists in ancient religions and that, consequently, this could not be considered a survival from them. These customs therefore arise from the religious sentimentality of the people and their origin is lost in the shadow of the Hellenic Middle Ages. Furthermore, if the Sarakatsani mourn the Lord among them-
796 selves it is, according to their own explanation (which the same author
771 has reported to us), (4)

4. Ibid., p. 283.

because their isolation does not permit them to go to church and participate in the mourning of Christendom. We shall soon see that their society does
[793] not even hesitate, in the absence of priests, to take upon themselves the administration of the sacraments, a much more serious act from the religious point of view. Then why would they not sing a few hymns, an act that offends no dogma and would not be considered sacrilegious?

There is another custom connected with Good Friday. A woman from
796 each Tséligato must go to church to fetch flowers laid on the "tomb" of the
789 Lord; these flowers are used, as we have said, to make fumigations for
[592] sick children or for victims of the evil eye. This act, more magical than
[477] religious, indicates the nature of the tomb erected on that day in the
[785] konakia, which is considered merely a simple /330/ imitation of the official "tomb" venerated in the churches. If it were otherwise, the women would be able to use the flowers that serve to decorate it /the former/ instead of fetching flowers from the church.

* * * *

128 The systematic demands of our analysis require that we interrupt
796 here the calendrical sequence and go on to certain remarks relating to

/330 cont./

796 128 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make 796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their 789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have 182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 811 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 811 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything 177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part [773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge, [789] progress of technology, necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

/321 cont./

771 811 197 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 596 564 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

796 788 474 564

/331 cont./

796 the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the
474 lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women
554 do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.
[188]
[252]

/332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial
[596] character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals
[176] of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered
[474] protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion
[554] of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the
[574] konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival
[182] of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos
782 are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of
474 confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by
596 promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity,
776 at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles,
[554] lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to
755 read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or
782 a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense,
[252] candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on
[262] the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./

796 the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conform-
755 ing to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.
782
262 Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb
796 are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that,
262 in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which
585 we shall speak later on.
795
769 The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very
782 useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death
196 of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any
(114) animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

782 The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces.

It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new
782 situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals
171 at the time something new materializes, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/340 cont./

765 On the third, ninth and fortieth day after death, and on the day
769 of the first anniversary, there is a solemn commemoration of the deceased. The practices relating to these ceremonies involve, according to the orthodox rite, the preparation of the cakes of the dead, the kolyva (17)

17. A practice which, according to M. Nilsson: [illegible] pp. 28-29 goes back to classical antiquity. It is connected with the festival of Anthesteria (third day, festival of the dead).

--grains of boiled wheat put on a plate and covered with sugar--symbolizing the body. They are put on the ground, as we know, the people weep and
[533] sing the miroloia, then they carry them to the church where the parish priest says prayers for the repose of the soul of the deceased.

769 Commemoration of the 40th day and of the first anniversary includes a feast served to individuals who took part in the service. On this occasion a lamb is sacrificed. The next of kin do not sit at the table on the 40th day, /341/ but participate at the anniversay feast. If the dead person was the father of a family, a loaf is prepared which the eldest son, at the time of the feast, must place on his head and break, saying: "May God grant my father forgiveness." The commemoration feasts
[533] are always accompanied by miroloia.

The Sarakatsani do not forget their dead. If they find themselves in
[765] a locality near the cemetery where their dead are buried, it is customary, at least during the first weeks of mourning, for the women to go there at twilight to weep on the grave while uttering heart-rendering cries.
769 Moreover, the days consecrated to the dead by the Church (the two
796 Saturdays before Lent, Saint Theodore, etc.) kolyva will be prepared
[784] for all the deceased of the family. On these days it is forbidden to wash
[302] one's head and comb one's hair, this action inviting death to get tangled
[515] up in the hair of the living and strike someone!
[761]
[776]

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[341] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to
[782] disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[775] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

/342 cont./

761 182 Ultimately, the dead person himself becomes the source of life, for he knows the secrets of life and death, he is in contact with the earth, he is likened to the seed.

761 789 951 One Sarakatsani practice is very revealing in connection with what we have said. When someone dies in armed combat (vengeance, a brawl, defence of pastures, etc.), his weapon is unloaded, the powder is poured into water and when the dregs have formed, the liquid is drunk, for it constitutes an excellent means of protection against illness. If the person killed used his weapon before falling, the gun is washed and one proceeds in like manner with the water that is left over. The efficacy of the procedure lies in the transmission to the living of the regenerative capacities of the deceased, combined, to be sure, with those of the powder which is both strong and anti-demonic.

SARAKATSANI RELIGIOSITY

771 AND THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION

The Sarakatsani attach extreme importance to their religion. Several manifestations testify to this.

(353) (798) On the wall of the hut opposite the entrance one can see the "iconostasis": the icons are fastened there and in front of them burns a candle (fig. 103).

771 785 261 Then again, the Sarakatsani adheres scrupulously to the rule of fasting during the days or periods of the year prescribed by the Orthodox Church" 50 days before Easter, 15 days before the Assumption, 40 days before Christmas, every Wednesday and Friday, on the occasion of certain (474) (554) (688) holidays, etc. The Tséligas watches strictly over the observance of these rules. If he catches someone consuming milk products, eggs, oil, meat or fish during these days he expels them from the Tséligato.

771 796 479 596 On the occasion of the major religious holidays (Christmas, Epiphany,

/342 cont./

Easter, etc.) a member of the Tséligato, preferably a woman, must go to church, attend mass and represent the group whose constant work prevents the carrying-out of this duty.

/343/ All the decisive moments of life, birth, baptism, marriage, death, represent so many occasions when the presence of a priest is required. Though authors like M. Skafidas (18)

18. Ibid., 1 107.

and Madame Hedjimichali, (19)

Fig. 103

/347 cont./

771 Lord and not that of the Trinity; that they recognize
776 as saints only those of the male sex whom they
114 elevate to the rank of deity. We believe that no
fact relative to their lives permits one to accept
this theory. Madame Hadjimichali gives as justifi-
771 cation, on the one hand, the fact that the Sarakatsani
776 honor the Lord exclusively, and on the other hand, that
776 in their calendar of holidays only the Holy Virgin and
114 Saint Paraskevi appear. Now, within the framework of
191 Christian practices the Lord generally occupies first place
in the countries. This is a universal phenomenon. As
for the holidays of female saints, the lack of which
Madame Hadjimichali finds explained in the androcratic
form of Sarakatsani society which is reflected in their
religion, we find that the calendar of popular holidays
of the Hellenic people, in general, has only five
festivals of female saints. See: G. Megas:
~~Ελληνικαί Εορταί~~, index. One therefore sees that this
phenomenon is not specifically Sarakatsani, but that it
comes from the entire Greek religious phenomenon, the more
so since wherever the holidays there are local factors that
that have determined their adoption. All this to establish
the problem of Sarakatsani religion in its true dimensions.
On the other hand, we quite agree with Madame Hadjimichali
when she says (p.ΚΛΓ') that the Sarakatsani remain faithful
to their ancient beliefs, for these ensure them protection.
It is true that official Christianity does not put forward
religious forces to solve practical problems. This explains
syncretism. It is called upon to make up for this lack.

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadià) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arà̀dhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tsélígato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

[p.363]

APPENDIX III

A SPECIMEN FAMILY BUDGET 1954-5

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[233]
[162]

This extended family possessed 350 sheep, of which 190 were ewes in milk. They also had 5 horses but no goats. There were 14 members, 7 adults and 7 children.

In these accounts quantities are in okes (1 oke = 1,280 grams) and values are in Drachmas (83 Drachmas to one pound sterling approx.).

[304]
[436]

Expenditure	*Drachmas*
Winter grazing dues at flat rate of 14 Dr. per sheep, 28 Dr. per horse or mule, on village common land. The stani of which this family is a member grazed the land by virtue of a compulsory Government order which also fixed the amount of payment	5,040
Owing to the small area and poor quality of this winter grazing the ewes carrying lambs were given supplementary feed in the form of cotton-cake. 17 okes of cotton-cake per ewe, at 3 Dr. the oke	9,690
Summer grazing in mountain village with citizens' rights of pasturage at the rate of 8 Dr. for the first 150 animals, and 14 Dr. for the remainder	4,140
Salt for sheep in summer	400
Flour 1300 okes at 4 Dr.	5,200
150 okes of olive oil at 17 Dr.	2,550
15 pairs of shoes at 150 Dr. a pair	2,250
Account with local tailor for the cutting and sewing of 6 jackets, 10 pairs of trousers and various other clothes for children and young girls	1,500
Share of general expenses of the stani* at 14·54 Dr. per sheep, 29 Dr. per horse	5,234
Miscellaneous purchases from village shop	3,066
Total	39,070

[651]

* This item represented the expenditure incurred by the stani in co-operative undertakings. In this instance more than half the amount was used for gifts and bribes, the remainder representing the cost of lawyers fees, fines for animal trespass, and the travelling expenses of the tselingas. The share paid by each member family is in proportion to the size of its flock.

[474]
[662]

/45 cont./

233

Fig. 33 Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers and rugs. Cotton [177] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/57 cont./

286 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 42

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
[824] continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
[804] commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
[827] is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

/372 cont./

000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

* * * *

534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [793] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzamara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play [516] seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyera, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes. /Figure 109 appears here/

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

2. THE SARAKATSANI OF ZAGORI

The community of Sarakatsan shepherds which I describe in this study numbers about 4,000 souls.[18] In summer they are found in Zagori, a mountainous district north-east of the town of Jannina on the western limits of the Pindus range in the province of Epirus. Here they graze their sheep and goats from May until the early days of November; or as they would calculate it, between the feast-days of St. George and St. Demetrius which mark their seasonal migrations between plain and mountain (and are celebrated according to the old Julian calendar, that is, on the 6th May and the 8th November by the new calendar). In each Zagori village with high grasslands there is a local gathering of Sarakatsan families which exploit the grazing land of the community and add to it a summer population of 100–300 men, women, and children. Since 1938 the majority of these shepherd families have enjoyed the same citizenship and grazing rights as the sedentary villagers of Zagori from whom previously they had to rent their pastures. There are 152,000 sheep and goats in the Zagori of which 85,000 sheep and 13,000 goats belong to the Sarakatsani.[19] Although the eastern villages of the district are Koutsovlach in speech and sentiment very few of their inhabitants are, any longer, transhumant shepherds, and the pastures of these villages are used by the Sarakatsani, who indeed occupy almost all the higher pastures of the district, grazing their flocks on the lands of 30 of the 43 villages which today constitute Zagori; the remaining villages are low lying (where it is easier to keep animals throughout the year), or they are without extensive areas of grass.

In the winter the community is more widely dispersed. The Sarakatsani move down from the mountains to the coastal plains and valleys over an area which extends from the Albanian frontier as far south as the towns of Arta and Preveza and even beyond.

[18] There are no census details for the Sarakatsani as such. And police restriction on my movements prevented me from carrying out a complete survey of all the sheep villages in Zagori. However, on the basis of my own incomplete figures and information supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture for pastoralism in Zagori generally, this figure is most unlikely to be far from the truth.

[19] Thus there are 24·5 sheep and goats per head of population among the Zagori Sarakatsani.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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From this brief and summary description of Sarakatsan methods of animal husbandry and the other associated tasks which provide the shepherds with food, clothes, and shelter, it is evident that the flocks of a stani are an object of attention and daily routine about which the working activities of men and women in the group are co-ordinated. The complementarity of the different contributions of the various members of the stani or family, the symbiotic relationship between the people of the stani and their animals, are a source of strength and solidarity. And the physical needs of men and animals in a given physical and political environment are satisfied by the organization and division of labour which I have briefly outlined.

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But the relation between the environment, the animals, and their shepherds must be seen not only in terms of utilitarian satisfaction or social function. Shepherding has intrinsic value; it is a way of life, not merely one way of remaining alive. This appears best perhaps in the shepherds' conception of time. Time is not for the Sarakatsani a homogeneous medium, units of which may be saved or lost.[4] In one aspect, it is a succession of activities concerned directly or indirectly with the flocks and determined by the ecological rhythms of the different seasons and the changing conditions of temperature, grass, and water. The cycle of the year is related, of course, to the succession of calendrical months, but the months themselves are associated with particular activities rather than the reverse. Within the cycles of the day, the week, and the year different moments in time have different qualities, sacred or profane, of ill fortune or good fortune, to which the work and the life of the shepherd is accommodated. For example, shearing may not begin on a Sunday which is sacred, nor on a Tuesday or Friday which are inauspicious. Time in another aspect is measured against the progress of the individual through his life considered as a succession of statuses in the family. This paradigm of statuses, also, has a circular appearance in the replacement of one generation by another. Time then is not a scale marking a linear progress, or a means of dividing life into portions of work and leisure, it is a continuum of activity within the family and in the service of the flock. The family and the flock are both forms divinely

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[4] Cf. R. B. Onians, *Origins of European Thought*, Cambridge, 1951, p. 411; and Evans-Pritchard, op. cit. p. 103.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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supporting Theodoros' children, particularly as the three children who are at school must be well dressed and well shod to uphold the family's prestige before the children of the villagers and the other Sarakatsani who are trying to emulate them. Dissatisfaction, it must be stressed, is not expressed by those brothers who have no children. The attitude of the unmarried brother, or even of the married brother without children, remains one of common identification and mutual sharing without the keeping of any conscious account. But the brother who has become a parent must adopt a more calculating attitude if he is to fulfil this new role according to accepted expectations. 596

For the same reasons, although brothers in an earlier phase of the extended family's development willingly delegate the control of a common purse to the senior brother, they find this arrangement less congenial at a later stage when the pressure of anxieties about the future of their families of marriage begins to be felt. The different spending habits of brothers, which within limits were formerly merely an incident in the common identification of siblings, later become difficult to ignore. Theodoros himself admits that 'he wastes money easily' by standing drinks in the coffee-shop and playing cards, whereas Demetrios the second brother has a reputation for being tight-fisted and careful. Eleutherios the third brother is somewhat uncouth and feels ill at ease in the coffee-shop. Vasili and Aristoteles resemble their eldest brother and like to drink and play cards when the opportunity presents itself. Demetrios admits that Theodoros must spend money in the coffee-shop to keep in with people and to know what is going on. But he thinks that often he spends more money than is necessary. No doubt his drinking companions account him a fine fellow, but this hardly assists Demetrios in his problems. Demetrios privately grumbled to me when Theodoros bought a fifty shilling pocket watch for Aristoteles the youngest brother. Aristoteles was the favourite of Theodoros, Demetrios complained. The boy had herded his sheep well enough for several years by using the sun and stars. The truth was that he wanted a watch because some of the other young shepherds had watches. Had I not observed how he now rushed up to everybody and asked them if they wanted to know the time and, before they could answer, pulled out the new watch simply to show them that he had one? Admittedly every man must have

596 517 [275] 596 [431] [405] [805]

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811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[179] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadiá) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghàlata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arádhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

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805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

751 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

3: Kabbadias

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[For a theoretical discussion of the inter-relationship of myth and knowledge, see Category 121 (or Category 116, pp. 416-423).]

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182 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated
81 by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship,
182 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain
812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal
789 to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have
755 also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity.
(789) The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

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121 789 An explanation becomes necessary. The belief in the effectiveness of magical practices that we have recognized as steadfast among our herders, and the profound feeling that the forces are not obliged to act because the practice has been carried out are not contradictory assertions. If the forces do not always respond to man's appeal, it is not because the practice is ineffective, but because the forces are superior to man and his acts, hence by definition relatively free.

Now we are able to understand other incomplete phenomena which represent for magical thinking so many problems to which it must truly give a solution.

121 789 788 If the magical action is clothed in the form of a rite and if it must be carried out solemnly and faithfully, that is because the myth in action manifests itself only ritually, the mythic suggestion being expressed adequately only by the implication of the rite. Likewise, the domination of the myth by the grandiose can be externalized /304/ only by solemnity. And as for the fidelity of the execution, this results from the concern about effectiveness, for in practice effects are not produced if one does not follow the prescriptions to the letter.

MAGICAL THINKING.--AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION.

121 789 811 All the ideas that we have brought out in analyzing the postulates of magical action, its methods, the process by which postulates and methods are formed and the ideas accompanying their application sufficiently reveal the nature and internal structure of the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani.

It is a pragmatic type of thought which develops from a fundamental idea according to which the desired effect is obtained by "placing-into-contact" the beneficiary of the magic and a source of influence.

This idea, likewise pragmatic and forming part of magical thinking, occupies in the latter the same place that causal connections hold in technology. It is formed on the basis of everyday experience and by

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121 789 811 deduction through analogical reasoning. Thereafter it is put in concrete form and gives rise to certain postulates which are likewise pragmatic, and which determine the action.

This point of departure having been established, the magical thinking, in search of a suitable source of influence, oscillates between two poles which are not external to it, but are integrated in it, following closely the Sarakatsani scheme of classification of the different parts of the universe: myth and the perceptual knowledge of the external world and common sense. Magic thinking turns toward myth when it finds itself in the presence of fundamental cosmological and anthropological problems (life--fecundity--fertility) and also obscure forces and influences arising from first causes or representing them, which stand outside all experience and all knowledge. On the other hand, it is prompted by knowledge when it deals with all other problems relating to secondary causes.

Magic action is thus organized accordingly. The "placing-in-contact" is sometimes oriented toward mythic entities, sometimes toward perceptible or intelligible elements, depending on the ideas on which it is based. In order to act upon first causes /305/ it is necessary to proceed by mythic entities. To act on second causes, either may be used depending on the case. Hence the differences in the content of ritual and magical practices. Hence also the conclusion that magical action is possible only within a given category of reality, a fact which gives rise to a working principle, that of the homogeneity of the components of the action, of homogeneity of the property to acquire and the property to transmit.

However, magical thinking is thinking "under certain conditions." It is therefore engaged in, and consequently exposed to, various psychological, social and cultural dynamics which render its propositions and manifestations objects of social myths. The latter give it veracity and make unnecessary any effort to verify its statements through experience.

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121 789 811 The result is that magical thinking is a complex in which multiple elements, bound together by dialectical relations, meet and intersect: cosmological and anthropological myths, social myths, rational proceedings and elements (classification, knowledge, experience, judgment, reasoning), intentions, imagination, various "actual experiences" and motivations, affective and otherwise (desires, hopes, fears, anguish, as well as respect and exaltation in the presence of the mysterious, the grandiose, the transcendent), social dynamics collective elements, etc.--in a word, manifestations of all psychic and social phenomena.

All these elements are present in magical thinking and naturally in the action that it determines.

Magical Thinking and Non-Magical Thinking: Their Respective Structures.

The procedure and the structure of magical thinking being thus circumscribed, comparing it with non-magic thinking will prove relatively easy.

At the level of procedure, the two follow an identical process. Starting from certain premises, they advance by successive propositions to a conclusion.

On the level of their structures they are different. The difference manifests itself in the nature of their premises and the /306/ guarantees for the veracity of their conclusions, as well as in the general structure of their components. While, as a whole, non-magical thinking uses premises made up of rational elements and proceeds to rational and experimental verification of its conclusions, magical thinking involves mythical premises, and its conclusions are supported by myth. Between these two extremes there are intermediary situations which minimize the difference. Non-magical thinking also backs up its conclusions with social myths. And magical thinking bearing on rites of simple transmission contains premises and propositions with a rational coloring while buttressing its conclusion by the myth. These observations show that a certain continuity

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121 789 811 between non-magical and magical thinking can be established. Passage from one to the other proceeds from common thresholds and is a function of the kinds of segments of reality envisaged and the kinds of segments of the possibilities /there are?/ of acting on them. The parts subject to knowledge are within the scope of rationality. The parts subject to myth are within the scope of magical thinking. Since between the parts of reality there are dialectical relationships. the same relationships are reflected in the different modes of action upon reality. We shall see in what follows this same phenomenon manifesting itself on another plane, that of the mutual relations of myth and knowledge. As for the structure of these two kinds of thought, we see that the summit of the hierarchy of components is occupied, in the case of non-magic thinking by rational elements, in the case of magical thinking in simple transmission practices by rational and non-rational components equally, and within that of purely magical thinking by mythical components.

* * * *

This said, it is time to ask ourselves whether the magical thinking of the Sarakatsani does not indicate a specific mentality? Or, in other words, whether the coexistence of magical thinking along with knowledge and rational thinking does not force us to envisage the existence among them of a plurality of logic or a plurality of mentalities?

[128] Since Chapter III of this part is devoted to the study of knowledge and myth and their reciprocal relations, we shall not enter into an examination of these questions in order not to /307/ anticipate. We [171] shall limit ourselves merely to the statement that these phenomena are universal and not peculiar to the Sarakatsani, and we shall make it clear that they are due to the dynamic brought to bear on their thinking by their specific social structure. This is a conclusion that deserves to be kept in mind, for it will be useful to us later on.

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121 789 811 However, before ending this section, another conclusion, this time methodological, asserts itself. Since Sarakatsani magical thinking proceeds from psychic and wholly social phenomena, it is obvious that any unilateral and unidimensional approach must be excluded if one wishes to arrive at an explanation of it.

That is why, in our own approach, we have not resorted to the principal theories that explain magic. Thus, a brief critical account of these theories appears necessary to justify our position.

SOME CRITICAL REFLECTIONS.

789 114 Let us begin first with the intellectualistic explanation of J. Frazer revealed in his works: Le Rameau d'or, pp. 3, 5, 24, etc., and Les origines magiques de la royaute, p. 35. Frazer sees in magic an erroneous interpretation of the association of ideas by resemblance and proximity, expressed in the more general idea of sympathy (109)

109. The idea of sympathy already figures in the thought of Greek antiquity and of the Middle Ages. See: M. Nilsson: Les croyances religieuses, p. 193, who cites Plotinus, and M. VEAAOE: [illegible]

between objects and phenomena--a sympathy devoid of all human depth--which permits magic manipulations. Even in cases where supernatural beings are invoked the magician treats the latter "as inanimate agents, by force and constraint and not by conciliation or propitiation." (110)

110. Ibid., p. 67.

Now, nothing is more foreign to the magical practices of the Sarakatsani than this "cold prescience" of Frazer which, in its generality, has already been criticized by Mauss and Hubert, (111)

111. M. Mauss and R. Hubert: La Magie, pp. 4, 13, etc.

by R. Bastide, (112)

112. R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse, pp. 19, 28, etc.

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796 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.
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Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make
796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their
789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have
182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines
811 the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the
811 same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything
177 that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part
(773) of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge,
(789) progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

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771 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

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796 823 474 596 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tseligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

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811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 157 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 993 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

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811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[199] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadiá) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghálata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arádhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

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805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
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821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

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828 811 (153) KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS:

This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

811 114 We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

2. See G. Davey: Sociologues d'hier..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: La mentalité primitive pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: Early civilisation /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

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for us not to grant him the existence of a certain number of thoughts verified or inspired by experience, about his action. To bend or harden a piece of wood by heating it comes neither from automatic instinct nor from simple observation. The latter is blind when it is not guided by intelligence. Likewise, it is impossible to believe that technical activity, like all other activities, does not affect intellectual progress. The life of man cannot be divided into compartments. His different "experiences" act on each other, homo faber /man the maker/ exerting his influence on homo sapiens /man the knower/ and the reverse. (3)

3. See, for example, A.-J. Piaget: La psychologie de l'intelligence, pp. 139-141 and passim.

We know very well that the concepts and ideas of the "primitive" are different from those which cause science to advance. But between instinct or automatism and scientific conceptualization there is no lack of intellectual life; an intellecutal life is exhibited there which truly merits this name, as is shown by the existence of effective, directed, consciously deliberate action. Of course, this intellectual life does not have the same breadth and effectiveness as science: it is none the less of the same nature as the intellectual, creative life of scientific knowledge, though its modalities are different. We have the impression (perhaps erroneous) that the authors cited have never had occasion to follow closely the working technique of a "primitive" and to discuss it with him. It is obvious that technology rests on understanding, the whole of which constitutes a sort of knowledge.

/354/ Knowledge, the bearers of which, as far as these nomads are concerned, are all the Sarakatsani. Its very creation occurs collectively. Borrowing the terminology of Gurvitch, but partly disagreeing with him on the forms in which this knowledge appears, (4)

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are
829 186 different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

829 Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role
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/354 cont./

829 562 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
596 the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
414 the group and its good functioning.
621

On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
811 562 reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 811 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
177 361 benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migrations and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 811 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

/355 cont./

121 811 5. See C. Lévi-Strauss: La pensée sauvage, p. 32.
one could not do without if one hopes to enter this domain. In order that science may develop, J. Piaget says, (6)

6. J. Piaget: Epistémologie, vol. III, p. 261.
--See also the same author: Traité de Logique /Treatise on logic/, passim, and the comments of R. Bastide: Le Candomblé, pp. 240-241.

the human mind relies on classifications of reality, organized "into systems of concrete operation," which are translated into propositions, into hypotheses. Observation and experience ensure contact of the latter with reality. Next, one advances with the help of the "logic of propositions, joining concrete operations by means of new operations of implication or exclusion among propositions... "

811 /356/ In the case of the Sarakatsani, the classifications of realtiy to which the new operations lead have a double nature. First, we find once again mythical classifications. The different parts of reality are classed as wholes, not according to the principles of a scientific typology of phenomena, but in terms of mythical considerations. 811 There are many examples. Let us take the division of the world into 792 two parts: favorable and unfavorable, to which correspond other dichotomies dealing with the different aspects of life, namely:

Favorable	Unfavorable
East	West
Right	Left
Religious	Black magic
Curative magic	Obscure forces and influences
Life	Death
Health	Illness
Fecundity	Sterility
Birth of sons	Birth of daughters
Birth of ewes	Birth of rams
Fertility	Drought
Prosperity	Insolvency
Freedom	Slavery of imprisionment

/356 cont./

811
772

Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites [773] elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7)

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier:
Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of

/357 cont./

811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that [773] myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about [773] the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

773 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact 838 that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

783 828 the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet [812] the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the [779] potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

/382 cont./

182 As for Sarakatsani knowledge, we must recall that it is dominated
81 by utilitarianism, the advantages that may be derived from it, and not by disinterestedness. A struggler is not a contemplator, and the Sarakatsani are strugglers (isolation, herding). For their society and their kind of life, "scientific" research would be a luxury, aside from the fact that they lack the means to attain the knowledge that they lack. On the other hand, Sarakatsani knowledge is relevant to both /383/ material life (technology, crafts and herding) and the social man; it carries the two-fold concern of ensuring man's subsistence and organizing him more effectively economically as well as socially (kinship,
182 cooperation, etc.). Moreover, the Sarakatsani have need of a certain
812 ideology capable of justifying their condition and of leading to a mythologizing of certain aspects of their existence which is all the more necessary since their life is beset with difficulties. Their constant struggle, their sacrifice and solidarity, their austere regime, etc., can be maintained only if these things are idealized and surrounded with myth. When you ask a Sarakatsani to look down on his life and express judgments about it, you are astonished to hear him idealize his condition even in its least attractive aspects.

182 The limitations of knowledge, as we have noted, encourage the appeal
787 to cosmological and anthropological myth, which is expressed, as we have
755 also said, in curative magic and a partial syncretism with Christianity.
(787) The subjects that dominate these two spheres of ideas and the practices derived from them are fecundity, fertility, abundance, prosperity, health, protection against evil influences, finally foretelling the future, and these with respect to men as well as animals. The practices in question therefore protect the family and the kingroup, economic life and resources, in fact the entire community. This point opens the way

/407 cont./

121 Every society, and therefore the society of our herders, has an anthropology of its own, a collective work and consequently a social phenomenon which, though not entirely conscious, nevertheless exists. It is expressed in anthropological ideas, in the strict sense, in the socio-cultural molding of individuals, in the socially accepted latitude that permits a man to develop his initiative, in the organization, in the broad sense, of social life conceived as an instrument from which the individual will benefit, finally in the content and extent of the value that man represents for it.

/408/ We believe that these points will suffice for us to accomplish our task. And we hope that knowledge of the action will enable us, in addition, to lift the mask behind which the face of the actor is hidden.

* * * *

121 812 771 Sarakatsani anthropological ideas are familiar to us. Man, like the grain, grows, blossoms, begets descendants and dies. Born from the earth, he returns to the earth from whence spring powerful creative forces so that a new life may see the light. Death is for him a natural phenomenon that must be faced with courage. But he believes in the life hereafter described by Christianity, in which the soul may enjoy eternal rest if his life has conformed to the Christian prescription and if, in addition, the living faithfully follow on his behalf both Christian and pre-Christian funeral customs and usages. All these ideas also bear profound traces of a religious syncretism which we need not discuss again.

[761] [775]

Man is not completely defenseless before nature and the supernatural. Aside from technology, he is acquainted with ways of exerting his influence on them so that both will consent to favor to him. Nevertheless, man trembles before nature and the supernatural because of his weakness, without however sinking into despair, discouragement or inaction. On the contrary,

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121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--

See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:
829 /409/
462

TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework
Economic & administrative skills	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of co-operation, patriarchal type of command, right-eousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family
Magico-religious aptitudes	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

/298 cont./

121 789 have nothing unusual about them if we consider the phenomena which it aims at and the lack of other means of influencing them.

121 82 789 Simple transmission presupposes a knowledge of the outside world based on perception and observation, and even on common sense. Obviously, this knowledge does not always correspond to scientific facts, but one cannot, for all that, deny its existence. It is this same knowledge that has given rise to the formation of the postulate of transmissibility and which here determines the content and orientation of the corresponding practices. Thanks to it the Sarakatsani succeeds in grasping the qualities and properties of different objects, qualities and properties which he lacks and of which he has need; finally, it is this knowledge that permits him to symbolize some desirable effects by means of the properties in question. This process is likewise bound up with [153] analogical reasoning.

Myth does not occupy a place in the framework of simple transmission as such. However, it promotes /299/ the effectiveness of the latter, as we have shown in the preceeding paragraph.

These two types of action--mythical transmission and simple transmission--inspired by the postulate of transmissibility, as well as the ideas underlying them are not opposed to each other but are complementary. The ideas refer to two aspects of the world which ultimately become one. And these two kinds of action become integrated in a single process of which they represent two complementary aspects. At the point where the practices defined by myth reach their limit, the practices inspired by knowledge and analogous reasoning enter the scene to complete the work of the first ones. The ultimate goal is man and his life.

On the other hand, observation of transmission practices shows--and we must emphasize this particularly--that the components of the action which are brought into contact present a homogeneity of qualities. There is a correspondence between the property, the quality, etc., which one

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121 wishes to acquire and the virtues of the different objects with which
82 one puts oneself in contact in order to satisfy this desire. The
789 strength of iron and the skull ensure the strength of the living being. The sweetness of honey /ensures/ the sweetness of life. The multitude of seeds, the multitude of products. The male child, the birth of boys, etc. In this correspondence we see that quantity calls forth quantity, quality /calls forth/ quality, the abstract and the symbolic /call forth/ abstraction and symbolism, the functional /calls forth/ the functional. However, and this deserves to be emphasized very specially, this homogeneity of qualities points to a classifications of reality made by the Sarakatsani themselves. There is no need to try to justify them scientifically. The fact that these classifications exist is very significant. Equally significant is the fact that the magical action is possible only within the same category of the real.

121 Shifts from one type of quality to another come about only within the
789 limits of symbolism, a fact which does not deny the homogeneity but confirms it.

[153] Underneath this action we must recognize a thinking both positive and selective, testifying anew to the existence among the Sarakatsani of rationality and a knowledge of the world, closely bound up with their magic.

The application of the processes of contact within the framework of practices inspired by the postulate of transmissibility /300/ is also determined by homogeneity. Direct and material contact, on the one hand, and mediated contact, on the other, are carried out only on the basis of a choice made in terms of what one seeks to transmit: the mythical and abstract can be transmitted only through the intermediary of a symbol or a sign (the moons on the skirt; black, the sign of mourning), for they represent all of intelligible reality. On the other hand, the transmission of a concrete property (blood from the paschal lamb on the forehead of

/318 cont./

789 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc.,
121 as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space
(822) into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill-
(823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil
82 (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/319 cont./

789 shell fish), certain objects (skin, fur, blood, excrements) which
82 exert a favorable or unfavorable influence as the case may be. Various materials (salt, incense, powder /"poudre"/ pitch, amber, iron), elements such as water and fire, not to forget the colors red and blue, belong to the foregoing and act in the same way.

All this tends to a more intimate adjustment of the Sarakatsani to his environment.

789 From the physiological point of view, magic, by prescribing
182 curative practices sustains life. If we regard these practices object-
751 ively and not in the Sarakatsani manner, we discover that in certain cases the magic introduces and sanctions some empirical rules of hygiene which, thanks to it, are strictly followed. /320/ For example, the prohibition of visits to the woman in childbirth lessens the danger of contamination for her or the newborn child. The transfer of flocks
[233] contaminated with anthrax (Daoutis) to new sheepfolds is in the end sal-
[232] utary for the animals not affected, since the places contaminated by the disease continue to be dangerous for many years.

789 On the plane of technological and economic activity, magic has
182 its word to say, and a constructive word. But its influence is exerted
152 directly. The Sarakatsani living in complete dependence on nature, is
154 dominated by a feeling of insecurity. He is never certain that his labor will be fruitful. It is necessary in addition that nature be merciful. Along with its protective practices, magic combats anxiety and induces optimism. To recall an image by M. Leenhardt, man applying himself to work is no longer isolated (120)

120. See M. Leenhardt: Gens de la Grande Terre, p. 42.

but aided by the subjugated universal forces; he then works if not with assurance, at least with hope--a psychological attitude that insures a concentration of attention on work, according to the remark by R. Firth, (121) which increases productivity.

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. . --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [715] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] [825] [128] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
796

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
764 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ζώων ἰατρικῆς λόγος,

[789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περί ἀρρ. προσώπου κελάνης,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« ἄνωθεν καὶ κατωτάτω »,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, Τ.Β.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong,"
Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΟΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Ἀττικά, 95, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
17 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) II, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς Ζεύς»,
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἑρκεῖος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινὸν Βίος, τ. VI, p. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(1116) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

[191] 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

[171] 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible], 80, 82, 5 et 8, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : [illegible] collected, in : *M. P. G.*, 138, 1 340, etc.

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[562]
[531]

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[116]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[527] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

233 825 789 [777 527 195]

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

233 731 821 789 [221 776]

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776

These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existence of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be resurrected later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 171

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Courètes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

/260 cont./

796 and the multicolored viper
789 as a collar around your neck...
535 /261/ May the stones of this house
533 never loosen
[539] and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saΐtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saΐtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

[821] Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

[791] There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the [793] person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism [789] against the spells. (86)

[155]

86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

[151] Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate [789] objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

[825]

789 825 The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/350 cont./

811 and their magic. But we have not examined it systematically. It is
[128] appropriate now to present some of the aspects of their knowledge which have remained in shadow and which, together with what has gone before, will permit a view of the totality of the problem.

* * * *

805 A first category of knowledge deals with the measurement and division of time, by calendar and by the clock.

[177] In a general way the Sarakatsani follow the calendar of surrounding
805 society. However, among them the year is additionally divided into
221 two major periods determined by the seasonal migrations: the period of
233 the "plains" (chimadiá) and that of the "mountains" (psilomata). Phases in the life of the livestock likewise determine and characterize certain periods of the year. Thus the Sarakatsani refer to the "time of fecundation" (markalos), the "time of birth" (ghénnos), the "time of milk" (ghálata--the period when milk is abundant), the "time of shearing" (kouros), the "time of rotation" (arádhia--the period when milk production has become minimal and when each of the participants of the Tséligato takes turns milking all the ewes for his own use).

805 These divisions of the year, dictated in the end by work, are used along with the divisions into months and weeks. But it is obvious that the first have a "human" depth much more important than the second.

805 The religious holidays also represent some salient points that serve
796 as a pivot for the temporal placement of various events and phases of life. The anniversaries of Saint George and Saint Demetrius, for example, determine respectively the beginning of the period of summer and that of winter.

805 The movements of the sun, the moon and some stars or constellations
821 serve, in turn, as a clock for the Sarakatsani. While during the day the height of the sun in relation to the horizon marks the hours, during

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

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of her husband's immediate family. She gives shirts or socks to her father-in-law and brothers-in-law. To her husband's sisters and sisters-in-law she presents embroidered bodices. As a rule the father-in-law presents the new bride with a blanket and the other members give her various articles of clothing, such as skirts or blouses.

All the guests have now left and on the Tuesday night the bride and groom sleep together for the first time. But the ceremonial introduction of the bride to her new family and the tasks she must perform is not yet completed. On the Wednesday the women of the family escort the bride to the well. With them walks a youth carrying the wedding standard. This standard attests the virginity and purity of the two partners and, except on the Sunday when it is borne in front of the bridegroom on his journey to claim the bride, it has flown above the thatch of the bridegroom's hut since the Saturday evening.[3] On the Wednesday morning, since the marriage has now been consummated in the physical union of the bride and groom, the standard is taken down from the roof. At the spring or well the shaft of the standard is thrust upright into the water and abandoned, while the standard is cut free and put away until the marriage of another son. In the minds of the Sarakatsani this is the definitive moment when the bride finally enters the ranks of the married women.[4] At once the bride fills and carries to the huts of her new home her first barrel of water. This is an appropriate task to open her new life of service; for carrying water is rightly considered by the women to be their hardest work. Bent double under their enormous load they must often stagger as far as a mile from the well to the huts. On the afternoon of the same day she takes up her distaff for the first time and spins a little red wool, red the colour which represents virility in her husband, strength and fertility in herself. On the Thursday, under the supervision of her mother-in-law and with some help from the other women, she washes the clothes of the whole family as well as her own undergarments stained with the blood of her virginity. During these first few days all the women of the family make a conscious effort to put the bride at ease in

[3] When it replaces a smaller flag made with a handkerchief, placed there at the beginning of the marriage preparations.

[4] Cf. Hoeg, op. cit., vol. i, p. 52.

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 25 et 27. --Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ Τάξις διά τῶν Κλοιν. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
574 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] [171] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 166 et commen-
taires de Σν. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λαογράφος, p. 484. —
Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 309 et suiv. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τά φυτά τῆς Θράκης,
p. 80-82, etc.

/296 cont./

121 789 77L 105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [231] [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/318 cont./

789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space (822) into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill-(823) omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 82 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/336 cont./

764 Next, a white velentza (blanket) is spread out in the center of the hut, the deceased placed upon it, his eyes are closed and his feet tied with a rope so that "he will not shift in his grave," actually so that he will not become a ghost! (13)

13. M. Eliade, in Images et Symboles, p. 146, footnote 57, says, citing Frazer: La crainte des morts, /The fear of the dead/ pp. 53-59, that it is always as defense against the spirits of the dead that corpses are tied up, although the significance of this custom is more complex.

With regard to his position on the ground we refer to what was said elsewhere (pp. 276-278). Then the attendants place themselves around him and the women, without distinction of age, status of kinship, commence to weep loudly and sing the mirolia (special songs, often improvised) while tearing their hair, beating their breasts and sometimes scratching their cheeks. The next of kin must weep more than the others. The intensity and sadness of the lamentations are in inverse proportion to the age of the deceased.

765 The same is true of mourning. If the deceased was a young person, mourning lasts three to five years. If it was an old person, only one year. An ~~old~~ Sarakatsani woman told us that after the death of her elderly husband she did not replace the red blankets which were part of the decor of her hut with black blankets, for her companion had lived his life and she had her children.

Black is the color of mourning. The women no longer wear embroidered garments, the men put on black shirts and let their beards grow. The mother of the deceased and the widow wear mourning for life, the first because "a mother is never consoled for the loss of her child," the second because "she must be in mourning forever for her spouse."

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beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάνη)[20], which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

[20] I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

/250 cont./

844 602 animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

(114) 3. Ibid., A.I. p. [illegible]. .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial.

(115) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

(825) (128) If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
176

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
164 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὅλης ἰατρικῆς ὕλης,

[789] 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΑΟΥΛΑΡΧΟΥ: Περί ἀμφ. προσώπου σελήνης,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

«ἄνοδος καὶ κατωγάγια»,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, Τ.Β.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΩΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Ἀρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
19 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινοῦ Βίου, τ. VI, σ. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
82 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(1116) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

(191) 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

(171) 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

Βασιλικά, 60, 30, 8 et 5, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : Ἑκατοντάτομος ἀναλέξεων σχόλια, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 340, etc.

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789 vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[262]
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[796]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/260 cont./

796 789 535 533 [539]

and the multicolored viper
as a collar around your neck...
/261/ May the stones of this house
never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 789 533 776 774

The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 789 776 823

It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil subterranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun, driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same forces, (35)

533 796 789 776 [821] [825]

35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120, referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures, pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[171] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[293] [182] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune."
[823] Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the
825 polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden
789 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric
825 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes
322 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the
531 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of
233 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself
283 suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance
777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the
236 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

/267 cont./

776 head of the animals. (51)
233
789

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: [illegible], p. 48, n. 2.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock
783 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with
233 which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel,
789 is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung.
[411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern
[372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of
[823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

783 /267 cont./
233 imitating the very act of birth) and the transference of the evil into the
789 latter, according to the Sarakatsani explanation. The shot, which removes
[372] the demons, and the tortoise shell, symbol of chthonian forces, complete
[823] the rite whose ultimate goal is to oppose the destructive forces with the forces of life (54).

[171] 54. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 21 f. and p. 33-34, gives detailed descriptions of this practice, followed by the inhabitants of northern Greece.-- See also N. Polaites: Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, Τ. Β', p. 289 et suiv.

In case of an epidemic, the practice was likewise followed by the men; it constituted a means of purification against the illness.--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 220.

776 In general, however, the demons also amuse themselves. A young Sarakatsani told us that he with his small playmates had set up a seesaw. The demons often came there during the night and played while uttering cries and laughter.

/268/ The group of kalikantzari, (55)

55. On the kalikantzari there is a large bibliography. We cite among others: J. Guthbert Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/, pp. 120-255, G. Dumezil: Le problème des Centaurs, p. 48. D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 9 footnote 2, citing K. A. Pomoios: Οἱ Καλλικαντζάροι,

says that the kalikantzari symbolize the spirits of the dead. which are also called paghanà, are playful spirits who content themselves with frightening people and urinating on the fire, into cooking pots or even on food. They are led by a "lame one" who is the first to come out of their underground hiding place at Christmas and also the first to go back there , faithfully followed by the others, at the end of their earthly sojourn at Epiphany. Their faces and bodies call to mind the

/275 cont./

233 789 824 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse the evil. (73)

[176] [171] 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Περί ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων, M. P. G. 122, p. 873,

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 237 789 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone, extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects them further against the evil eye. (74)

[171] 74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 789 823 585 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 789 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the [184] animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.

787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
582 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented
[833] by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[755] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes
[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/296 cont./

121 789 792

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/318 cont./

789 121 example sympathetic magic, homoeopathic magic, analogy opposition, etc., as well as the rules of magic action corresponding to these types (for example, similia similibus curantur/like cures like/, pars pro toto /a part for the whole/ etc.). Terms and rules are weighted with specific meanings, bound to the theories they convey or to contexts different from those of the Sarakatsani--which would involve the risk of creating misunderstanding about the specific nature of Sarakatsani magic.

/319/ THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF SARAKATSANI MAGIC

789 The magic of our herders, like any other cultural product, exerts its influence and applies its dynamic on numerous levels.

On the morphological and ecological plane, first of all, its presence is strongly felt. The social sphere of the Sarakatsani is enriched by it. In addition to the parts linked to various social phenomena (dwelling, economic exploitation, localities or migration, etc.) we have others that magic suggests. As a result of magic, there is a division of space [822] into sacred and magical (right-left) and a distinction of places into ill- [823] omened, neutral and auspicious (mountain passes, gorges, ravines, streams, crossroads, springs, etc.).

789 82 The cardinal points are linked to life and death, with good and evil (east-life, west-death). Certain parts of the dwelling and the enclosure acquire a special significance, for their choice is prescribed for the performance of certain rites (hearth, threshold, the top of the entrance, the flagstones of the stroungha, etc.). The three kingdoms, mineral, vegetable and animal, play a role in the life of man which no longer emanates from their nature, but from the place they occupy in the framework of magical ideas. There are harmful trees (fig and walnut), protective shrubs and plants (brambles, holly, asparagus, feliki, willow, bulbs, grains etc.). There are wild and domestic animals (goats, dogs, cats, donkeys, bears, turtles, bats), birds (crows), aquatic animals (crabs,

/321 cont./

791 811 177 this interpretation, which in fact is merely a reinterpretation (5) and

5. External and internal causality in the sociological explanation, see R. Bastide in C. I. d. A., XXV, pp. 77-79.

a confirmation of previously existing ideas, hence a process of acculturation, the new religion was able, on the one hand, to become integrated in a bed of ancient beliefs and, on the other hand, to spread in an environment whose cultural context was incompatible with it.

789 796 Let us bring out a final point of resemblance between the magical and religious practices we are comparing: in the religious practices the different objects (such as those found in the first bag of Maundy Thursday) acquire their symbolic effectiveness by blessing. And in the domain of magic we have seen that the symbols of first causes accompany the ancient divinities (snakes encircling the arms of the goddess, for example), that they are consequently sanctified objects. The underlying thinking is thus the same.

128 Having formulated these remarks, we must examine what, in the specific religious practices of our herders, shows the existence of another type of problem.

* * * *

796 823 474 576 554 Easter is celebrated with much splendor among the Sarakatsani as it is among all Greeks. At daybreak, the Tséligas and each family head accompanied by his eldest son proceed to kill the paschal lamb. The victim is placed on the ground, its head turned toward the east--the direction in which the headman must look at the moment of slaughter. The east, as we know, symbolizes life and goods; it is toward the east that one turns to pray, and it is toward the east that churches and tombs face. For it is the direction of Jerusalem, of the Orient, from whence comes all light. The headman, as we have said, dips his finger in the blood of the lamb and draws a cross on the forehead of his son and another above

796 788 474 554

/339 cont./

PROTECTION OF THE LIVING AGAINST DEATH AND DEFILEMENT.

775 776 For the Sarakatsani the angel of death is not Saint Michael who, according to the Orthodox Church, is charged with leading souls to the Creator, but Charon, known from antiquity. The imagination of the [171] Sarakatsani (as, moreover, of all Greeks, for the belief in Charon's existence is common) pictures him as a warrior dressed in black, carrying a sword and mounted on a black horse.

775 776 789 Between Charon and the other "forces" which we have studied in magic there are resemblances, at least with regard to his behavior and influence. Thus, one can protect oneself against him by putting into operation the postulates of magic action.

[764] [292] During the wake, coffee without sugar is served, so that Charon "will not be tempted by the sweetness and come back to strike someone else." This interdict is prompted by the postulate of simple removal.

764 789 783 When the corpse is carried out for the obsequies, a glass or a plate is smashed on the threshold, in order to purify the house from the contamination of death. (15)

15. See Plato: Lois, XI, 937 d, conveys the belief that the dead contaminate the possessions of men. According to P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 32, "contamination from the taint also strikes those who have lost their parents. This explains the exclusion from certain Sarakatsani rites of children one of whose parents is no longer living.

[823] [171] The glass or plate, as receptacles, symbolize water. In several regions of Greece and in Athens itself a jar full of water is broken. [761] [771] It should be remarked that for Christianity, death is not defilement, but a normal return of man to heaven, the land of his origin.

764 775 776 602 If one of the relatives who follows the procession turns around and looks toward the entrance of the hut, Charon will return, by virtue of the

764 /339 cont./
775 postulate of representation.
776
(602) Under the table where a feast is served after the burial an iron
765 object is placed. This will transmit its solidity to the participants
775 and protect them from a new attack by Charon who is presumed to be
776
789 loitering about in the vicinity. (16)
823

16. In numerous societies "iron keeps away all kinds of phantoms." See K. Birket-Smith: Ibid., p. 400.

/340/ ETERNAL REST AND THE CONTINUATION OF LIFE.

775 The interdependence of the living and the dead (mentioned briefly
764 above) preached by Christianity on behalf of the repose of the soul and
783 carried out by forgiveness, also occupies a place in the funeral customs
771 of the Sarakatsani. Of course, our herders do not formulate their forgiveness of the dead in a simple thought or phrase, as suggested by the Gospel, which says that all contact with the beyond can be only spiritual, but they surround it with a complex ritual.

765 After the burial and in conformity with ancient customs of the
264 country, a feast brings together, as we have said above, all those who were present. Food without meat is eaten and wine is drunk. Rice is
(262) forbidden for, as a symbol of rootedness and increase, it is in danger of causing evil to take root and multiply. The nearest relatives do not eat,
(602) and this for two reasons: the one social, the other religious. The people
(261) in mourning must not show appetite. And it is necessary to observe a
(785) fast for the repose of the soul of the deceased--a further manifestation of solidarity between the living and the dead. It is while drinking that a wish is formulated for the eternal rest of the deceased. Moreover, one
(533) chants anew the miroloia which emphasize distress at departure from this
(775) world and the deprivation of the joy of living, but which likewise express the conviction that life is agreeable even in the other world.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori
Greece EH1

S G 133 precipices and tend to 'lean over' towards the west. Thus, in general, the western slopes of the Pindus, as in parts of Zagori, present an extremely difficult terrain over which movement is not easy. Many of the valleys are narrow and steep-sided and the two principal rivers Aóös and Vikos lie in deep and formidable ravines. The canyon of Vikos is a remarkable natural feature 4,000 ft. in depth.

S G 133 233 311 [361] The most important sheep grazing area of the Zagori is the Gamila feature whose highest peak is 8,140 ft. above sea level. On the higher slopes of this mountain the important sheep villages of Papingo, Tsepelevo, Kapesovo, Vradeto, and Skamneli, to mention only the villages on its western flank, graze 33,000 sheep and goats. The rocks of this mountain, as of the other high peaks in Zagori, are of limestone formation; but the smaller features and the valleys are mostly rocks of sandstone. S G [132] At the contact lines between the permeable limestone and the sandstone there are often springs and streams fed by the melting snows and the abundant rain, for this is the wettest area of S G [824] Greece with, in places, an annual rainfall of 50 inches. The limestone slopes produce a sparse but fine grass which the S G [132] shepherds claim is the best grazing for the milking or pregnant ewe. On some of the lower slopes in the eastern Zagori, especially those which face eastwards, there are considerable forests of silver fir and Corsican pine and a grass which is more luxuriant. The shepherds, however, prefer the thin grasses of the open limestone slopes, and comparative figures of milk yields appear to support this preference.

S G 361 311 The more important grazing villages of the Zagori are situated 3,000–4,000 ft. above sea level and the pastures are generally found above the village to an altitude sometimes as high as 6,000 ft. Snow falls on the higher pastures as early as the first S G 132 days in November and the villages themselves are often deep in snow from Christmas until the middle of March. These are the physical and climatic conditions which lead to the transhumant S G economy—abundant and, generally, well watered summer 132 grasslands with maximum day temperatures which seldom 133 exceed 80°F. in the village, or 70°F. on the higher pastures, 221 but snow and bitter cold which force the shepherds to take their animals to the plains in winter. In the higher villages of 233 Zagori a few sheep and goats are kept under cover during the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

The support of kinsmen for the bride or groom is expressed more specifically in particular points of marriage custom. One of the more important ceremonies is 'The sewing of the wedding standard' (τὸ ράψιμο τοῦ φλάμπουρου), which takes place on the Saturday evening after the guests have arrived. For this standard, which flies from the hut of the groom until the marriage has been consummated, is more than a sign that nuptial celebrations are in progress; it is a symbol of marriage itself, the joining of noble youth with virgin maid.[3] In standing with him at this ceremony the company of kinsmen witness their certain knowledge of the bridegroom's nobility and their belief in the bride's virginity. Only the joining of these qualities in a marriage celebrated before God makes possible parenthood with honour. 'Whose is the wedding standard, noble and red? It is the standard of the bridegroom . . .' (Τίνος εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο, τ'ἄξιο καὶ τὸ κόκκινο, τοῦ γαμπροῦ εἶν'τὸ φλάμπουρο . . .), they sing. A standard requires a standard-bearer (φλαμπουράρης), and for this coveted position a youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty is chosen. He must not have had experience of sexual intercourse and both his mother and father must be alive. He is almost always a young first cousin or nephew of the groom. On the Saturday night the flag, which nowadays is the national flag of Greece, is sewn by the youth to a pole some six or seven feet in length, at the top of which a small wooden cross is secured. As the boy sews the flag the whole company of kinsmen stand around him in a circle and sing the appropriate wedding song. When the sewing is completed, the boy impales pomegranates or apples, symbols of fertility, on the three points of the small wooden cross and, finally, ties to the flag-pole below the cross a handkerchief and two strands of wool, one coloured red for virility, the other white for purity. The guests now form a dance-ring, the band strikes up, and the standard-bearer leads the dance holding aloft in his right hand the newly sewn standard. He then sets up the flag in the thatch of the groom's hut at the right-hand side of the doorway where it remains until the next morning, when the standard-bearer, mounted on a fine horse, lifts it down from the roof and leads the groom's bridal procession on its journey to the home of the bride.

The groom and his family rely on the support of their kindred

[3] At the weddings of widows or widowers no flag is flown.

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

/22 cont./

361 become flooded. The entrance of the huts faces south to protect them
221 as much as possible from the north wind. The sheepfolds are built
233 on gentle slopes in order to facilitate the discharge of water and liquid manure. However, while the sheepfolds are always situated close to the pasturage, the pens of the goats are placed as far away as possible, on some rocky point where tough shrubs grow.

361 It is thus, as we see, the configuration of the ground that
233 determines the construction of the camp, always accomodating the needs of people and animals.

361 The summer camp is clearly divided into two parts: the place
221 occupied by the huts, constructed according to the rules given above,
233 and the place occupied by the flocks. But the latter place does not have sheepfolds. Actually, during the summer, the shelters built for
[417] the animals are very rudimentary. Thanks to the mildness of the
[824] climate, the shepherds simply confine the livestock in enclosures made by placing prickly shrubs upon one another and they do so during the night only, so that the animals will not disperse. The surveillance
[231] and safety of the livestock is always ensured by the shepherds themselves and by their dogs.

Neither in the winter camp nor in the summer camp does one see any building for the benefit of the group as a whole; there is no place of public assembly (even in the open), no path, no fountain--a feature /absence?/ altogether characteristic of their life.

361 /23/ On the other hand, a close observation of the aggregate of huts shows very distinct small groups, as well as relatively isolated huts. The center of the aggregate, or one of the commanding spots is occupied by a solid hut, large and carefully finished. The
[621] method of social and familial organization of the Sarakatsani, which
[474] consists of the Tseligato and its chief, the extended family and the
[612] conjugal family, (16)

16. See below, second part.

here also leaves its peculiar mark.

/25 cont./

121 objects. However, one may likewise see it as a process permitting first acquisition, then the consumption, the enjoyment and the use of that which is acquired.

In the first instance, we deal with technology technique in the strict sense, in other words, with industry and construction. In the second instance, we encounter it through man, insofar as he is the beneficiary. (2)

[113] 2. André Leroi-Gourhan: in his work cited and in another: L'homme et la matière, presents these two points of view in a manner that cannot be equalled.

/26/ The combination of these two points of view is not impossible, especially as industry and construction constitute a mode of acquisition. We should say that it is even indispensable, if we wish to avoid the risk of changing this anthropological study into a purely technological essay from which man would be absent.

128 Thus, this chapter will be set forth accordingly. Under a first heading we shall present the Sarakatsani techniques of acquisition. Under a second, those of consumption and utilization. And we shall close with some general observations on the technology of these herders.

121 Obviouly, in speaking of technological activity we immediately
128 raise problems of work and of the economy. Since the study of these questions is only possible in close connection with the study of social and economic organization, we shall speak of them in due time.

***

The Technology of Acquisition

In this domain there are five ways open to the Sarakatsani gathering, manufacture, building, herding, trade. Since the last forms part of their economic system, the first four will be examined here.

222 GATHERING

313 The applicability and importance of this manner of acquisition
824 is limited. The economic goods that the Saracatsan derive directly
312 from nature are:

/26 cont./

222 313 824 312 Wood, insofar as it is the chief material for industry and building; insofar as it is the only fuel for cooking and heating.

Edible plants used for food. It is necessary to add to these the medicinal plants, the basis of traditional therapy.

Grass of the pastures, necessary for the flocks.

Finally, water.

128 /27/ For reasons of synthesis, the details of this process (selection of species, persons charged with this task, etc.) will be examined farther on.

Sarakatsani Crafts

121 The concrete form in which the problem of industries presents itself for the Sarakatsani has of three aspects: raw materials, power sources used, tools.

239 824 The principal raw materials are: wood, wool and skins, hence fibrous and pliant substances of vegetable or animal origin. (3)

3. For our terminology see: A. Leroi-Gourhan, L'homme et la matière, pp. 178, 234 and 235.

325 323 285 One might conclude from the foregoing that the Sarakatsani are ignorant of metals, pottery and basketry. This conclusion is valid only in the last two instances.

323 As a matter of fact, the nomadic life does not permit the maintenance of terra cotta utensils, the fragility of which would be put to a severe test during the travels. Moreover, their manufacture would require more of less stable installations (special ovens, sometimes pottery wheels, sets of tools, etc.), specialized and sedentary personnel who could occupy themselves continually with this, finally a relatively high level of technical knowledge (knowledge of various qualities of clay, of the peculiar properties of heat, etc.). Nothing seems less compatible with Sarakatsani life than such an industry. Furthermore, a certain volume of production would be required to make it profitable, and that, in turn, would require the establishment of means of transportation and considerable commercial relations with the outside. Let us say further that nothing would be less justified than to see

/27 cont./
323 among our herders the developmental technique so foreign to their major occupations.

285 On the other hand, we are not in a position to formulate analogous hypotheses to explain the non-existence of basket-making in this society.

325 As far as metals are concerned, the Sarakatsani use metal objects
[139] which they do not produce themselves, but which they buy in trade. We shall speak of these in connection with their use and acquisition. However, the Sarakatsani make metal blades for themselves and from these they make small cutting tools for woodwork.

324 /28/ The Sarakatsani likewise use another category of raw
237 materials; these are substances used for their chemical properties:
[386] coloring, cleansing or causing fermentation; or even substances of vegetables or animal origin (plants, residues from the working of
[381] wool, etc.), serving as agglutinins for dyes. However, glues for joining wood are unknown, and they use plant cords (wicker, rushes, etc.).

37 Power used is limited to fire, running water and the muscular strength of men and animals (this last only for transport).

322 The necessary equipment includes instruments, tools and sometimes very simple machines; they are made almost exclusively of wood, generally by the Sarakatsani themselves.

[128] The description of this equipment, as well as that of the procedures followed for its utilization will be presented always for the sake of systematization, in connection with each type of Sarakatsani industry.

***

Wood Craft

The purpose of Sarakatsani woodcraft is chiefly to make objects a) for their personal use (furniture, utensils, etc.), and b) for use in other craft industries (tools and equipment).

412 Before examining these products we must see what kind of tools and wood are used for their manufacture.

Let us first look at the tools-these are: hatchet, adze, knives.

/28 cont./

412 These objects are obtained in trade with surrounding society and need
[439] not particularly engage our attention. However, there remain the
[325] metal cutting tools (small knives, scissors, gouges, borers) for more delicate work (fig. 1 gives us an idea of these), which our herders themselves make by means of a file, starting with an old razor blade.

322 The manipulation of the tools in question is carried out by
412 striking either stationary or by a thrusting motion /lancée?/ depending on the kind of tool and its use in concrete pieces of work (the making of cups or the ornamentation of a distaff, for example). It is necessary to emphasize that among the /29/ Sarakatsani there is no device for producing a rotary movement with borers. The perforation is made by hand, and it is the latter which, should the occasion arise, turns the borer (with an alternating movement).

322 For other purposes, the wood used comes from all kinds of species:
824 (4) wild olive, alder, oak, wild pear, dogwood, chestnut, plane tree, pine, walnut, cypress, willow, elm, beech, plum, cedar, fir, boxwood,

412

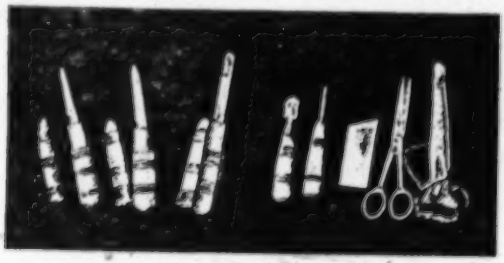

Fig. 1

322 heather, wicker, osier, etc., making up a very broad range. All these
[824] woods must be dry. Moreover, some require preparation before they can be worked. This is particularly true of boxwood, the usable part of which is the root. In order to make the latter at once stronger and

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[316] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [324] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread ~~is kneaded~~ (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

/36/

412 415 824 /36/ All these utensils are made out of hard woods (plum, dogwood, oak, boxwood, /assuming that "bois" in French text is misprint for "buis"/ briar root, etc.).

Other household utensils

415 These include, first of all, a special receptacle for water and wine, with a capacity of about five liters, which is called voutséli. It is a small cask of wood with a side opening (figs. 11 and 12).

The vedhoura is a tiny tub with a handle, which is used for the preparation of yogurt (fig. 13).

[432] [178] In order to transport and store wine and water the Sarakatsani use casks bought commercially. And this is an innovation, since formerly they made the casks themselves (fig. 14).

412 415 296 Finally, there is the xethali, a piece of hard wood bent at an obtuse angle, which serves as a poker (fig. 15); the plystroskafidho, a kind of basin carved out of a big tree trunk used for laundry (fig. 16); and the big paddles used to wash and rinse linen and wool in the brooks (fig. 17).

Pastoral equipment

415 This consists of objects used chiefly in work with the animals, namely:

415 234 Milking pails: formerly carved out of a tree trunk, they now have the shape of a tub formed with staves; they are either made on the spot or bought commercially. They are round receptacles with a capacity of 12 liters into which the animals are milked (figs. 18 and 19).

Large and small tubs: the Sarakatsani have various kinds of small tubs:

First, the small tubs in which they keep milk until it starts to curdle. It is with slightly sour milk that they make butter.

The churn in which milk is vertically beaten in order to produce [824] butter is also a small tub. It is 1.20 meters high and flared in shape (it measures about 40 centimeters in diameter at the base and 60 centimeters at the top); it includes plunger made /37/ of a large branch

415
234
824

/37 cont./
of fir tree which, at one end, has four of its stems in the form of a cross. The extremities of this cross are connected by a stalk held firmly in place with cord from plants. The end of the plunger thus looks like a wheel set perpendicularly on its axis (figs. 20 and 21).

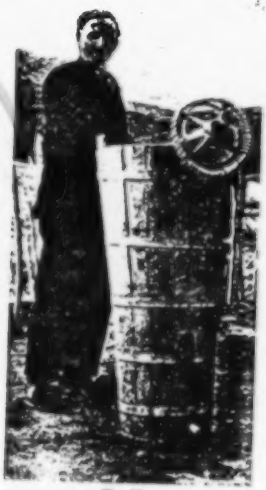

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

415 /38/
234
251 /38/ A cask large enough to permit the storage of up to 100 kilograms of cheese, and finally, a tub in which butter is kept (fig.22).

415 The staves of these large and small tubs, and the buckets are
824 very often adjusted and held in place by means of hoops formed from flexible branches of fir from which the needles have previously been
[177] removed. However, this technique is of recent introduction among the
[322] Sarakatsani. Formerly, they /the tubs/ were carved out of solid wood.

Fig. 22

283
824
→

Fig. 23

/38 cont./

283 Equipment related to weaving and wool

This equipment includes:

The distaff: there are two kinds of distaffs found among the Sarakatsani.

[824] The first is merely a tree branch 60 centimeters long which ends in a three-pronged fork onto which the tuft of wool is fastened (fig. 23).

/39/ The second is made up of two parts: first, a branch of the same length as that we have described makes up the vertical part of the distaff; a small, board fastened perpendicularly to the preceding part forms a cross ready to receive the tuft (fig. 24 and 25).

[531]

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

/57 cont./

286 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 42

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
[824] continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
[804] commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
[829] is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

/58 cont./

The use of hides.

281
415 This craft is limited to the fabrication of goat skin bottles (fig. 43).

The treatment of the skins consists first of removing their wool, which is crudely cut with scissors, then drying them. For

Fig. 43

drying, the skins are turned so that the wool surface is on the inside; then a flexible, curved stalk is inserted in order to keep the skin well stretched.

When the skins are dry, one ties the opening of the feet carefully and overcasts the fore part (belly). The goatskin bottles are then
[251] ready to receive liquids or cheeses for transportation or preservation; these are poured into the opening corresponding to the neck.

SARAKATSANI BUILDINGS.

342
343 All the Sarakatsani buildings used for dwellings or for animal
824 shelters are made of wood.

Small trunks, branches, twigs, and leaves of trees (plane trees, oaks, beeches, firs, poplars, willows, pines, bushes with or without thorns, finally aquatic plants such as rushes or reeds) are extensively used.

The choice of these plant species is related on the one hand, to the possibilities offered by the flora in the region where the Sarakatsani live and, on the other hand, to the type of building undertaken.

/62 cont./

342 824 The first /phase/ consists of filling in the checker work formed by the intersection of the vertical and horizontal elements of the framework by spreading on them branches, foliage, even bushes in a thin and sparse layer that is kept in place by plant cords.

The second /phase/ consists of covering this first layer with bushes (holly, etc.) or with small branches of fir, /63/ plane tree, etc., previously tied into bunches, thay are placed vertically side by side all around the hut, beginning at the ground, and only to the height of the posts. From there to the top one proceeds in similar fashion but using aquatic plants (reeds, rushes, etc.).

It should be added that these bunches of aquatic plants, meant to insure the impermeability of the hut, are spread out in circular layers arranged in such a way that the lower side of each layer slightly covers the upper side of the one placed directly below it. This arrangement, which forms very distinct areas overlapping from top to bottom, in a succession of real tiers, promotes the running-off of rain water.

342 Finally, the construction described is supported by horizontal lacings--concentric rings wound around the exterior surface of the hut--which hold in place the covering and increase the stability of the construction, especially against the wind.

It sometimes happens, especially in the case of huts used for winter living in cold regions, that a second roof is added. That is [824] to say, a hood the size of the hut, made of bunches of rushes superimposed on one another, entirely prepared beforehand on the ground, is set in place by means of forks.

In order to complete the description, it is necessary to add that in the course of the construction an opening is left to permit entrance into the hut.

A closing, in the form of a dry hedge or of boards, acts as a door; a firm post is used as an upright.

/64 cont./

342 335 to the forks by plant cords or ropes.

Finally, the top of the hut, which ultimately takes the shape of a roof with two places slanting from the ridge is built parallel to the main rafters. It is made up of a series of long branches that serve as rafters, their number determined by that of another series of long posts set vertically in the ground. Actually, one plants on each of the long sides, at intervals of 40 to 50 centimeters, a certain number of posts 1.60 meters high ending in a fork. Now, to each of these posts which reach the height of the tie-beam there corresponds a rafter to which it is lashed in the manner we have already described.

It should be said here that the ends of the rafters sharply project beyond the tie-beams to form an overhang protecting the hut from rainwater.

For the construction of the low sides of the rectangle one also uses posts planted sometimes vertically, sometimes at an angle /65/ / Figs. 48 and 49 appear here/ /66/ so that, in the latter case, they delineate an arc at the base, the span of which represents the width of the hut and the height of which (approximately 50 centimeters) inclines outward from the center fork.

342 As a consequence, the two short sides of the hut are either rectilinear of parabolic at their base; it follows that the corresponding walls are flat in the first instance and convex in the second.

Finally, the covering of this framework remains to be described. [824] Horizontal stalks are lashed to the vertical components at intervals

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 77]

/66 cont./

342

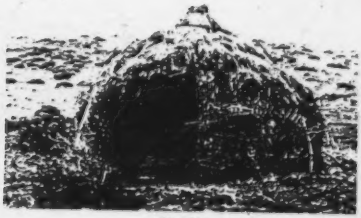

Fig. 50

342 824 of 30 centimeters, while on the roof long stalks are attached parallel to the tie-beams. With bunches of branches and leaves, and proceeding in the manner described for the round hut, that is to say in tiers, one covers the walls and the roof. In addition, bunches of aquatic plants are spread on the latter.

It often happens that the walls themselves are finished off with a layer of these aquatic materials.

342 354 While the construction of the round hut provides a single opening that serves as entrance, that of the rectangular hut also provides a window, sometimes even two. Depending on the size of the hut, the opening, 1.30 centimeters high by 80 centimeters wide, is situated /67/ either on the width (in the case of large huts) or on the length (in that of small ones), while the windows are situated either on the side opposite or the side continguous to that of the door.

However, in most cases what we call "windows" are only narrow openings cut into the two small sides of the hut, particularly at the point where the large center forks join the ridge pole. Usually, the

/68 cont./

342 [821] Of course, the whole /hut/ is covered with branches, leaves or bushes. Sometimes the part of the hut forming the top is covered with aquatic plants, as in the preceding cases.

As far as the use of these huts is concerned, it should be mentioned that the largest ones may be used for living quarters as well as temporary occupancy particularly for shepherds roaming far from the encampment.

343 The smaller ones serve as outbuildings of the principal dwelling, either as storerooms, sheds, or small storehouses for blankets and provisions (grain, flour, oil), or as a shelter for the loom (fig. 50, 51).

342

[354]

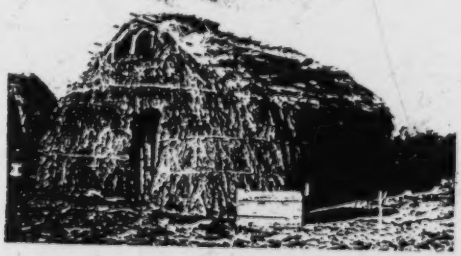

Fig. 52

/69/ /figs. 53 and 54 appear here/

/70/ Variations of the rectangular hut: the variant of the rectangular hut is relatively of a simpler construction than that of the large rectangular hut itself. But here it is necessary to make a distinction.

These variants built either with forks or without forks.

/82 cont./

417
233
291

Fig. 66

417
233

/83/ The shelters

Sheepfolds: These folds are actually round or oval enclosures approximately 15 meters in diameter. The method of their construction is identical with that /fig. 67 appears here/ used in the construction of hut walls in general: forks and posts are driven into the ground, leaning slightly toward the center of the circle or ellipse and interlaced at regular intervals with long stems placed horizontally; the whole is covered with intertwined branches and foliage (fig 66 and 68).

The height of the enclosure is 1.80 meters. The opening that serves as entrance is closed with a door of intertwined boughs. /84/ (fig. 67). Inside, a second row of short forks are set 70 centimeters long, approximately 1.20 meters from the side thus forming a sort of circular palisade parallel to the walls. /Fig. 68 appears here/ The upper part of these forks is joined together by long stalks arranged one after the other. After that, the top of the outside enclosure and (824) that of the inside palisade are bound together with big stalks, producing a very slanting framework which is customarily covered with boughs, leaves, bunches of shrubs or aquatic plants./Fig. 69 appears here/

/84 cont./

417
233

Fig. 69

/85/ Thus, the finished structure has the shape of a long circular corridor with a roof slanting steeply toward the interior of the enclosure. It is this corridor which constitutes the sheepfold proper. The center of the enclosure remains uncovered (fig. 69 and 70).

Finally, the floor of this fold is strewn with a litter made up of small branches that are often renewed in order to maintain relative cleanliness. /Fig. 70 appears here/

/86/ Goat pens: the pens for goats are very similar to the preceding /structure/ with respect to shape, dimensions and building methods. The only differences reside, on the one hand, in the height which very much exceeds that of the sheepfolds, the outside hedge rising to three meters from the ground, and, on the other hand, in the building materials used for covering; the fence is actually covered with thorny bushes (holly, etc.) in order to keep the goats from jumping over it.

[824]

272 /119 cont./
415 (small goatskin bottle).

273 c) Wine.

[439] d) Finally, spirits. Bought commercially, the last two are hardly ever drunk except at religious or family festivals and above all when hospitality is offered.

272 --Natural beverages: these are fresh water and milk.

--Infusions: coffee is the drink preferred by the Sarakatsani at any rate in the huts, since tea or chocolate are unknown. In addition, [824] one can enumerate a whole list of infusions made with herbs, flowers and leaves of aromatic shrubs, as for example witch hazel flowers, sage or the various medicinal plants.

272 In the way of "consumption technology" the drinking of liquids, when
273 it is collective (water, wine) requires containers with a narrow opening
415 the "voutseli" (fig. 11)[A] which are passed from hand to hand; for individual consumption, cups made in the native crafts or bought commercially are used.

Light and heat.

354 Figure 64[B] shows the solution of these two problems.

For light the Sarakatsani use an oil lamp provided with a wick, which is obtained commercially.

As for heat, the fire of the hearth is quite sufficient. According to our own experience, though it was snowing outside, within the hut it was so warm that a jacket was unbearable.

Sometimes the fire, if bundles of resinous branches are thrown on it, serves also as the only source of light.

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121 Although with this last paragraph, the description of Sarakatsani technology may be considered concluded, this is not to say that the study of "the technological expression" of this society is entirely exhausted. We ought to have gone on to a detailed and complete analysis of the succession of procedural steps that "homo faber saractsanus" /Sarakatsani man, the maker/ applies in each /120/ craft. This task

[A] /Fig. 11 appears on p.43--Analyst/
[B] /Fig. 64 appears on p.92--Analyst/

/179 cont./

[474] He is seldom personally involved in herding, and carries a staff much
[554] shorter than that of the other shepherds, a staff /180/ which is also
[293] a sign of his rank. Moreover, he is the only one who has a saddle
[492] horse.

[291] His dress is more elaborate than that of his men and his hut is
[342] always situated in the center of the encampment and built on the
[361] highest point.

[417] Generally, his hut has a fretzato (circular enclosure adjoining the
[351] hut and forming a court) in which he receives visitors and where the
[574] negotiations with merchants take place.
[439] It is he who offers hospitality, not forgetting, however, to write
[574] down the expenditures as part of the general cost of the business.

Nothing happens in the Tséligato that he is not advised of. However, his authority never gives him the right to interfere in questions concerning the private lives of the participants.

In the course of performing his functions, the Tséligas may, if he wishes, consult the other men of the Tséligato. Yet this almost never
[233] happens. There is only one situation in which he needs the opinion of
[824] the experienced shepherds; he inquires of them about the quality of the grass of different pastures meant for the various categories of livestock.

We see by this that the only case in which the opinion of the subjects of the Tséligas might be expressed is in an essentially technical, and not in an administrative matter.

This exception is very characteristic of the status and prestige of the Tséligas who must, above all, act with justice, objectivity, generosity, and prudence. Respected by all, he insures order and peace.

[675] If one or another of the participants shows himself to be undesirable the Tséligas can turn him out before the expiration of his contract, but after the mutual obligations have been settled.

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833]

21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/264 cont./

776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with 776 headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

/267 cont./

776 233 789 head of the animals. (51)

51. In this way the dark forces are opposed, the auspicious forces being derived from the Church and from religion.

All around the sheepfolds fires that give off a fetid odor are lighted. [824] The thorny shrubs of the enclosures are supposed to forbid the existance of both Daoutis and other unnamed demons, as well as evil in general. (52)

52. Thorns and odors are the means of removal. On the removal of spirits by malodorous smoke: H. Freudenthal: Das Feuer und die Menschheit, I, p. 112 f. By the same author: Das Feuer in deutchen /sic/ /correct reading: deutschem / Glauben , cited in G. Megas: Λαϊκοί δεισιδαιμονες συνήθειες, p. 48, n. 8.

If, despite all this, the Daoutis attacks, it is advisable above all not to speak of it to anyone, so as not to attract him anew. Only some old men "who are experienced with it" are warned. Then the sheepfolds that have been attacked are moved silently during the night and in absolute secrecy. Thus Daoutis, disoriented, is thereafter incapable of finding the animals and attacking them again. But that is not all. The livestock 783 233 789 must be purified of the miasmas or rather of the moral contamination with which the Daoutis has covered it. An underground passage, a kind of tunnel, is hurriedly dug out, at the entrance of which a tortoise shell is hung. [411] The animals pass through it one by one and when the last leaves it a shot is fired with the left hand. (53)

53. G. Megas: Ibid., p. 50, says that the evil spirits are attacked by the shots. In this case the weapons are loaded with the left hand and the shooter takes aim with the left eye.

[171] This practice, which is also followed by other rural groups of northern [372] Greece, combines at one and the same time the curative properties of [823] fire, the regenerative forces of the earth (the passage through the opening

/268 cont./

776 descriptions of satyrs. Sharp claws and piercing cries are attributed to them. In order to prevent them from entering the hut, the entrance door
776 is covered with wild asparagus (the thorny shrub repulsing the evil),
789 asphodel bulbs (the flower of the dead according to Hellenic beliefs,
[824] hence indicated for exorcising underground demons), (56). One may also
[412]
[372]

56. The bulbs symbolize life. They are dry but sprout once they are planted. Thus any threat against life in the broad sense of the term can be neutralized by them.

instead place there the xethali of the hearth (see above, p. 44, figure 15), that type of poker symbolizes the fire and therefore its purifying force. However, the kalikantzari take advantage of the slightest opportunity to enter the hut. So to protect oneself from their wicked tricks it is necessary to avoid sitting too near the hearth of leaving there an uncovered pot, and to see that all the dishes are put back--precautions which prevent these spirits from soiling men, utensils and food. It is also necessary to drive a fork into raw meat [the prongs of the fork threaten to painfully prick the "kalikantzari"). One must also avoid washing one's
[515] head and combing one's hair during the days when the kalikantzari move about on the earth, in order to give them no opportunity to get into one's hair, "for the acts of men influence the spirits." If the kalikantzari
776 dirty the food it is no longer edible. A Sarakatsani told us that one day
789 during the Christmas festivities, his mother and he had roasted some pieces
262 of meat for their lunch on the embers of the hearth in their hut. This
252 meat seemed tastless to them. They first thought they had not added enough salt. In the evening they prepared some of the same meat in a pot. This time the taste was truly abominable. They then realized that they
[251] had forgotten to stick a fork into the piece of raw meat /269/ hanging in its usual place in a corner of the hut; they concluded that the kalikantzari had urinated on it.

776 However, the radical procedure that puts an end to their sojourn among
789

/271 cont./

751
789
[239]

Fig. 101

/272 cont./

[239] [824] On another amulet we discovered, in addition to the objects enumerated above, a scapula of a tortoise and three shoots of thorny shrubs. And on another, instead of the cowrie, a crab's claw.

The symbolism of these objects is more or less known to us. Gospel, medal and cross (divine forces), salt, incense, thorny shrub and fairy weight (against supernatural beings and a means of dominating the fairies), cowrie and crab (aquatic beings, hence lunar, promoting fecundity), turtle (terrestrial force) superimposed and combined to the same end. The coin /273/ is a beneficent talisman and protector known since the late Middle Ages in Byzantium. (64) The amber ball has the same meaning, but was

64. At first, the coins struck by Alexander the Great were regarded as charms. Then, coins of Emperor Constantine the Great, which bore the cross. See B. Schmith: Der böse Blick, p. 602. --D. Loukatos: Ibid., p. 15. Even today it is customary to offer coins of Constantine in connection with some occasions of "transition" (baptism, marriage).

342 /274 cont./
789 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore
372 Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/275 cont./

233 Let us recall first that when they construct a new sheepfold the
789 Sarakatsani place there thorny shrubs which will threaten and repulse
824 the evil. (73)

(176) 73. We have spoken of this in connection with demons
(171) and the kalikantzari. According to the Byzantine

Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ : Περί δαιμονικής ενεργείας, Μ. Ρ. Ο. 122, p. 878.

one can conquer the demons...by using knives and needles, for "they fear the points of iron objects." See also: A. Métraux: Les Indiens Uro-Čipaya, p. 350: "The house is often protected by a cactus..."

233 Moreover, the skull of the horse or a donkey is hung there for, the bone,
237 extremely solid matter, transmits its resistance to the flocks and protects
789 them further against the evil eye. (74)

74. A practice followed in many countries influenced by Greek and Latin civilizations. See P. Deffontaines: Ibid., p. 40: "In Spain, South America, North Africa one very often
(171) comes across skulls of cattle fastened to the house enclosure to shield it from the evil eye...To bring fertility to the orchard of the house, horses' skulls were used in Rome as well as North Africa." It is very probable that the Sarakatsani attributed this second significance to the skull.

233 The resistance of the livestock is further ensured by placing at the
789 entrance to the stroungha a hatchet or a knife, hard objects that the
823 animals touch as they trample over them; this practice is analogous to
585 that which requires the newly-weds to walk on a metal object as they enter their hut for the first time.

233 All these practices are solely preventive. With respect to the
789 curative aspect, and calling to mind the instance of Daoutis, we should note the measures to be taken at the time of small pox epidemic among the
(184) animals. According to the findings of M. Skafidas, (75)

/278 cont./

755 be transferred to its occupants.

Here is another example:

755 The lid of a cooking pot is filled with water and transported under
788 the same conditions and it is set on the ground. One picks up with tongs a glowing coal with which one makes the sign of the cross on the edges of the lid and, while murmuring the ritual phrase (of Byzantine origin):

[539] "Jesus Christ is the conqueror...
He dispels all evils..."

one lets the coal fall into the water while pronouncing the name of the one whom one suspects of having cast the evil eye on the child. If the coal remains on the surface it is certain that the person mentioned is innocent. One must then recommence the entire ritual while pronouncing the name of another suspect, then another, and so on until the coal sinks. The person responsible having been dicovered thanks to this procedure of divination, the child will immediately be rid of this baneful influence.

Another procedure consists of taking three grains of salt and three grains of incense with three fingers of the right hand used in crossing oneself (according to the Orthodox ritual) and making the sign of the cross on the child while murmuring an incantation that we do not know. After that
755 the salt and the incense are thrown on the fire and the child, its clothing and its covers are passed over it. Then the child, wrapped in the fumigated covers, is laid down and falls asleep.

The fumigations (as we shall call them from now on) constitute therapy not only against the evil eye but also against children's diseases.
755 Thus the flowers that have served as decorations for the Orthodox
824 epitaphios (worship at the tomb of the Lord) on Good Friday, saved and dried, are burned on these occasions. The same is done with the flowers of the wicker, /water willow?/ shrub to whose firmness and flexibility magic forces are attributed. We shall see farther on that the willow is

/278 cont./

755 [824] used in many other magic proceedings.

/279/ Finally, one makes the sign of the cross over the affected [788] individual while one holds some grains of salt. Then one throws the salt in the fire where it explodes. Whereupon one gathers up the fragments and puts them in water. When the salt has dissolved one sprinkles the patient [263] with this liquid. The properties of salt combined with the purification by [372] fire will act therapeutically on him. (81)

81. Several ideas are intertwined in these practices. The influence of certain materials and certain forces, combined with the word, the exorcism or incantation, as well as with the evocation of sacred personages are at the center of the action. All this is well known to us, hence it is not necessary to go back to it. Let us point out only that these methods aim at purifying the afflicted subject.

233 The protection of the livestock against the evil eye presupposes 789 mainly two things: an amulet and silence. The amulet consists of a new [754] ball in which are put salt, incense, some pitch, some dust, etc. (materials which the women take to church on Maundy Thursday to have them blessed), (82) as well as some pieces of paper on which a country priest writes

82. See the next chapter: the ritual of Maundy Thursday.

appropriate exorcisms. (83)

233 83. This is an old custom of pagan origin, related to 787 oracles, etc., which St. Jean Chrysostome has severely 114 criticized: M.P.G. 62, 358, etc. This same author gives us a brief description of these writings: Christian vows, magic phrases, names of rivers, star of David, etc. Since we have not had occasion to see the writings the Sarakatsani use, it is impossible for us to say whether they correspond to those described by Chrysostome. This custom has also been condemned

/296 cont./

121 789 792

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/351 cont./

757 in the course of three consecutive mornings at day break, stand in front of the door of the hut, his right hand as high as possible on the door jamb and his left hand as low as possible on the opposite upright. Then he must bend his trunk deeply three times. This exercise must be repeated several times in succession with the hands reversed.

757 /352/ There is another treatment of lumbago: the patient lies
759 flat on his stomach on a "bed," and the healer starts to massage him. After that he takes hold of the patient's right hand and left foot and tries to join them above his back. He repeats the manipulation with the opposite limbs. These manipulations finished, the healer
[237] applies on the painful spot a sort of poultice made from the lungs of a recently killed young goat, cut in pieces, soaked in alcohol, sprinkled with sugar and raised to the normal body temperature.

757 To heal the inflammation of ganglions in the groin, a heated
756 wooden spoon is applied and the operation is repeated several times in succession while exorcisms are pronounced.

752 In case of scorpion bites it is necessary to rub the wound with the
824 milk of the fig tree.

757 Finally, medicinal plants are used to combat fever, a cold, etc.
278 The rest of Sarakatsani therapy deals exclusively with curative
757 magic. But one finds its presence everywhere be it only in the manner
755 of administering treatment by rational means. The examples cited are evidence: the exercise against lumbago is done "at daybreak" and not during the day; the poultice is made with the lungs of kids and not of lambs; the treatment of glands involves exorcisms, etc.

* * * *

128 Having presented this date, we shall try to formulate certain ideas about Sarakatsani knowledge.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[579] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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233 shearing is delayed until the warmer weather. Shearing, too,
236 marks the passing of the winter and is considered a festival.
461 On the final day there is meat, wine, and dancing. Like the journey from the plains it is also hard work for the shepherd, giving him, however, an opportunity to prove his expertise and strength. In a highly competitive atmosphere before the appraising eyes of each other and the women, the men of the stani gather in the sheep-fold to clip the fleeces of the different flocks. A strong and skilful man may shear sixty animals in a day.

233 The cycle of shepherding activities continues with the mating
461 season in June or July, the date depending on the condition of
[234] the animals. Then, in the last days of July, the cheese merchant closes his station and gradually with the reduced flow of milk from the pregnant ewes the shepherds milk their animals less frequently until, some time in the first half of August, lactation ceases. At length the shepherds pause and rest.

When the shepherds arrive in the mountains their mood changes almost abruptly from an expectation of the worst to guarded optimism. Since the autumn they have suffered anxiety, crisis, and frequently physical exhaustion in their efforts to avoid disaster to the lambs, a small milk yield, or disease. These dangers do not exist, or are less considerable, in
[578] the summer. At this season the systematic practice of reciprocal grass theft, the sometimes accidental trespass, the intermingling of two flocks when they converge on the cheese-maker's station at milking time, are all situations which may precipitate quarrels with unrelated shepherds that threaten life and honour, but they are not possibilities that cause the shepherd much apprehensive concern. In personal oppositions he is confident in his own strength and courage, he depends on nothing outside himself. On the other hand, whatever skill a shepherd may possess, the dangers which threaten the flock in winter often depend on factors or elements beyond his individual control.
[235] Yet extreme poverty, which is a possible consequence of such a disaster, destroys honour and sometimes takes the lives of small children.

233 The Sarakatsan shepherd identifies himself with his animals.
825 Their condition is almost as personal a concern as his own
[572] health and appearance. If a sheep is stoned by another man, the shepherd's honour is touched.

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important characteristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the practical division of labour women rather than men care for the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

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repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

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776 [771] The object of the Devil, then, is the moral corruption of men, or where this is not possible, their physical destruction. 'The Devil has many feet', the Sarakatsani say, that is he works out his evil in many ways, assuming whatever physical appearance is suitable for his purpose. His power is immense, and particularly in the wilderness of the mountains and forests outside the circle of men's homes protected by the grace of God; but [825] even these he sometimes enters. In keeping with his degenerate nature, he appears frequently in the form of an animal, particularly as a black dog, donkey or hare. Sometimes he is half man, half animal, with the horned head of a goat or wild pig. When he assumes human form it is generally as an old man with a face black 'like an Arab's', and lame. In one instance he appeared as an Orthodox priest in red robes. Often he pretends to be a Sarakatsanos.

Some manifestations of the Devil are plural and of either sex. Bands of male demons (σαταναραίοι) with their leader, the black-faced limping Devil, sometimes surround and torment a lonely shepherd. The female demons are referred to as the 'ladies who bring good luck' (οἱ καλότυχες), a propitiatory euphemism which indicates their power. Like their masculine counterparts, these ladies prefer the mountain tops and forests or a lonely meadow in the plain. Very often they join the male demons in an orgiastic feast, the ladies of good luck wearing long white dresses, the men in kilts of the same colour. On a night when there is wind one often hears the Devil's music in the high crags. Otherwise, when they are not feasting or provoking humans, they pass their time eternally spinning and very occasionally one comes across a spindle-weight[1] which one of them has dropped.

Devils come from and disappear into the air which is thickly populated with spirits both good and evil, although in the imagination of the Sarakatsani the evil forms predominate. One of the tasks of Christ on earth was to cleanse the air of evil spirits so that the souls of men could find a way upwards to God. High winds, storms, whirlwinds are manifestations of demonic power. Evil spirits of the air (τὰ ἀερικά) may attack men and animals invisibly or without taking a more definitive

[1] On the sites of prehistoric settlements.

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754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδί νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

776 droppings; and a dried snake's head, hidden in a
[789] church for forty days and then retrieved, is sov-
[237] ereign against many baleful manifestations. To the Nereids, a danger for all lonely shepherds near pools and streams, young Sarakatsáns are particularly exposed. They are often struck dumb and robbed of their wits by chancing on the Nereid revels and dances, just as mortals were sometimes turned into trees if they had the bad luck to blun-
[588] der on the dances of the nymphs. There have been many mixed nomad-Nereid marriages, and many a healthy Sarakatsán baby has been stolen from its hanging cradle and replaced by the sickly changeling of one of these water maidens.

Demons of every kind and gender dog the nomads' footsteps up hill and down dale and "chase them into woods." They are the special target of some female supernatural beings called the *Kalotyches* ("the good fortunes") — like the name *Eumenides* ("the kindly ones") for the Furies, a wry, placating misnomer — who are half women, half she-asses, and snake-locked, like Medusa. They plague the flocks and bring bad luck at lambing time and childbed, and they are especially to be feared during the forty days following the birth of a nomad baby.

By far the darkest villain in Sarakatsán demonology is a male spirit known as the *Daouti*. *Daoutis*, sometimes called Pans, are the wildest, strongest, and wickedest of them all. Shaped like satyrs, with half-goat, half-human bodies and long legs with cleft hooves, they have the heads of rams with large twirling horns. Along with certain other demons,
[221] *Daoutis* are most dangerous to flocks at three seasons of the year: during Advent, just before lambing; in late April or early May, as the shepherds prepare to leave their winter quarters for the mountains; and from the feast of the Transfiguration until the end of August. They are prone, during these bad periods, to swoop, shrieking like birds of prey, on the cowering flocks, and after two or three of these onslaughts, the beasts begin to perish, sometimes a dozen at a time; they
[825] swell up and die. Sliced tortoise meat is used as a
[792] counterspell, and the shepherds shift camp at once. If they can find a priest, he sprinkles the new site with holy water, and the sheep's bells are taken off and blessed. Unlike most wicked spirits, *Daoutis* do not flinch from attacking in broad daylight, and possessing the knack of making friends with the dogs, they pad along after the flocks
[231] unmolested. Therefore, when an emergency fold
[372] is built, the dogs are left behind and fires are lit to make a magic circle of smoke. *Daoutis* also pick up the Christian names of mortals; so the shepherds, if they hear anyone calling them, hold their tongues — answering might rob them of the power of speech for good. These terrible spirits

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas*' son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[231] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]

/221 cont./

685 responsible to God for the sin which he has committed. In order to be
577 absolved he must later confess his sin publicly "during a drinking bout
783 among pals or during the shearing." His account testifies at one and the
[784] same time to his pride in the accomplished prowess and to his belief in punishment inflicted by the Supreme Judge, the remission of which is dependent on this which unfortunately we cannot go into more deeply for lack
685 of data. This aspect is encountered again in another case: that of the
577 destruction of a beehive. That act is considered criminal for, through
825 it, "one kills many souls" (the souls of the bees) and deprives the
[674] Church of the wax that the bees could produce.
[774]

This way of adjusting the punishment to the circumstances merits
685 our attention. For it shows us how Sarakatsani society conceives of justice
577 and reparation in these specific instances.

By shooting at the thief they are merely defending their property
[625] and possible their lives. Any recourse to protection from the police is not possible to those who live in the mountains and on the edge of a hostile and indifferent state; so there is nothing left for them but to shoot at the one who threatens (and in any case with an armed hand) to deprive them of their means of subsistence and possibly their lives.

/222/ If, after the theft, they are content to demand restitution of the animals carried off or simply to retaliate in order to be compensated, that is because there is no longer any question of defense, and all that is involved is compensation for the damage caused. If the culprit does not want to conform, his refusal is merely a further challenge, a new wound to the pride of the robbed owner; and it is in response to this humiliation that the latter seeks to kill the thief. If he does not do so he will be dishonored in the eyes of his associates.

Finally, the pride of the unpunished thief and the admiration of the
[555] others for his prowess are very understandable. Among a people who live in difficult and always dangerous conditions, courage and skill, even when
[783] directed toward evil, inspire respect. However, the public confession shows that the bravery does not gainsay the illegal character of this act.

/248 cont./

121 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed
842 toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with
[233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals
But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same,
we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed
according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must
262 abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter
[825] being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large
it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her
fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep
754 his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of
his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his
impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly
825 married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell
789 on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally,
233 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to
825 provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above
789 all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the
"evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the
negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears
[531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/250 cont./

844 602 animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

[114] 3. Ibid., A.I. p. . .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as [789] an amulet.

[825] If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because [128] we intend to discuss them all together.

842 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the 821 Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personify- 823 ing the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. 825 All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible 831 in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4) 372

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821
823
372 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
825 virtues.

/251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
796

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
764 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the
[829] Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΕΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΟΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Λακωνικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 character of a sexual symbol because of its connection
121 with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις
(831) 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc.
According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις».
M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς».
Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G.
(842) Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινός Μύθος, § VI, p. [illegible]

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

121 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an
842 identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in
821 the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other
825 Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are
823 the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion
(996) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/253 cont./

121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

(191) 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

199 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 /Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

(191) 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible] — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : [illegible] [illegible], in : M. P. G., [illegible], [illegible], etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls, In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/256 cont./

527 solemnly and in a high voice, speaks these words: "May ewes and goats
233 be born." She is offered cakes and extended wishes for a long life
825 and happiness. According to Madame Hadjimichali, the women can predict
789 from the crackling of the fire whether the year ahead will be fruitful or
[574] or disastrous.
[987]

The first day of the Orthodox Advent (40 days before Christmas) a
[996] long tree trunk is put in the hearth and allowed to burn for a while. Then it is extinguished and put to one side. This procedure is invariably repeated each morning. On Christmas morning the oldest woman of the family lights what is left and carries it lighted to the stroungha (Fig. 73) A where she buries it at the entrance where the animals pass. (24)

(114) 24. A practice reported by Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., p. ρν') but that we ourselves have not encountered.

527 On New Year's day, according to our own observations (on Christmas day
233 according to those of Madame Hadjimichali), (25)
825
789
262
531
[114)

25. Ibid., A. II, pp. 346-350. This difference in the data is not surprising since the Sarakatsani groups are numerous and variations of customs are inevitable as a result of acculturation. It is to be noted that the non-Sarakatsani population make a pastry on New Year's day. It is possible that the statements of Madame Hadjimichali report a state of affairs before our own investigation. In this connection we wish to emphasize that Madame Hadjimichali gives a very fine description of the cakes in question, with superb drawings.

each mother of a family prepares a pastry decorated with motifs in relief, which represent /257/ a stroungha with sheep, imprints of horseshoes, a dog, ~~shepherd~~ reeds, distaffs, vipers and last of all scorpions. The whole is an evocation of the economic life of the Sarakatsani, the stroungha,

A, /See p.100--Analysis/

527 /257 cont./
233 the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the
825 wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the
789
[562] vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.
[531] The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is
233 clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate
825 being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very
789 moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides
562 with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of
[831] fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

[821] Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic
[823] virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)
[776]

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

[782] She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a
[529] libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual
[171]

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

233 The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred
825 log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion
789

/257 cont./

233 825 789 [171] [842]

29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

233 825 789 262 531 [171]

(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ [illegible]. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

233 825 789 777 527

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

[171]

31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

233 825 789 [777] [527] [171]

/258 cont./

in Byzantium: ~~Ἰωάνου~~ ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΥ: p. 106.--

This is the unlucky person.

Thus, an old Sarakatsani woman told us that one year her husband, inadvertantly, was the first person to enter the hut. That year their sheep gave them only rams.

The second observation has to do with the position on the ground of the young girl who visits the huts. It is a symbolic means of influencing the ewes and compelling them not to chase off their young when the latter try to nurse just after their birth, as they very often do, thus endangering the lives of the newborn animals.

233 731 821 789 [221] [776]

Fertility, Abundance and Prosperity.

The problem of feeding the livestock is only partially solved by the seasonal migrations in search of grass. A drought is enough to destroy everything. To avert such a possibility the Sarakatsani addresses himself again to the universal creative forces personified in other avatars of the Mother-Goddess capable of promoting the fertiltiy of the earth and the abundance of vegetation.

776

These avatars are connected with the evolution of ideas about the Mother-Goddess during antiquity in the direction of an acceptance of the existance of a male principle at her side. This principle progressed from being her son, then her companion, first in a fraternal sense then in a sexual one, finally securing supremacy for himself. Generally this figure dies young only to be ~~resurrected~~ later, full of strength /259/ and vitality; it symbolizes nature, which dies in winter and is regenerated in the spring, and to nature it transmits its forces. (32)

776 171

32. The Mother-Goddess becomes Rea, the mother of the Cretan Zeus who is not yet "the father of men and of gods" of the Homeric epoch, but a god of fertility who dies periodically: P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 95, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 129, H. Jeanmarie: Couroi et Couretes. She generally becomes Cybele of Phrygia, assisted by Attis; her worship and the passion of

796 /260 cont./
789 and the multicolored viper
535 as a collar around your neck...
533 /261/ May the stones of this house
[539] never loosen
and may its master enjoy a long life...

Only the "bride," her head hidden beneath a scarf and not carrying bells, keeps herself apart in an attitude of great modesty; she neither sings nor dances.

796 The meaning of this song is obvious. The word "Madana" by which the
789 one who is preparing herself for the festival is addressed and who is none
533 other than the mistress of the house, means, in our opinion, the "mistress
796 of the waters." In order to interpret this word which, incidentally, is
174 not a Greek word, we refer to mandani, the device which beats woven material for a long time in water and of which we have spoken in connection with crafts. In the northern part of Greece this device is also called batani, a word whose origin is probably found in the Slavic vada which means "water" (vandani, and by transposition, batani).

796 It is not surprising that the Sarakatsani on that day address the
789 mistress of the waters. We shall see later on that certain evil sub-
796 terranean spirits, the kalikantzari, move about the earth at that time and
823 must be exorcised by water. That is not all. The presence of the married couple together with that of the mistress of waters shows immediately that we are dealing here with a practice incouraging fruitfulness, and the fertility is expressed in the complex: woman (Madana), water, couple. As
533 for the song, it completes the symbolism of creative forces. The sun,
796 driving out the chthonian spirits and itself personifying these same
789 forces, (35)

796 35. See the myths of Apollo.--J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 120,
[821] referring to the work of M. Chapouthier: Les Dioscures,
[825] pp. 268-281, establishes the relations existing between

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[171] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[529] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

771 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
178

Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
789 we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[782] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

789 /263 cont./
585 the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid.,
[191] pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life."
[273] [182] [823] say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

789 825 However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden 789 825 objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric 322 and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes 531 that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the 233 shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of 283 the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

777 To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance 777 of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the 736 other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

776 /265 cont./
751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
263
783

44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωάννου Μόσχου: Πρὸς Τρόφιμον, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
989 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
987 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[992] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΪΖΗ : Σχόλια ... vers 66 et 27.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ

Ἰ, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀναλεκτὰ καὶ Τάξις ἐπὶ τῶν Ἱερομ. Μ. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
574 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[362] [171] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ Μ. P. G. 61, 165 et commen-
ταίρος de Στ. ΚΥΡΙΑΚΙΔΟΥ : Ὁ Ἰωάννης Χρυσόστομος ὡς Λειτουργός, p. 664. —
Χ. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 209 et suiv. — Ἐ. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τά φυτά τῆς Θεάκης,
p. 20-23, etc.

/273 cont./
789 influences that ceaselessly threaten the well-being of men and, jealous,
585 take advantage of moments of happiness to attack them. The smacks
[176] transform what seems to be a festival into a brawl. (68)

68. This practice is a result of the anthropomorphic form that the Saraktsani give certain bad spirits.

789 That is why, in the course of the feast that follows the celebration of
784 the wedding, the Sarakatsani put on a dance performed by the men alone.
535 Two young men, suitably disguised, here represent the married couple. At
585 a given moment they withdraw from the dance and, in front of everybody, simulate the sexual act, so that /274/ the evil spirits, deceived, descend on them - with no harmful consequences - and spare the couple.

789 However, curative procedures, as such, are not lacking. It is very
825 advisable, for example, always to have on oneself something derived from
[239] wild animals (skin of the hare, hairs of the wild boar, feathers of the partridge, etc.). These animals that feed on all the plants and shrubs of the field and forest transmit to men their admirable properties (strength, resistance, speed, etc.) as well as the medicinal qualities of their food. (69)

69. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 66: "The superiority of the animal is quite evident. The animal has a power that is lacking in man: muscular force, sharpness of vision, keenness of smell, a sense of orientation..."

That is why honey is considered the best medicine because the bees gather
342 honey from all the flowering plants. When the building of a new hut is
789 finished, one does not move in before having lighted a fire in the hearth.
372 And if possible a priest is called to celebrate the office of the holy water. These two procedures tend to assure the well-being of the family. (70)

70. In both cases one seeks to keep off evil influences. That fire has warding-off properties against all evils that try to enter a new dwelling before people do is a very

342 /274 cont./
789
372 widespread belief. See: A. Métraux: Contribution au Folklore Andin, p. 87.--P. Deffontaines: Géographie et Religion, p. 30 (Madagascar), etc.

751 The Sarakatsani women put nettle leaves on their clothing in order
824 to protect their skin from irritation caused by clothing and perspiration, especially during the long marches of the seasonal migrations. It is a practice based on the idea that, since the irritation caused by the nettle and the sweat seem the same, the same cause is found in their origin. When one wears the cause on oneself, it will not work against one, for it is as if the cause worked against itself. (71)

71. It is the same idea that justifies the wearing of the weight from the fairies' spindle in order to protect oneself against their evil spells.

752 The Sarakatsani treat chapped hands and lips with the blood of a lamb
825 killed during the festival of Saint George, the protector of the Sarakatsani. The blood of the lamb offered as a sacrifice has curative properties. (72)

72. As we shall see in connection with religion.

755 The technique of the transfer of an evil, which we were able to observe in the protection against Daoutis, is also applied in connection with /275/ throat ailments. While pronouncing "religious words" (according to the common expression), the secret of which is, as usual, jealously guarded, the healer draws a sign of the cross on the throat and makes a gesture of transfering the evil onto the arm of the patient where a sort of vesicular pustule is formed, the treatment of which is very easy and less annoying than that of the throat.

789 The protection of the livestock against evil influences includes many
372 practices. We have spoken of the half-charred log and the head of the
825 viper which are carried into the strougha. In addition to promoting
233 fertility, they are charged with a protective role, the first as representative of the healing fire and the second owing to the inherent qualities of the snake. There are other methods which we must bring to light.

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥ : [illegible] D. [illegible] ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : [illegible] VII 138.

(825) It seems that even animals followed it. [illegible]

IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circum-
756 stances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
(462) that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

(539) "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/280 cont./

754 himself. These methods can take effect either by contact with the victim or by proximity or even at a distance. One of our informants assured us that his grandmother had been stricken with blindness for seven years by having passed over bewitched objects.

(821) Sometimes the spells are cast by releasing the forces of nature. The enemies of a family that was celebrating the wedding of one of its members drew lightning on the company and caused the death of several persons.

The nature of the evil provoked by the spell, its duration and the recovery from it depend on the procedure used, on the power of the sorcerer and the means of defense available to the victims. Mysterious and incurable illnesses, sudden deaths, infirmities, material damage, economic catastrophes, family troubles, etc., are among the effects of black magic.

(791) There are several ways of coping with this. First, one can ask the aid of a richtologos. Then one can turn to the help of the Church in the (793) person of the country priest, who will initiate a special exorcism (789) against the spells. (86)

(755) 86. Neutralization of the evil by the opposition of favorable of unfavorable forces.

(751) Finally, one can use a protective amulet composed of various appropriate (789) objects, the most efficacious of which is the viper's head.

(825) The magic function of the snake, the last but not least important 789 and the most secret, to which we have alluded on several occasions, completes 825 the list. The snake, a lunar and chthonian symbol, connected with rain, fecundity and fertility, knowing the mysteries of life and death, is also a prophet and a sage. (87)

87. Van de Leeuw: Ibid., p. 67.--On the capacities of the snake as sage see: A.W. Perssons: The religion of Greece /cited in English/ who reports the ancient legend about the death and resurrection of Glaukos, son of Minos, brought about by the oracle of Polyidos who gave him a plant with which a

/280 cont./

789 825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the (755) evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first 825 777 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to 789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: Elliniki Thrisk. p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the 842 regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and 789 rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 842 989 /281 cont./

itself is also a magic act.

825 989 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked [183] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not [178] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ηπειρωτικὴ Ἐστία, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us [173] recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

825 /282 cont./
789 according to their collective memory. If this is true,
[193] these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against
[191] magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peleponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali,
[114] vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are
754 Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always
186 people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.
754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is
593 not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be
603 effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Neverthe-
754 less, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even
602

754 /282 cont./
602 though no family relationship binds them to their victim.

787 /283/ FORECASTING THE FUTURE.

This subject is linked, sometimes to natural phenomena, sometimes to the life of animals, sometimes to human influences.

The ideas that define the corresponding phenomena and that raise them to the level of portent are not always clear. There are cases where they remain in shadow. Phenomena and ideas are concretely presented as follows:

787 When a dog howls mournfully in the night death will strike a member
763 of the family. This animal whose occult capacities and mythological
825 relations with the underworld we are acquainted with scents the approach of Charon and laments the imminent disappearance of the men to whom he is bound.

If a crow flies vertically above a person, the life of the latter is in danger. This black bird personifying mourning and living on carcasses is presumed already to be interested in the person.

787 When a snake, an animal that knows the secrets of life and death, bars
825 the path of a passerby while heading "toward the sun," the east, hence the
823 cardinal point corresponding to life and favorable forces--it is a good portent. But if it heads towards the west, the darkness, (90) misfortune

90. It is well to recall here that a large number of European beliefs place the realm of the dead in a country to be found in the direction of the setting sun. The priests of Athens, seeking to incite the Furies against the "traitor" Alcibiades, pronounced their curses while turned toward the west: ΠΑΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: 'Αλκιβιάδης.

22-32.--P.M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 38.

awaits the passerby.

787 If there are a couple of snakes who separate suddenly, taking
825 opposite directions, a married couple symbolized by the reptiles whose role
586

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented
[833] by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[755] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes
[171] off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
783 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
787 the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[887] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,
[554]

/296# cont./

121 789 ML

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/317 cont./

789 114 "participation-imitation," which is only a "prefiguration (materialization in advance)" (p. 142). However, the difference between the two "is singularly lessened...for the mimesis is the basis/of the identity?/ not by virtue of causality, but of consunstantiality, that is to say, of communicated, shared essence; in short, it is a true methesis...It has a metaphysical range: it does not express a relation between given beings or objects; it lays the foundation of its existence" (p. 146). "Primitives feel the participation and this is equivalent to the fulfillment of a desire" (pp. 144 and 206).

There is therefore no doubt that for Lévy-Bruhl's participation is hence all magic that this principle makes possible is a essential communion of a metaphysical order, and furthermore, a communion not represented but felt. This last point is merely the consequence of Lévy-Burhl's more general idea, to which he constantly and always returns, namely, that primitive mentality is a mystical mentality.

The question which now arises is to know whether this theory can explain Sarakatsani magic. Now, it is certain that these nomads do not believe in any kind of "participation," despite certain appearances. One of our best informants, the old headman A. Katsoulas, replying to our questions that aimed at making this point explicit told us categorically, in connection with the problem of the snake which plays such an important role in Sarakatsani life, that "there is no compatibility between man and the snake and that the latter is entirely external to him."

[124] [825]

In the second place, it is likewise certain that describing magical thinking as mystical does not make it any easier to explain. It is true that according to the sound remark by M. Leenhardt (p. XIV of his preface to the Notebooks), L. Lévy-Bruhl introduced this term to mean "the emotional fringe which borders all human experience and can even absorb it." But on this point M. Leenhardt adds: "The mystical epithet in not

/337 cont./

764 Flowers are laid on the corpse.

775 One must sit with the deceased and weep over him all night, "so
[152] that he will not get up." (14)

[171] 14. There is a very ancient belief, already found in Homer, according to which the dead person would be deprived of rest if he were not treated in conformity with the death rites. The threne /dirge?/ was part of the ritual; the description of the obsequies of Hector, in the XXIVth book of the Iliad, where Andromache, Hecube and Helen perform the funeral dirge in turn, testifies to this. In this description we recognize the same ambience as in Sarakatsani funerals Analogous ideas occur in the chant of Gilgamesh, see K. Birket-Smith: Histoire des Civilisations, p. 377. Charon refused to transport to Hades the souls of abandoned dead. This explains the Sarakatsani conviction cited above, that the dead person who does not pay his passage is destined for the nether regions.

[152] The funeral chants, therefore, not only express /338/ the sadness of
[182] the relatives; they have a function to fulfill, that of ensuring the repose of the deceased. Between the living and the dead there is an interdependence. Tha actions of the first are capable of influencing the fate of the second, for good or ill, for their eternal rest or for their damnation.

The dead person is likewise in danger of becoming a ghost if a man of an animal passes over him, if hands are clasped above the corpse when condolences are offered or if a cat enters the death hut. Satan may
[776] take advantage of this to pass over the body of the deceased and take
[825] possession of his soul. The cat, as we know, is often considered an

764 /338 cont./
775 incarnation of the devil. In these ideas we see reappearing the postulate
[776] of representation which determines magic action.
[825]

The same danger, in the form of chastisement, awaits the dead
775 person "if his life has not been correct." In this case it is no longer the acts of the living which will affect the fate of the deceased, but his own actions which will bring baneful consequences. We are not in a position to give an explanation concerning the expression "correct life" since our informants did not choose to be specific. Let us recall,
[596] however, the example cited in the context of the economic life of the extended family (pp. 174-175).

771 These ideas about ghosts and eternal rest are foreign to Christianity,
775 according to which everyone will be judged after his death by the Supreme Judge and will be punished or rewarded according to his actions and not by virtue of the action of others. However, there is one point in
[764] Christianity which establishes a certain solidarity between the living and the dead: the forgiveness which the living address to the dead, either individually or collectively, in the course of the funeral service. We
[182] believe that this point forms the bridge linking Christian beliefs and ancient beliefs about solidarity, and permitting syncretism. As for
775 ghosts and the idea of becoming one by way of punishment, the Saraktasani,
764 as well as the clergy, have found a way of integrating all that into religious practices. The parish priest is called to offer prayers of forgiveness with a view to protecting the deceased from damnation.

It is the parish priest who cuts the rope that binds the feet of the corpse when it is lowered into the grave. His action is not in danger of jeopardising the beneficent influence, for his office of priest enables him to dominate the dark forces.

775 /339/ The subject of resurrection and of the circle of life will be dealt with later.

/350 cont./

805 the night the height of the /351/ moon, but chiefly the appearance
821 and position of the stars and constellations on the vault of heaven
[233] fulfill the same function. When, for example, Gemini is found near the zenith, the Sarakatsani send the flocks out to their nocturnal pasture. The same is true of the positions of Mars, the Pleiades, etc.

821 In second place come the meteorological forecasts.

825 What is striking is that the weather predictions are based chiefly
787 on some signs derived from the behavior of the flocks and the wild animals. It would seem that on this point the Sarakatsani trusts the instinct of the animals much more than the phenomena of nature (winds, clouds, color of the sky at twilight, etc.). It is very probable that his attention, always polarized by his principal interest, the livestock, induces him to look at the world largely through it.

Thus, when during a sunny day the sheep, shortly before noon, gather together and sleep in the sun, huddled against each other, it is a sign of bad weather. If, in winter, the sheep browse voraciously, snow can be expected the next day. When the beasts of burden, grazing on the heights, start to come down again, the weather will be bad (rain or storm). The howling of jackals and wolves is a portent of bad weather. When it is fair and the owl settled in a spot usually sheltered from the sun (a gorge, for example), starts to hoot, the weather will change and become bad. On the other hand, if it is raining and the owl chooses a place generally exposed to the sun (a hillside with a southern exposure) to make itself hear, this means that the weather will improve.

759 In the third place, knowledge bearing on therapy should be mentioned.
752 There are among the Sarakatsani specialists who practice orthopedics and kinesitherapy. In cases of fracture, dislocation and sprain, the practitioner uses ligatures or other manipulations that enable the bones
757 or displaced joints to recover. In case of lumbago, the patient must,

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association. 596 [421]

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakatsani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood, 596 826 [577] 596 826 828

[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Zagori

596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[556] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[734] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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But the obligation that Sarakatsani must not on any account fail to fulfil is the defence of family honour. Honour (τιμή) is directly concerned in a limited range of situations; typically these emerge after physical assault or verbal insult, or following a sexual assault on the women of a family, or their own misconduct. Whether or not honour is lost depends essentially upon two qualities in the moral characters of its members; the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of the men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of the women. Objectively, therefore, honour is an aspect of the integrity and social worth of the family as this is judged by the community; subjectively it represents the moral solidarity of the family, an ideal circle that must be defended against any violation by outsiders.

Honour is concerned with strength or prepotency rather than justice. The most direct blow to the strength of another family is simply to kill one of its men. His blood pours out and with it go life, consciousness, and strength. Sarakatsani believe that in some way a killer absorbs the strength from the blood of the man he slays. 'I shall drink your blood' (θὰ σοῦ πιῶ τὸ αἷμα), is a phrase that threatens murder. Given the connexion between strength and honour, it follows that the family of the killer validates its claim to honour, except in circumstances where the motive of the killing is itself dishonourable; such motives of dishonour include sexual lust but not theft. On the other hand, the family of the victim must remain inferior until one of its members 'takes out the blood' (βγάλῃ τὸ αἷμα) from the violator himself, or until he is at least driven into exile. One avenger bathes his hands in the blood of the original killer and returned to show his mother 'the blood of her son'. With certain qualifications that will concern us in a later chapter, all Sarakatsani are born with honour. But it is constantly threatened; and its conservation is, in effect, a struggle to maintain an ideal equality. When a life or the virtue of a woman has been taken away, something equivalent must be taken back if the family is not to fall for ever from grace and social reputation.

The family of the victim, then, have this duty of active solidarity[3] 'to take out the blood' of their kinsman from the

[3] The useful distinction between active and passive solidarity is borrowed from Glotz. See Gustave Glotz, *La Solidarité de la famille dans le droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris, 1904, Chapter 6.

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It is, then, not inconsistent with these considerations that the Sarakatsani have no notions about the blood or spirit of an unavenged victim turning upon the kinsmen who have failed in their duties. For this would be an uncomfortable belief to accommodate where successful vengeance killing is contingent on a number of circumstances. This is interesting because, as we have already seen, blood is the material medium of kinship and its values. In other related contexts Sarakatsani clearly believe that blood has mysterious and intelligent powers. A horse standing outside a house when its master was murdered 'dropped dead from the blood' (ἔσκασε ἀπὸ τὸ αἷμα). A shepherd who killed a woman 'was seized by the blood' (τὸν ἔπιασε τὸ αἷμα). He was paralysed before his victim until the husband returned to kill him. For this was an evil and unnatural deed where supernatural sanctions rightly operated. Sarakatsani will even say that the avenging brother's blood gives him the courage to reclaim 'his own blood' from the killer. But suggestions that a dead man might be personally angry and dangerous if he is not avenged are met with amused and pragmatic disbelief. If care is taken over a man's burial so that the Devil cannot use him as a 'βρυκόλακας' (phantom), a dead man is simply dead. Vengeance, then, is a duty owed to the honour of the family and not to the memory of a particular individual. And honour depends on the strength, confidence, and self-regard of living men, not on any mysterious or spiritual powers.

The problems which the duty of vengeance killing presents to a family sometimes have an element of paradox. For in prosecuting vengeance and defending its honour a family almost inevitably deprives itself of one of its men. This may represent a dangerous weakening of its strength; and strength, it may be remembered, is the basis of honour. In the very act of defending one's honour one may in fact be jeopardizing it. The violator is always in mortal danger immediately after the deed, when grief and humiliation are fresh. But if he survives the first two years unscathed the victim's family begin to consider the situation in a more calculating and unemotional fashion. It then becomes a question rather of whether there are reasonable grounds, of the kind we have discussed, for 'not' prosecuting vengeance. This depends entirely on how the community views their predicament. If all the brothers of the victim are married when the killer returns from prison, the consensus

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 [831] Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

/45 cont./

233

Fig. 33 Fig. 34

The second /object/ consists of a very long shaft (approximately two meters) ending in a very curved handle. The latter serves to catch by a hind leg the animals that try to move away from the flock. The curve of the handle is calculated in such a way that a foot goes through it easily but with a tight fit. Thus this curve varies according to the kind of animal. It is wider for goats and narrower for ewes. The [826] [804] Sarakatsani use the second joint of the thumb to measure it. It seems that the thickness of this joint corresponds to the size of the feet of the ewes (fig. 34).

236 /46/ Crafts dependent on wool.

Wool is the raw material which the Sarakatsani use almost exclusively to make their clothing, their covers, and rugs. Cotton [877] has been introduced only recently among them in the form of thread which they buy commercially.

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may
be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[789] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black
dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the
moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the
base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p.[illegible]

776 The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the
[538] ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant
for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter
evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

751 The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention
789 than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The
[753] idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, super-
natural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often
identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted
in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--
circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--
without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

844 The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with
751 some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with
789 a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being
826 drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid
845 strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the
[752] bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a
burned bit of the father's cloak.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Τὰ ΧΡΙΣΟΠΤΟΝΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 168. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

789 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves

153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the

826 case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of

844 the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χοῦτ. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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827 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour
828 is not approved, but in terms of χούτ it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

59 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and
612 character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[a] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[113] [a] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [884] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [827] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide.

/57 cont./

286 to wool crafts it is necessary also to describe the special process
386 used by the Sarakatsani to dye a dark blue, the fabrics used for making men's garments (vests, jackets, trousers) and women's skirts.

The fabric to be dyed is immersed in boiling water in a cauldron

286

Fig. 42

286 reserved for this use. A good quantity of Parella [a type of lichen]
386 gathered in the countryside is added to this water. The boiling
[824] continues until the water turns a yellow color. Then this water is discarded and replaced with the sera or seria, that is to say, the water which was already used in boiling the wool and which has been saved, as we noted above. Indigo (and, recently, the dye bought
[804] commercially) is added, the water is reheated, and then the fabric
[827] is allowed to soak in the liquid for five days while it is kept at a constant temperature controlled according to whether the hand /58/ is able to bear the heat of the solution. From time to time, the fabric is removed in order to be beaten with a paddle, then it is reimmersed. This process increases the strength of the fabric, as well as that of the color itself, the sera acting as agglutinant.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 789 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 108. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/277 cont./

754 object if one admires it, or into the air when one speaks of the success
789 of someone, or on oneself (80)
827

80. A practice known in antiquity:

ΘΕΟΦΑΣΤΟΥ : Χαρακτῆρες D. 22, ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ : Εἰδύλλια VII 128.

[825] It seems that even animals followed it. Ἀθήναιος

IX 394 B: "Once its chicks are born the pigeon spits on them to protect them from the evil eye."

in order to protect oneself from its influence of from that of others.

754 Children are the ones most exposed to the evil eye. When they are ill
755 the Sarakatsani women resort to various means of cure, including water, fire, salt, incense, fumigation, transference, the evocation of Christ, the sign of the cross, incantations whose secret was only partly confided to us, and silence which must be observed in connection with specific circum-
756 stances. However, this inventory would be incomplete if we did not mention
[462] that the woman who performs these rites must possess altogether special qualities. Yet it is very difficult to specify where these qualities come from and what they consist of. A knowledge of rites is required; an old woman practitioner passes it on to one of her daughters towards the end of her life, and this on a Maundy Thursday. But it also seems that knowledge does not suffice and that a certain predisposition is also required. Our information on this point goes no further, so we shall present some examples of practices in this ritual.

755 One fills a glass of water taken from a spring, keeping absolutely silent
788 while carrying it. Next one takes in one's hand a little salt, a little incense and some charcoal and makes the sign of the cross on the rim of the glass while /278/ murmuring an exorcism. Afterwards one sprinkles the child 40 times with this spring water and empties the rest into the hen house while pronouncing the /following/ formula three times:

[539] "May the evil eye leave this child."

755 The empty glass is left in the hen house for the night so that the evil will

/296 cont./

121 789 772

105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [829] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

/327 cont./

796 Thursday and move about among the living until Pentecost." Sarakatsani
795 women at that time prepare two bags which they carry to church. The
796 first, "intended for the living," is filled with various objects which
795 must be blessed--tsandilès, small bells, salt, incense, wool of black
789 sheep, painted eggs, wax candles, etc.; it is placed beside the altar
[769] (hiéron) during mass. The second /bag/, intended "for the dead,"
is filled with bread, kolyva (the pastry of the dead made with boiled grain), wine, incense, etc.; it is handed over to the parish priest so that he will conduct a /328/ service for the dead of the family who, as we have said, are present on this day. The bag intended for the living is the more one interesting for this part of our analysis. The objects it contains show the significance of the practice. They are divided into two categories: those that represent the economic life of our herders; those that are destined for spiritual use, so to speak. All these objects will be blessed during the service. Thus, prosperity is assured, since dairy production (symbolized by the tsandilès) and herding (small bells) are blessed; the same is true for births, or rather fecundity, symbolized by the egg. It is necessary to give some details pertaining to the egg of Maundy Thursday. It is an egg laid that very day by a black
[502] hen (a color which is presumed to have occult properties). Before being
[531] brought to the church it is decorated all over with sinuous designs symbolizing the snake, hence fecundity. The other objects are used for making amulets (salt, incense) or to drive off evil spirits (wax candles that are lit during the exorcisms, etc.).

796 On Good Friday another ritual takes place among the Sarakatsani. On
[788] this day the Orthodox Church holds a service and a procession commemorating
[533] the descent from the cross, the obsequies and the entombment of Christ;
during these the choir sings hymns called "the laments at the tomb" or
[533] eulogies. Now, these nomads organize among themselves a "lament for the

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[577] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

828
Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 825
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 233
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- [776]
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

562
Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 233
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do [834]
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [841]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical

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dowry. But the implicit purpose of the dowry is to complement the wealth with which the new family is or will be endowed by the husband's family. In this sense the handing over of the dowry is the first act of socially regulated co-operation between two previously unrelated and therefore hostile families. The two parties to the marriage contract co-operate to establish a new group. Each side contributes one of its members and a certain amount of property. And, under the traditional custom at least, the contribution of each side appropriately reflects the complementary activities of the two partners. The husband provides the animals, the wife the furnishings of the hut. And this bilateral endowment of a new family with property from both families of origin is also observed in the limiting case where a man has no sons and marries his youngest girl to a bridegroom who is willing to live in his father-in-law's home. In this instance it is the bridegroom who contributes wealth at the moment of marriage, bringing with him his share in the flocks of his family of birth, while the property of the wife's family of origin, which may be considerable, does not formally come under the control of the new family until the wife's father has retired from active work.

Just as the elements of wealth and prestige are inherited through both the mother and the father, so the Sarakatsani also believe that a child inherits the elements of its moral character from both parents, although, since the important moral qualities in this community are sex-linked, sons are thought to form their moral character essentially after the pattern of their fathers, especially with reference to manliness, while daughters particularly inherit those qualities of the mother which affect their sense of sexual shame. Nevertheless the pattern of character and behaviour, which a son partly inherits and partly learns from his father, may be modified by elements which he receives from his mother; and in the same way a girl may inherit some character traits from her father. Sometimes facets of character which are passed from or through the parent of opposite sex may be referred to the individual's χούι. This is an aspect of personality to which one may attribute those idiosyncratic actions and attitudes which are in some way unusual or even deviant. The Sarakatsani insist that this is as likely to be inherited from one side of the family as from the other. John Charisis tears his

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827 shirts to shreds when he dances at weddings. This odd behaviour
828 is not approved, but in terms of χούτ it may, at least, be explained; and it is remembered that his mother's brother, although he did not tear his shirts, used to waste his substance in another way by gambling at cards for high stakes, which he could not afford.

59 It is clear, then, that the elements of wealth, prestige, and
612 character pass into a family from both the families which enter into the original betrothal contract. This not only reflects the bilateral and symmetrical form of the kindred but in some measure helps to maintain it. For, if a man has contracted a judicious marriage with a girl from a family of at least equivalent prestige, the children will be anxious to associate with their matrilateral kin. On the other hand, it is noticeable that where a man has married into a family of lower prestige than his own (that is, where prestige has not been equally inherited from both sides), his children tend to evade obligations to their mother's kinsmen while they carefully cultivate kinsmen of the father. However, if a wife brings a substantial dowry (that is, where a newly established family is equally endowed with wealth from both sides), the husband is obliged to be particularly helpful to the family and kinsmen of his wife, and this leads to close relations between his children and their maternal cousins.

612 The bilateral structure of the kindred implies, of course, that this association of kinsmen is not a corporate group. Its definition must always be relative to a particular group of siblings.[8] At a wedding, when representatives of all sections of the bridegroom's kindred gather round him in support against the kindred of the bride, the illusion is created that two solidary corporate groups of kinsmen are involved. But in fact they are only united in the particular context of the wedding and by reason of each individual's personal kinship relation to the bridegroom. Indeed since any particular kindred comprises descendants of four pairs of unrelated great-grandparents, only the sibling group which is central to this kindred is related to all

[113] [8] This has long been recognized. See Bertha Phillpotts, *Kindred and Clan*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 3, 275. However, it should be clear that corporate associations of kinsmen may exist in this kind of community. But other criteria will be involved, not merely kinship relationship.

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-
[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the
[429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly
[828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness
[428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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593 596 [888] domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 858 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 888 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 828 858 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations towards each other but they are morally identified. The responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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ἀπὸ κάτ' ἀπ' τὴ μηλιὰ θὰ πέση). It is thought that God often 593
punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression 828
in another proverb, 'The sins of parents torment the children' 858
(ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).[3] Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God.

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its 593
general character from the close physical and psychical de- 828
pendence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse.

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very 593
strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother 577
possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love.

[3] Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

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VIII

THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

1. THE SOLIDARITY OF THE FAMILY

THE Sarakatsan family is a corporate group. The property 596
of the family is owned in common. It holds exclusive [421]
rights over the productive powers of all its members and the reproductive capacities of its women. And in principle all its members are held to be responsible for the action of any other member. It is true that, in effect, it ceases to exist when the married brothers divide the joint household some 40 years after the marriage which originally brought the family into being. But during this period its members think of it as a permanent entity, and in so far as they consider the future separation of brothers' households they see it at this time as merely a modification of their corporate existence which will be extended in their continued association.

The solidarity of the corporate family is symbolized in the 596
idea of blood (αἷμα). In marriage a man and woman mix their 826
different blood to produce 'one blood' which is the blood of their children. One says of a child, 'he is my blood', (εἶναι αἷμα μου). Relationships in the family are a participation in this common blood. It provides the reason and the sanction within [577]
the individual's conscience for the fulfilment of those exigent and uncompromising duties of family membership. The 596
relevance of blood to intelligence and moral character, and their 826
inheritance, is an idea with a long history.[1] But for the Sarakat- 828
sani, the blood which children inherit not only represents, but it 'is' the physical and moral attributes that form their social personalities. If a man is not of honourable lineage his blood does not 'take fire' at an insult; and when he is faced with sudden danger 'his blood is cut' (κόπηκε τὸ αἷμα του). These are not metaphorical usages. The blood centred in the heart is both the medium and the agent of emotional thought and feeling. Thus blood is intimately related to courage. And it is a matter of common observation that as a man loses blood,

[1] Onians, op. cit., pp. 48, 121.

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[56] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[234] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen. 577 562 593

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother. 831 684 577 831 593 562 828

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context. 577 831 562 593

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain 577 773 796 562

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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
577 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but complemen-
828 tary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[779] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this [831] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[604] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
597 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these
[784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[794] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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577 935 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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his own motives spills over into an incidental concern for others. Such a man, it is said, will resist the approaches of a woman even where she clearly wishes to be seduced, and where there is no danger of discovery. He never uses lies or deceit to trick another man, or takes advantage of a situation to make another look foolish. A Sarakatsanos when defending his conduct will often say, 'I am a man who loves honour'. But others will not accept this estimate of self. Φιλότιμος is an epithet never attributed by one Sarakatsanos to another unrelated shepherd, because they believe that the responsibilities which each individual owes to the family group absolutely preclude his acting in this manner. On the other hand, it is not infrequently used to characterize a patron whose protection is effective; for here interests are complementary, not opposed, and in the particular context of the patron-client relationship it is possible for a man of power to appear to be acting in this way towards his client. And, in a condescending sense, it is possible for a patron to admit the same quality in his client. 156 597 829 [571]

* * *

Three concepts, 'honour' (τιμή), 'honourable' (τίμιος), and 'loving honour' (φιλότιμος), have now been considered in their relation to the community's evaluation of a man's conduct and its implicit recognition of his prestige. Although τίμιος and φιλότιμος indicate, in different degrees, some concern about other men, all three are essentially self-regarding terms. In each case it is a question of a man attempting to realize a particular ideal pattern of conduct. What interests him is the success of this quest, not the effect of his actions on others. 156 597

The quality of being honourable has this in common with honour, that most men are assumed to have it. It is not something which must be competed for, but something which must not be lost. Although there is certainly the need constantly to re-achieve standards of conduct, the emphasis is on the fact that most Sarakatsani have honour, and are honourable, but that individuals, to a greater or less degree, may stray from the path of normative virtue and lose their prestige. 156 597 828

Both the concepts of honour and of the honourable man [571]

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156 assume, ideally, a community in which all families are equal in
577 their possession of honour, and all men are equal in the honour-
828 able discharge of the duties associated with their social roles.
591 Although a Sarakatsanos seldom explicity attributes prestige to another, and struggles always to find some failings in another's character when he discusses him, yet by the recognition that he gives another in public life, by the way he shares conversation and drinking companionship, he may implicity admit him to a position of equality. A man may also talk or drink with a person he considers to be of inferior prestige, but there are fine nuances of attitude which make this difference between them very clear. If this evaluation of prestige is acceptable to the general community the man who is treated as an inferior will receive no public backing if he chooses to interpret this treatment as a slight, and reacts to it violently.

156 The flagrant breaking of social norms leads to the withdrawal
577 of recognition and response, that is to a definitive loss of pres-
683 tige. After it became known that Goulas had falsely denigrated
558 the daughter of George Carvounis he appeared even more infrequently in public, an admission of his shame and humiliation. When he did enter the coffee-shop people greeted him unenthusiastically, if an exchange of greetings was unavoidable; but nobody engaged him in conversation, or bought him a drink. His presence was tolerated, but he was tacitly expelled from the intimacies of social life. He was no longer an equal in honour.

156 Conformity is the chief defence against denigration where
577 people believe that the hostile criticism of others protects in
626 some way their own reputation. Moreover the precision of this criticism is considerable since the social roles which a man or woman assumes at any period of life are few in number, and their implications are perfectly understood both by the protagonists and those who observe them. Yet it would be too simple a judgement to think that the concepts of honour and the honourable man depend only on the external sanctions of competition or mutual hostility. For the Sarakatsani believe that these ideals and values, which breathe meaning, purpose, and value into their lives, require no justification or sanction. They are a way of life, not a code of interdictions.

577 But even social conformity does not necessarily protect

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

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And in this respect the struggle to control it is so
fundamental to the belief in their own nobility that, in a com- 783
munity where masculine values are paramount, it has led 577
the Sarakatsani to a form of sexual dualism in which women 562
must bear the main responsibility for this collective sin; a responsibility, however, which is not to be confused with individual guilt.

Envy does not threaten the family in the same way from 783
within, nor does it conflict with the values of honour and pride. 152
Indeed, the emphasis on competitive values, the need to achieve 156
identity with ideal types of social personality, the competitive opposition of family groups, are social values and relationships which inevitably breed envy. Like the fingers on a hand, all men are not the same, Sarakatsani explain. Those who are less fortunate, or less evidently honourable, must envy those others who surpass them. Envy, they admit, leads directly to deceit and cunning. In the form of the evil eye it is a force of psychic [754] hostility and wickedness that pervades the world, spiritually separating man from man, and man from God. Focused though the eyes of an envious man, it may create physical effects of sickness and destruction. These things, it is agreed, are evil, but they arise from the external conditions of a world of limited resources and contrary human wills, not from the conscious sinfulness of individual men. The force of envy is felt to be so pervasive that it would be futile to struggle to control it, as one must struggle to control sensuality; particularly since a man may put the evil eye on another without conscious knowledge or intention. All that an honourable man can do is to avoid in his conscious actions the consequences of excessive envy. For the observer the difference between the ancestral [572] sins of sensuality and envy is that while the former compromises honour, the latter, in a certain sense, is a consequence of it. Naturally, the Sarakatsani do not see the distinction in quite this form.

The difference between personal and ancestral sin is not 783
unrelated to the distinction between the Sarakatsan senses of 828 ●
guilt and shame. Both guilt and shame are internal states of conscience but whereas shame is concerned with a man's failure to approach some ideal pattern of conduct, the reference of guilt and personal sin is to the transgression of interdicted limits. Shame relates to failure especially in comparisons with

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783 the achievements of others. It has an external sanction in the
828 social abandonment which in some degree always accompanies public shame. The sense of guilt, on the other hand, is the consequence of acts which defy the commandments of God, whether they concern the relations between man and God, or social responsibilities that follow from common membership in a group. The external sanction against sin is the punishment inflicted by God and sometimes by a social group. An act may, of course, provoke both a sense of guilt and feelings of shame. Which term will be used depends on whether the act is more generally regarded under the aspect of transgression, or of failure to live up to an ideal pattern of behaviour. Ancestral sin, however, arouses no sense of guilt. Sensuality and envy are not individual transgressions. Yet the first of these sins must be disciplined and the second, at least, prevented from becoming the guiding principle of a man's actions. But this discipline is a matter of relative success or failure, and therefore of shame not guilt.

In this way the Sarakatsani, through their view of ancestral sin, reconcile the nobility of man with his sinfulness. Nobility depends on the struggle of the individual to achieve ideal patterns of being and behaviour. The sins which produce feelings of individual guilt and, therefore, qualify the nobility of his nature, do not constitute an impressive list, and they are transgressions which the Sarakatsani do not easily commit. On the other hand, the ancestral sins recognized by the Sarakatsani are general forms of sin which the Orthodox Church holds to be peculiarly grave and, moreover, sins which the Sarakatsani are continually committing; in the instance of sensuality because they are human, and in the case of envy
[812] because the social institutions and values encourage it. Yet the Sarakatsanos avoids any personal responsibility for these sins by insisting that they are exterior to his individual will. They corrupt the condition in which he must live, but not the
[779] potentialities of his nature. Sensuality was the consequence of Adam's sin, not his. Envy was the sin of the Devil in his act of rebellion against God. Many Sarakatsani are able to explain these details, all are aware, at least, that these sins have been part of the human condition since the moment of the Fall, a condition against which a man must certainly struggle, but

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heavi- 783 ness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be 828 near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the 829 previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situa- 783 tion sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sara- 828 katsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred 829 through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make 771 communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, [851] innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The 777 Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe 776 that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three 846 Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's [191] cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral 777
sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense 828
of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release 829
a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. 783
In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause 773
of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and 776
his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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form than a passing shadow. Two considerable classes of these 776
spirits are 'the shadows' (τὰ ἰσκιώματα) and 'the things that
terrify' (τὰ σκιάσματα)[3]. After dark the former beat men and [752]
women about the head and are the cause of pains in the head
and teeth. They take hold of your arm or foot and twist it
sharply. The latter often attack the sheep which in panic
rush in different directions, injuring one another and losing milk.

General disasters such as earthquakes and epidemics may be [73]
attributed to the Devil. But his attacks are more often specific.
If the Devil falls on the sheep and mounts them, they swell,
bleed, and die. If he comes on a shepherd asleep, particularly
under a fig or mulberry tree, he presses down with great
weight on his chest and attempts to strangle him. The same
ladies of good fortune may attack a woman who goes out alone
to cut wood, with the possible consequences of paralysis, or
loss of speech. But the greatest peril is that you may step,
unknowingly, on the table (πατᾶς τάβλα) which a group of
male and female demons have laid for a feast. One woman who
had this misfortune was found unconscious on the mountainside. She remained in a deep coma, shrinking physically,
until she died after 40 days the size of a small child.

But the persons who are in greatest danger from direct attack 776
by the Devil are 'the innocent' (ἀθῶοι), particularly children 761
and young unmarried shepherds. For the innocent person [828]
'does not work in his heart' (δὲν ἐργάζεται στὴν καρδιά), he
does not require to plot or scheme against others; his being
is not seized by envy and jealousy, he is quiet, detached and
free. The Devil unable yet to corrupt them morally, turns in a
fury of frustration to destroy them physically. Two years ago
a child was found dead with its hands over its face and no mark
of injury on its body. It was not wearing a phylactery and [251]
nobody doubts that this was the work of the Devil. A young 776
shepherd sleeping on a hillside awoke to see a Sarakatsanos 784
with a mule approaching him from a precipice where no man
or animal could pass. There was a moon and he saw that the
man's face was black. He said he was Michael Raftis but the
shepherd knew he was the Devil. Fortunately he was using

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλθ'

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man to maintain it. God and the Devil fight a pitiless and 776
continuing battle for the souls of men in which the three 771
elements are the grace of God, the cunning and subtlety of the Devil, and the will of man.

The Sarakatsani consider man's nature to be a trichotomy 828
of spirit (πνεῦμα), soul (ψυχή) and body (χορμί, σῶμα). Although 774
the views of different informants are not always clear about 771
these conceptions (for instance some people see no difference between spirit and soul) nevertheless certain simple assumptions appear to be generally accepted. Spirit and soul together form a union with the body, yet between the first two elements and the last there is a degree of tension. The body is a product of material and sexual generation and is only redeemed when it is informed by a nobility of spirit and soul. Conversely, when the spirit and soul are dependent on the values and passions of the body, honour is lost and communion with God is interrupted. Spirit refers to the intellect plus the conscience (συνείδηση). Its natural inclination is to prompt a man's will (θέληση) to lead his soul upwards to God. It is associated in a man's mind with the [776]
Holy Spirit (Ἅγιο Πνεῦμα) whose nature is imperfectly understood as some divine energy. Evil befalls where for one reason or another the power of a man's spirit is not guiding his actions. Of a Sarakatsanos who shot his brother accidentally while cleaning a pistol it was said that 'his spirit was not concentrated'. And it was added, 'the Devil pulled the trigger'. The soul is the divine element in the individual human personality. Perhaps spirit and soul are the active and substantive aspects of the same thing. Both tend in an upward direction, but if the individual as a total personality does not incline his will towards God they become corrupted by their union with merely material things; and this is the end sought by the Devil.

It may be added that where a high value is given to the 828
related notions of honour, strength, and manliness, the body 771
cannot be considered as evil in itself,[8] but only under the aspect of its subjection to sensual passion. Man, then, who is by nature noble, normally moves towards a closer communion with God but is held back partly by the sinful condition of the world

[8] In this connexion it is interesting to note that the dualist Bogomil heresy made little headway in Greece.

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[835] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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182 refraction of Orthodox dogma and practice, yet the value of
577 the Christian ideal of the fellowship of all men in Christ, with
771 the universalistic ethical values that follow from it, is not to be avoided. How is this opposition of values resolved or accommodated?

182 There is no great problem of fellowship between Sarakatsani
577 who are related by kinship or marriage. By associating The
771 Father, The Son, and the Mother of God in a Holy archetype
602 Family, the institutions and relationships of the Sarakatsan family, even the concept of honour and the duty to defend it, are given a categorical quality and a divine sanction; and by extension kindred and affinal bonds receive a similar validation. It is true that even within this restricted circle certain Christian values cannot enjoy a general application. Modesty, meekness, humility are values only admirable in women. Some Christian prescriptions have to be entirely set aside. One cannot forgive a kinsman who has betrayed his trust, at least
[235] not until he is dead. And one avoids the company of a kinsman who is despised for his poverty; the poor are not blessed. Yet love (ἀγάπη), mutual trust, truth, and altruism are important Christian virtues which are the ideal values of family and kinship life. Men would extend the circle of their application if they could, but the conditions of life in a fallen world prevent this, particularly limited resources, the divinely sanctioned honour and interests of a man's own family, the condition of envy.

182 Yet in their commitment to the concept of honour as the
577 guiding principle of behaviour, the Sarakatsani cannot admit
771 themselves to be anything but noble; and this must be said not
783 only of the soul but the body also, for honour is related to
828 physical strength and manliness when this is disciplined and spiritualized. The original guilt for sin must be placed elsewhere. This is the role of the Devil. Sensuality was the sin of Adam but only after the sin had been thought of and presented to him by the Devil with the assistance of woman. Envy, the more fundamental sin, was originally the cause of the Devil's rebellion against God. 'The Devil envied God' (ὁ διάβολος ζήλεψε τὸν Θεό), the Sarakatsani say. In this way the Sarakatsani avoid personal guilt for their own implication in these sins. Even in the case of personal sins for which individual

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guilt is admitted, Sarakatsani would say that the fault of the man was in the act of turning away from God, not in the sin itself. For without the grace of God he cannot resist the Devil who then leads his victim to the sin he has chosen for him. 182 577 771 783 828

However, just as children inherit responsibility for the sins of their parents, the responsibility for the sins of Adam cannot be avoided. The condition of sin in which a man lives, although it is exterior to his individual will, interrupts his communion with God on which life and honour depend. It is in this situation that Christ comes to save men, pouring out the sacrifice of his blood to reunite man with God, a salvation, however, which is contingent on man freely turning from the Devil towards God. In a certain sense, then, these forms of sin are a kind of pollution, for which the Devil is originally guilty and responsible, and from which Christ is the saviour. But this analogy must not be pressed too far. This salvation requires moral action on the side of man. In his daily life he must struggle to discipline sensuality and he must avoid the ultimate consequences of envy. For, the fact that all earthly families are imperfect copies of a divine archetype places a limit on the amoral ruthlessness that unrelated men may show towards one another in circumstances where such conduct seriously and unnecessarily endangers the existence of another family. And at certain periods of religious celebration, such as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of Assumption, the sins of Adam must be altogether suppressed through universal continence, goodwill, and the symbolic sharing of food.

Although it is clear that the values of honour are not what they are for any influence of Christian ideals, it would be wrong to suggest, as it has sometimes been said, that Christianity is almost entirely external to Sarakatsan life. Not only are the Sarakatsani deeply conscious of their total dependence on God, whether in the person of The Father or The Saviour, but the family is seen as an image of the Holy Family, and Christian values are the basis of relationships between kinsmen and affines, the people with whom, after all, a man lives and works. And at religious festivals men succeed, momentarily, in living the ideal of a universal brotherhood in Christ. And although, in the periods of profane living which separate these moments of transcendence, men must admire the shrewd and scheming 182 577 771 454

3: Kabbadias

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[For a theoretical discussion of the inter-relationship of myth and knowledge, see Category 121 (or Category 116, pp. 416-423).]

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776 Sarakatsani do not give a detailed description, are only nominally fused with the Satan of Christian tradition. These are the saïtanarei; they harm men, but they do not lead them into temptation. Others, such as the kalikantzari, which we have already mentioned, rather ressemble practical jokers. Finally, the Daoutis, a dreadful spirit, attacks the flocks and exterminates them.

776 823 The saïtanarei usually frequent caverns, precipices, mountain passes, the crossings of roads and footpaths, thoroughfares, fig trees and nut trees, the places where the flocks take salt. In crossing the mountain one sometimes sees "bell holes," as they are called by the Sarakatsani, deep hollows /265/ in the bare rock in the shape of inverted bells; these resound with the cries and roars of these spirits. One must at all costs avoid passing near these holes. For the same reason, one must avoid sleeping on the [828] passes. "If you fall asleep there," the Sarakatsani say, "you will have 776 terrible nightmares." One must also beware of passing through the small 821 tornadoes of summer. The wind which rises in the form of a column of dust and dead leaves shows that a flock of demons is performing a circular [753] dance. The bold one who approaches it will most certainly be stricken with headaches and vertigo. (42) Analogous dangers and even serious illnesses, 776 753 824 indeed incurable illnesses, lie in wait for the one who falls asleep under a fig tree or a walnut tree. (43)

42. Probably because of the circular movement.

43. Obviously because of the aromatic volatile oils (essences) which their leaves contain and which the sleeper inhales. The dangers that come from tornadoes and trees are mythically represented by the Sarakatsani.

776 [824] These trees are regarded as being inhabited by supernatural beings.

However, it is not always easy to avoid encountering these demons. [487] The passes are obligatory crossings in the mountains, and the haunted cross- [751] roads and footpaths are not avoidable. Thus, in order to protect themselves [263] against ill effects from these encounters, the Sarakatsani always carry with [783]

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751 them salt (44) and incense. (45)
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44. Because of its preservative properties which analogously act as a curative in numerous cases.

45. Incense is a means of purification.

Ἰωαννίου Μάρτυρος: Πρὸς Τρόφιμον, M.P.G. 6, 667.

828 A young man told us that during his military service he suffered from
263 nightmares. He therefore put a little salt in his pocket and got rid
755 of them. Carsten Hoeg, for his part, (46)

776 46. Ibid., vol. II.

783 has recorded an account according to which the monks of a monastery one
789 day caught a demon that was hiding in the church. They shut doors and windows tight and burned much incense. The demon suffocated.

776 However, these practices are not the only ones. There are others.
787 The following account is very significant:

A young shepherd had left his flock in order to steal some bunches of grapes in the vicinity. Coming back he heard violins that were invisible and could not be accounted for, the melody from which rose up in the nearby ravines and gorges. The shepherd hurridly departed. But as he approached a bridge thrown over a torrent he saw a donkey stretched out in the middle and very near it a cat that circled it and seemed to stand guard over the
[825] sleeping donkey. /266/ Our shepherd immediately understood that these were two demons metamorphosed as donkey and cat (the shapes they prefer).
[411] Thereupon, drawing out his pistol, he fired a shot by pressing the trigger with the fingers of his left hand. Immediately, the cat vanished in the air while the donkey got up, took several steps and exploded with a noise of thunder.

776 There are numerous conclusions that one may draw from this account. The apparition of supernatural beings is accompanied by mysterious music. (47)

47. See farther on, the case of fairies.

[772] The demons may take the shape of an animal and belong to the "left side," or accursed side, of the world which is in two parts the right being

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754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are 789 evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 108. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/352 cont./

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(153)

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE NATURE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF MEN AND ANIMALS.

This knowledge has its source in the observation of nature and of life, in experience and in reasoning based on common sense. Knowledge thus takes shape which accumulates in the course of time and is transmitted by tradition from one generation to the other.

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We are not unaware that, according to certain theorists, technology is not founded on true knowledge, for the "primitive" does not conceptualize reality, and causality /353/ is foreign to him. (2)

2. See G. Davey: Sociologues d'hier..., p. 228 f., presenting theories of L. Lévy-Bruhl: La mentalité primitive pp. 93 and 350-351, who says that technology is intuition and instinct, action for a particular occasion.--D'Espinas: Origines de la technologie, p. 47, asserting that the tool is an extension of the worker's limbs and that he never thinks of its effectiveness.--L. Brunschvicg: L'expérience humaine et la causalité physique, p. 92, proposing that the non-civilized order (hunting, fishing, herding, manufacture) without being able to conclude that this confidence is actually an outcropping of his consciousness.--Goldenweiser: Early civilisation /cited in English/, pp. 406-407 who speaks of an independence of technical progress in relation to intellectual progress. For him, the logic of technology is a logic of nature, unconsciously imposed on the human mind by action.

But none of these theories seems to us acceptable, and not only in the Sarakatsani case, but for all human culture. From the moment man intervenes and acts on matter by transforming it according to his own wishes to useful ends andon the basis of physical properties, it is impossible

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It is believed by the Sarakatsani that the interests of unrelated families are opposed and, indeed, mutually destructive. The local gathering of families which in summer happen to graze the pastures and enjoy citizenship rights of the same village, has little cohesion as a group except when on a rare occasion, such as a village festival, it breaks into brief and violent opposition to the villagers; and it has no organization beyond the ephemeral political combinations which appear at the time of local village elections. The idea of the total community is, of course, important; it represents a way of life in opposition to the ways of peasants, merchants, and bureaucrats. But the community, too, lacks any structure of authority or effective organization; and, in part, for the same reasons, that is to say the solidarity, exclusiveness, and mutual opposition of the families which form it.

While it is true that the total community (or the local gathering of families as a segment of it) is not an organized social group, it nevertheless defines a social space within which values are shared and the conduct of men and women is evaluated by other Sarakatsani. These values concern, especially, right ways of acting in family and kinship roles and the sex-linked moral characteristics which a man or woman ought to exhibit when he, or she, stands forward as the protagonist of the family and the guardian of its honour. Such evaluations imply a hierarchy of prestige. And it is precisely through mutual competition in terms of strength, wealth, and a reputation for honour, that the opposed families, and groups of related families, are associated with one another in a coherent and regular manner.

To these general features of the community it is necessary to add a brief consideration of particular geographical and historical factors which help to explain the presence of the Sarakatsani in the Zagori. Geographically Zagori is the western flank of the Pindus range immediately north of the approaches to the Metsovo pass, which forms its southern boundary; the mountain Mitsikeli is its western limit, and the sweep of the river Aóös contains it from the east and the north. The ridges of the Pindus, which effectively separate the eastern and western coastal plains of continental Greece, run in a north-west to south-east direction. The vast pressures which created these folds came from the east so that the escarpments present extremely abrupt

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slaughter, the intrigues of others with merchants and officials, 612
which often vitally affect his own affairs, the ever pressing prob- 203
lem of where winter pasture is to be found, this is the kind of information a man exchanges with his kinsman or, more rarely, with a close and trusted affine.

Kinsmen are indispensable in the delicate negotiations of 612
'match-making'. Before a girl is sought in marriage, very care- 584
ful inquiries have to be made concerning her virtue, industry, health, and temperament. A kinsman who lives near the girl's family will be in a position to give accurate details; his information will be trusted, and he will treat the affair with the discretion it demands. For marriage involves a contract between [581]
two hostile groups, and offence, given or received by either [579]
side, is a question of honour and may lead to violence and killing.

I have introduced the notion that the opposed families of 571
this fragmented community are related through competition 577
for prestige. Certainly, it is impossible to miss the competitive flavour of social life outside the home. Men care passionately about their prestige, the prestige of their families, and of their kinsmen. Indeed all these reputations are parts of a single complex. And in a paradoxical fashion they depend upon the opinions of enemies. Whenever there is some incident or affray, [203]
the news of it travels with remarkable rapidity to all quarters of the Zagori. Within a matter of forty-eight hours small groups of Sarakatsani throughout the area will be passing judgement on the behaviour of the people involved, as this is evaluated according to the values of the community. They will analyse minutely what a man is reported to have said and done, and they will decide whether he was justified in what he did and whether he displayed manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in defending his honour. In such discussions a man's kinsmen will take his 579
side, acting as advocates and apologists for his behaviour. 612
Furthermore, the mere numerical size of a man's kindred is a matter of prestige, because, other things being equal, it means that he is a man who will be taken notice of, assisted, and well-informed wherever he goes. In discussing kinship the Sara- 612
katsani often say, 'Nobody takes account of a man without 829
kinsmen'. They use, in this context, a word, λογαριάζω, which expresses both the idea of esteeming another man and of

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612 829 being obliged to take him into consideration before proceeding to some course of action.

612 Consultation between trusted kinsmen about their various affairs is continual. The enterprise itself may be of almost any kind, the marriage of a son or daughter, a decision whether or not to sell sheep to raise money for the payment of a debt, or the acceptance or non-acceptance of an offer of winter pasture. Similarly, when a man is involved in some crisis, a fight with another shepherd, a brawl at a marriage feast, or a difficult court case, kinsmen come to him of their own accord with advice and criticism. In this way he learns which courses of action will enjoy the moral support of his kin and which will 612 not. And since a man loses prestige if his kinsman acts wrongly, 558 he will always exhort him to an honourable course of action however difficult the circumstances. For his part, the principal actor is influenced by the fear of losing the support of his kinsmen, as he may do if he takes decisions which lose him prestige. His kinsmen can then only protect their own prestige by isolating themselves to a greater or lesser degree from social contact [626] with him. Consequently this consultation between kinsmen is not only to a man's advantage in terms of his own prestige, but it is also a subtle sanction for right ways of acting in the community as a whole.

612 In economic matters, too, a shepherd looks to his kinsmen 476 for help and co-operation. Quite apart from the deep distrust which divides unrelated persons, shame prevents a man from seeking assistance outside the kindred, since this would be a tacit admission that he had been rejected by his own kinsmen. Thus [426] sentiment and convention lead in the same direction. A shepherd lives from one monetary crisis to another. When he needs a small money loan for an operation fee at a Jannina hospital or for the expenses of a wedding, he is often unable to persuade a merchant to grant him an additional advance; but he seldom fails to raise it from his kinsmen if they have the money in 612 hand. Economic co-operation may take other forms. The con- 476 dition of the family's flocks is not only the basis of its physical 233 existence but the source of pride and prestige. A man fears to meet the appraising eyes of another if his animals are in a meagre and spindle-shanked condition. But grazing, both in the Zagori and in the winter pastures, varies considerably from

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611 determines status, categorical rights and obligations, and mem-
612 bership in the family group, which is the only solidary kin grouping in this system of kinship and marriage. Hence in a description of the Sarakatsan kindred it seems preferable not to speak, even loosely, of any principle of descent.[11]

It is true that the kindred of any man includes the descendants of four pairs of great-grandparents. It is, therefore, possible to represent the kindred diagrammatically as four interlock-
[P29] ing pyramids of cognatic descent. But this kind of abstraction bears no relation to the mental image which a Sarakatsanos forms of his kindred, in which relations are conceived in terms of extension from the family of origin, not descent from a common ancestor. There is mutual affection and moral obligation between my second cousin and myself because my grandparent and his grandparent were siblings rather than because we are both descendants of common great-grandparents. I prefer, then, to speak of equivalent bilateral extension, for this describes precisely the constitution of the kindred. The qualification of bilateral extension by the notion of equivalence is intended to underline both the fact that collateral kinsmen are recognized to the degree of second cousin on either side of the family, and also the equipotential character of matrilateral and patrilateral relationships.

612 The second formal characteristic of the kindred is the definition of its limits, which, in this case, are drawn in a man's own generation at the collateral degree of second cousin, a span of collateral kinship which is calculated by recognizing as kinsmen the descendants of his four grandparents and their siblings. Thereafter, as we have seen, the recognition of collaterals is increasingly restricted in descendant generations. This limitation, considered together with equivalent bilateral extension, leads to a simple process within the kindred whereby the range of collateral relationship which a child may inherit from either
[582] parent is severely delimited. The second cousins of his parent are not, in a formal sense, a man's kinsmen and, therefore, he may marry a kinswoman of this degree.

[113] [11] In some general remarks about the concept of descent in bilateral systems Professor Firth has adopted a similar viewpoint. Raymond Firth (editor), *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London, 1956, p. 15. Cf. also W. H. R. Rivers, *Social Organisation*, London, 1924, p. 86, and G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 15.

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V

COLLATERAL KINSMEN

1. FAVOURS AND OBLIGATIONS

THE Sarakatsani assume that ill-faith, doubt, and suspicion 609 829 characterize the relations of men who are not kinsmen. In contrast, they think that the values and attitudes which [612] [577] make possible the communion of kinsmen are expressed in the meaning of ἐμπιστοσύνη, faith, trust, confidence; or πίστη, faith, belief. It is, then, not surprising that unrelated men very rarely co-operate in the management of their sheep or in any other venture; except, necessarily, the marriages of their children.

The rights and obligations of kinship are of a general and 612 diffuse kind, not restricted to specific situations. A man is confident that a kinsman will keep a secret. He opens his mind to him freely because he knows he will use discretion in what he should pass on and what he must not. He believes the information that a kinsman gives to him, and he uses it as a basis for action without the fear of a lie or a trap. He is confident that when his own conduct is being evaluated by the community his kinsmen will support his case; and for his part he will not suffer in silence the public criticism of any of his kin. Above all, he feels secure and confident that when he is in difficulty there will be people who care for his interests and will give him assistance. These sentiments of confidence and trust are prescribed and follow from the simple existence of the kin relationship; they do not depend on the history of a gradually developing intimacy.

When a Sarakatsanos receives a favour from another, he must 571 show gratitude. 'One good turn deserves another' (ἡ χάρη θέλει 577 ἀντίχαρη). Even if only between the acceptance of some service and its later repayment, gratitude must for a while act as a makeweight in the balance. Not to show gratitude for help, [626] which has been freely given, is behaviour open to severe public reproach. But to be grateful is to be 'obliged' (ὑποχρεωμένος); and this is an admission of inequality and even of weakness. The rare attempts at co-operation between unrelated persons 609 have invariably ended in accusations and counter accusations 578 that one man has done more for the other who, in return, has

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Moreover, the produce of the
619 flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos
609 who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or
578 shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
● 829 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[973] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στὴ λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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the family, and to the reciprocal hostility and distrust that exist between families unrelated by kinship or marriage. In general, there are few circumstances where his own wishes, or public opinion, allow a Sarakatsanos to honour an obligation outside the family at the expense of an obligation within it. Moreover, with the assistance of some kinsmen or affines the economy of each family is generally self-sufficient, and working co-operation between unrelated men is seldom necessary or, indeed, practicable. Families, within the community, compete for social prestige in terms of values which underline the particularist obligations to the family honour. A man's work, affections, and moral obligations are almost exclusively contained within the one small group. The commitment of energy, physical resources, or deep affection to an unrelated person is a kind of betrayal. For these reasons men do not associate, even within the community, on the basis of any universal principle of fair dealing. Nepotism is an obligation not a moral fault; and honour is opposed to the canon of honesty.

Inhibitions against self-seeking conduct are yet more tenuous in the relations of men who do not share the common bonds of community. The Sarakatsanos expects to be exploited by the merchant and ignored by the government official. The bureaucrat or merchant not only stands outside the local community, he is divided from the villager or shepherd by his status as a member of the urban middle class. The shepherd is aware of the ill-concealed contempt of the 'civilized man' (ὁ πολιτισμένος) for country people and their ways; he knows of the official's meagre and insufficient salary, and something of his competitive struggle to win prestige symbols (houses, clothes, cars, radios) which validate the nuances of family status within this urban middle class. He does not believe in the existence of any ethic of professional bureaucratic service to the community. 'They are all "eaters"' (φαγάδες), he says in sweeping condemnation. It is thought that few officials will exert themselves over the affairs of a man of lower social status unless he is offered some inducement. And generally it is believed that concessions and facilities are seldom to be won on a broad front for the whole community but only as exceptional dispensations to favoured families. In these circumstances men consider it useless to conduct their business with the State on the grounds of their general rights as citizens.

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G 648 647 571 As I have already said, from his side a Government official sees no reason why he should assist some illiterate shepherd or villager and many reasons why he should not, such as loss of prestige before his professional colleagues. Like the villager or shepherd he has the same primary and categorical obligation towards his own family and its status. He also owes a loyalty to his service and his colleagues; but this is shown by marking the distance between those who rule and those who are ruled, by the display of arrogance, not service.

G 647 642 [369] There are other, less personal, reasons for the distrust between the bureaucrat and the villager or shepherd. One half of Greece is a society of small village communities dependent on agriculture or pastoralism. To administer and physically control these many discrete communities, and the small towns which serve them, the central Government in Athens has erected a complex and costly bureaucratic organization which links, in the formal sense, the simple village community to the central body which governs and legislates for the nation. This is not a structure which has developed even in part from the villages themselves; it is an organization which has been imposed from above by the Government. Moreover, Greece is not, by European standards, G [651] a rich country. For the greater part of her national history taxation has been almost wholly absorbed in paying for the luxury of maintaining the panoply of a modern state with its full quota of Ministries and portfolios and in supporting substantial armed forces. S [829] Under these conditions, the State (τὸ κράτος) and its agencies must always appear to the villager or shepherd as a body from which he is excluded, something threatening and hostile, which takes away from the family and returns nothing. It stands, therefore, in opposition to the nation (τὸ ἔθνος), the community of Hellenism for which every Greek feels a deep and natural devotion.

S G 571 662 Each family in a village, or in a shepherd community, therefore attempts to establish an exclusive and particular relationship with persons in power. As we have seen, decision or initiative is seldom possible at the lower levels of the Government service because of the reluctance of an official to delegate power. To reach that level at which his affairs can be effectively dealt with, he tries to discover a patron, generally a lawyer, who in return for a man's political allegiance, places his case before

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577 935 he has failed to provide adequately for his children, others must assume a responsibility not to make their humiliating condition worse. If men oppress the very poor of their own community, there is an element of hubris in their conduct that respects neither God nor the family which is His institution.

577 576 In general, where the interests and honour of a family are not affected, every effort ought to be made to avoid giving needless affronts to others. When people pass in hailing distance, conventional greetings must be carefully exchanged. When he is asked for some information which he does not wish to give, or when he is requested to do something which he does not wish to do, a man ought not to reply with a curt negative; rather he should answer in the one case with polite and elaborate evasions, and in the other with a declaration of his willingness to help, balanced by a list of insurmountable difficulties which, nevertheless, he will struggle to overcome. Within the limit of his pride a man ought always to appear sociable and concerned. These prescriptions are not entirely prudential. [828] There is a consciousness of common humanity. Competitive hostilities prevent men from expressing this feeling except in the marginal areas of social life; but to ignore it entirely is not only socially dangerous, but it denies the essential nobility and generosity of man and provokes the anger of God.

577 626 The community, then, places certain bounds on the expression of hostility. They are not very onerous limitations, but clearly there may often exist doubt, in the evaluation of a man's conduct, as to whether he has overstepped the limit of permissible hostility and, thus, has lost his reputation for acting as an honourable man. Inevitably the duty to further family interests, and the limitation on the expression of hostility, conflict in certain circumstances.

156 577 829 Ideally, it is maintained, a man ought to go beyond the negative prescriptions contained in the notion of the honourable man; he ought also to be positively concerned about the interests and honour of an unrelated man, he ought to be φιλότιμος, caring for, or loving, his honour. That is to say he ought to be so intensely concerned about the nobility of his own conduct that he takes into account how his actions affect the honour and prestige of others. It is still an essentially self-regarding attitude, but the acute concern about the purity of

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his own motives spills over into an incidental concern for others. Such a man, it is said, will resist the approaches of a woman even where she clearly wishes to be seduced, and where there is no danger of discovery. He never uses lies or deceit to trick another man, or takes advantage of a situation to make another look foolish. A Sarakatsanos when defending his conduct will often say, 'I am a man who loves honour'. But others will not accept this estimate of self. Φιλότιμος is an epithet never attributed by one Sarakatsanos to another unrelated shepherd, because they believe that the responsibilities which each individual owes to the family group absolutely preclude his acting in this manner. On the other hand, it is not infrequently used to characterize a patron whose protection is effective; for here interests are complementary, not opposed, and in the particular context of the patron-client relationship it is possible for a man of power to appear to be acting in this way towards his client. And, in a condescending sense, it is possible for a patron to admit the same quality in his client.

* * *

Three concepts, 'honour' (τιμή), 'honourable' (τίμιος), and 'loving honour' (φιλότιμος), have now been considered in their relation to the community's evaluation of a man's conduct and its implicit recognition of his prestige. Although τίμιος and φιλότιμος indicate, in different degrees, some concern about other men, all three are essentially self-regarding terms. In each case it is a question of a man attempting to realize a particular ideal pattern of conduct. What interests him is the success of this quest, not the effect of his actions on others.

The quality of being honourable has this in common with honour, that most men are assumed to have it. It is not something which must be competed for, but something which must not be lost. Although there is certainly the need constantly to re-achieve standards of conduct, the emphasis is on the fact that most Sarakatsani have honour, and are honourable, but that individuals, to a greater or less degree, may stray from the path of normative virtue and lose their prestige.

Both the concepts of honour and of the honourable man

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776 escape from the omnipotence of God and the futility of resis-
781 tance, yet his humility is not entirely unconditional.

783 Man is noble but between him and God there is always a barrier of sin. Sarakatsani express this in the idea of 'a weight' (ἕνα βάρος) which depresses the spirit and in a literal sense draws man downwards away from God. The Sarakatsani, however, make a distinction between two kinds of sin, personal sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες μας) and ancestral sin (οἱ ἁμαρτίες τοῦ Ἀδάμ). Both divide man from God but while the individual is wholly responsible for personal sins, he feels little sense of guilt for the other kind of sin which he sees as a pre-existing condition of the world into which he was born.

The sins for which a man is individually responsible fall into three categories. The first includes those acts which are wanton and personal insults to God Himself, acts in which a man shows himself to be impious (ἀσεβής) through a denial or mockery of God. Perjury is the greatest of these; for in this act a man calls upon God to witness the truth of his words, that is, he attempts the impossible task of implicating God as a collabora-
[577] tor in his lie. Although the Sarakatsanos lies as a matter of habit and policy at other times, it is only in situations of great difficulty that he will perjure himself.

783 The second category of personal sins relates to family life,
•829 and especially to certain fundamental and axiomatic attitudes
54 and duties on which the moral solidarity of the family institution is based. The family for the Sarakatsanos is not merely a human and social group, it is a complex of relations divinely instituted and sanctioned by God. On a transcendent and spiritual plane, the Holy Family of God the Father, the Mother of Christ, and Christ the Son, is the archetype for all earthly families. As love, respect, compassion, relate the three Holy Persons, so these qualities ought to regulate the relations of the members of earthly families. Where this is not so there is a condition of
783 sin and God's punishment may be expected. Thus this category of sins includes the unnecessary brutality of fathers towards small children; provoking a premature separation of sons' households; laziness or dereliction of duty which leads a family into serious want; in that sense, gambling or chronic drunkenness; public insult to a parent by a son or daughter; maltreatment of aged parents; striking a parent; physical violence

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

783 828 829 771 [851]

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

777 776 846 [171]

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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who chooses the sin, and sets the scene of temptation in the 776
knowledge that his victory is assured. But the sin by which the 783
man is corrupted is the work of the Devil. Through these modes [829]
of thought the Sarakatsani are able to appreciate themselves
as an essentially noble and God-fearing community struggling
under the limitations of the human condition which, so far as
the physical and political environment is concerned, they are
able to represent as being, in their case, peculiarly severe.

The definitive loss of the soul to the Devil is the basis of 775
the appearance of 'βρυκόλακες', the bodies of dead men and 776
women which return from the grave in a hideous distended
form often to terrify members of their own family. They are
persons whose lives were corrupted in sin, committed suicide,
drowned or were unbaptized; or persons whose bodies were
not guarded by their kinsmen in the period between death and
burial, or whose bodies, although guarded, were leaped over
by a cat. In these various ways, and particularly in the first,
the soul is lost to the Devil. Instead of departing through the
mouth (as some imagine it in the form of a small bird) and
rising to God, it passes through the anus to the Devil. And since
the body and soul, whatever the internal tension between them,
form a unity, the body also falls into the power of the Devil,
remains undissolved in the earth, and possessed by his spirit
emerges from its grave to mock at the sacred institutions of
family life by attacking or terrifying those to whom it owed,
in life, the greatest obligations.

But, in a sense, the envy of men expressed in the belief of 754
the evil eye is the great triumph of the Devil; firstly, because it 776
implies a whole complex of vices including enmity, greed, 783
and deceit; and secondly, because without the Devil requiring
to set any particular temptations almost all Sarakatsani, in their
pursuit of the elusive and competitive ends of prestige with its
mixture of spiritual and material values, are necessarily involved
in this form of sin. They succeed in avoiding individual guilt
for it, but they cannot deny their collective responsibility,
nor can they ignore the existence of the barrier which it
represents between themselves and God. The witchcraft or
sorcery of the evil eye (βασκανία) is recognized by the Church
as one of the Devil's weapons; and there are prayers which
may be read over the victim by the priest. By the Sarakatsani

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577 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person
771 this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another
771 by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of
783 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It
776 requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother-
574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less
771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed
781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter
796 is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from
[829] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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182 leader and accept the need for lies and deceit, the ideal social
577 personality remains the unmarried pallikari, the 'innocent'
771 (ἀθῶος), alone with his sheep, not yet fully implicated in the
156 ancestral sins of sensuality and envy.

182 These beliefs indicate, clearly enough, that the Sarakatsani
578 sense that all is not right with their world, a sentiment that is
776 Christian not heroic. When men quarrel and draw their knives,
771 an event that is the breath of life in an heroic culture, the Sarakatsani say, 'The Devil is dancing in the middle' (χορεύει ὁ διάβολος μέσα). Indeed the Devil is the symbol and the efficient cause of all those many tensions and hostilities which prevent the Sarakatsani from living in the values of Christian fellowship. Not only is he the original cause of the miasma of ancestral sin, the provoker of the evil eye and the tempter to sexual lusts, but in his desire to injure physically where he cannot corrupt morally, his action on the spiritual plane parallels the mutual hostilities and social isolation which each family experiences in social life.

182 When all this is said there remains an opposition between
577 Christian ideals and the values of prestige. Fortunately or
771 otherwise, the Sarakatsani do not see this; partly because the
829 two value systems either appear to be complementary as in family or kindred, or in other areas of social life they are relatively segregated in their incidence; and partly because the individual thinking in egocentric terms cannot see that his own honour, prestige, pride, and self-regard threaten another. It is always the other man, and, behind, the Devil moving and manipulating him, who corrupt society and provoke the anger of God.

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:
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[539]

--O wife! May you have sons
So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more of less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

121 The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it
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593 and make the best of it.
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596 Sarakatsani extended family managed by an elected head as paternal. (49)

[114] 49. This term is used in its ordinary meaning as it refers to the attitude of a father toward his family not in the sense proposed by Durkheim, Ibid., p. 1, footnote by M. Mauss which coincides with the Germanic family. Nor is it the paternal family described by M. Mauss: Manuel, p. 137, in which the wives are strangers to the family and merely produce children.

taking into account the functions and responsibilities of head. It is

[829] very significant that the Sarakatsani themselves, in speaking of the functions of the head of the extended family say "that he is a father for all and that he must perform the same tasks as a real father."

* * * *

These last statements set us somewhat apart from ethnographers who, concerned with this problem, have stated in a general, but it seems to us a superficial, manner that the Sarakatsani extended family is a patriarchal family. (50)

50. See Mme. Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

596 Strict patriarchy, as we have seen, does not exist there. The status and

171 position of its members, chiefly the women and the children, are based on more progressive ideas--ideas which have been expressed for a long time in Greece.

Even Aristotle, in describing the family of the pre-classical epoch, says that the husband is the natural master of the family community, since "nature has denied the women and the child the aptitude to rule."

Therefore the head of the family knows how to adapt his authority in his own interests and exercise power "constitutionally over the wife and monarchically over the children."

/174 / These Aristotelean statements show very well the humanization, so to speak, of the Hellenic family within the framework of the City---

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844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
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14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the
(829) Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

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--During the burial of a Sarakatsani, his wife, weeping, complained:

> Ah! Toward what country will they carry you "the four" (the bearers of the remains) and this black dog who barks? (the priest).

--Another time, a bishop visits a Tséligato and is served a meal. He refuses the bread, alleging that the bread is impure since it is prepared by women who are impure! The vexed Sarakatsani decide, without saying anything, to set a trap for him to test /345/ his sincerity. Shortly before his departure, they send onto the road the most beautiful girl of the Tséligato. At the hour of departure the bishop and the deacon who accompanies him mount their horses and set out. When they come to the girl, the bishop, dazzled by her beauty, calls to the deacon: "Get down from your horse, or would it be better if I dismounted? I think it would be better if I did." And, jumping to the ground, tries immediately to seduce the beauty! At this moment the Sarakatsani hiding all around, make their appearance armed with thorny shrubs, throw themselves on the bishop, shouting: "Hypocrite! You do not eat what you call impure bread because it is prepared by impure women! Then isn't it impure to rape young girls?"

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There is no doubt that these stories reflect the social ideas and social relations developed by the group we are studying and not a hostile or ironic attitude toward religion. People who are constantly struggling hard for their existence connot have a high opinion of individuals who apparently do not struggle, at least as seen from the outside, who earn their living by chanting and from the offerings of the faithful, who speak an esoteric language and who often do not succeed in leading a life in keeping with their teaching and with the things they advocate! The Sarakatsani venerate the priest as a representative or religion, but they criticize the man who hides under his cassock, as do all Hellenes,

/345 cont./

771 who have invented and told similar anecdotes. On the other hand,
186 since the pastures to rent belonged largely to the monasteries, the
177 Sarakatsani found themselves formerly in almost constant antagonism
829 with the clergy against whose demands they were obliged to defend
[429] themselves. It is therefore not at all surprising that they have represented them not very flatteringly and caustically.

771 But we should like to cite a third story, this time of another
539 kind and very significant for our point of view.
177 --One day, a shepherd catches sight of his companions who are
829 about to leave for church in the nearest village to take communion. He turns to them, gives them a vessel used for making yoghurt (a vedhouri) and begs them to ask the priest to fill it with bread and the sacred wine so that he might also take communion, but at home, since his work does not permit him to leave.

Upon their return, the shepherds give him the vedhouri empty, of course, and convey to him the reproaches of the parish priest for his /346/ sacrilege. The next morning, our shepherd goes to the church himself and partakes of communion. Afterwards he puts his crook across his shoulders and tries to go through the door. Of course the crook, very long, hinders him from leaving. The shepherd, pretending to believe that the Holy Virgin is punishing him for his conduct the day before, addresses her and promises that if she will allow him to leave he will make an offering to the church of a goatskin bottle of cheese. But this prayer is ineffective because the crook still remains on the shepherd's shoulders. Then he gets angry, turning around, he strikes with his crook the icon of the Virgin and, crook in hand, leaves the church without hindrance and cries in the most natural way:

> You have to frighten the saints and sometimes
> even strike the Holy Virgin herself!

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771 181 829 Doubtless a Sarakatsani joke about themselves for an ever lively and mocking spirit manifest itself at every turn, but also /an expression of/ detachment with regard to sacred matters, based on the belligerent nature of these nomads resulting from their condition, which allows them effectively to brave men, nature and the supernatural.

* * * *

771 157 781 The Sarakatsani is not a mystic. His undeniable religiosity is not piety, but, according to the famous formula of R. Otto, (20)

20. See R. Otto: Le Sacré, p. 28 f.

it is linked to the mysterium tremendum /great mystery/ and does not emanate from a "pure experience of the sacred" which unites man to the universal creator. He must evoke divine forces, he must engage them [174] by certain manipulations to intervene in favor of such and such a solution, he must be in conformity with the laws of the Church, for a person has a soul and must render an account some day. But being lifted up to the sacred is an idea that does not touch the spirit of the Sarakatsani to whom mystical ecstasy is a psychic state of this kind; thus, the spirit of the Athenians listening on the Areopagus to Saint Paul's sermon made them laugh when the orator began to speak of the resurrection of the dead! Nevertheless, it would be excessive to consider this thought an explanation, since an analysis of this phenomenon in particular has not yet been made. Yet the Sarakatsani, a man of action above all, plunged in insecurity, as /347/ has been emphasized elsewhere, [182] seeks to overcome obstacles by his beliefs and his practices. His religiosity and his attachment to ritual are thus explained up to a certain point by this fact. (21)

771 176 114 21. Madame Hadjimichali, in her work, A. I., p. ρλξ' f., maintains that the Sarakatsani, in their interpretation of Christianity, basically accept only the existence of the

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4. See G. Gurvitch: Ibid., pp. 128-219, /who/ says that technical knowledge is more intuitive than reflective, more symbolic than effective. Now, we do not see the techniques of our herders as based on intuition and symbolism.

we should say that it is rational, reflective and adequate. That is exactly what makes it effective.

KNOWLEDGE PERTAINING TO THE HUMAN ENVIRONMENT AND COLLECTIVE LIFE.

829 Our nomads are conscious of what they are and of the detailed aspects of their life, as their socio-economic organization, their law and their morality well show. They also know that they are
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different from the "others," a fact which justifies their rules of marriage, the prohibition of relations with other nomads, their mistrust of surrounding society--though they are linked to them on the national level.

Observation and experience, and even common sense also nourish these perceptions, the influence of which on individual and collective behavior is certain. Of course, ideological and mythical elements, that we are already familiar with appear here once again, expressed in the opinion that they form of themselves, sublimating /sic: en sublimant/ their qualities and their way of life, which is the best of all, and in their attitudes toward non-Sarakatsani, /which is/ full of contempt, mistrust, suspicion, repugnance (the peasants, prostrate before the Turk, are always ready "to swindle the innocent Sarakatsani"; the Koutsovalaque "smell bad"; literally they are "rotten" /des salauds/; "if you see a Koutsovalaque prepare his grave for him," they say). The internal dynamic of their own group and the relations of their group with others is clearly reflected here.

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Furthermore, the know-how of the men plays a very important role

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829 in their lives. Clever management on the part of the men, especially
562 the heads of families and of the Tséligato, ensures the cohesion of
596 the group and its good functioning.
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On all these points, tradition with its models and its precedents
829 offers a solid and permanent support.

From the systematic point of view, all this knowledge is rational,
811 reflective and adequate. But since this /355/ same knowledge must
562 guide action oriented toward men ("we" or "others"), intuition and symbolism, ideology and myth make their appearance and are strongly felt in their hearts.

* * * *

181 The very fact of the existence of magical manipulations among the
811 Sarakatsani enables us, without resorting to other evaluations, to assess their knowledge of nature, man or animals as limited. Thus a new problem arises, that of the factors that exert an unfavorable influence on knowledge and its development among these herders.

Now, these factors arise from the specific nature of the social framework and the culture of the Sarakatsani. Actually, their social life does not offer any opportunity for knowledge to flower. Among them there are neither groups nor individuals charged or authorized to spend their time advancing it. They do not receive any training in this direction, and they lack educative means. Moreover, they cannot even
177 benefit from the culture of surrounding society because of their migra-
361 tions and their isolation. Finally, they are hostile to any new idea, presumed dangerous insofar as it lacks the guarantee of experience.

121 Furthermore, traditional ideas thwart cognitive advance, but from
811 "within" this time. In order for knowledge to be possible, an adequate and preliminary classification of phenomena is indispensable. For it will give birth to concepts and general modes of operation, (5) which

/392 cont./

121 4. The justification of this statement is the subject matter of the following chapter.

And among conditions it is the specific geographical environment which plays the same role.

Of course, these privileged influences, so to speak, cannot be raised to the rank of a unilateral determinism, of a unilinear causality exerted over the rest. The "whole," let us repeat, is created from dialectical connections that develop simultaneously on all sides.

On the other hand, the influences in question, constituting salient points in the framework of Sarakatsani life, give the latter its peculiar character, in other words, its style.

AN ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

We now have all the indispensable data to try to define the style in which the general configuration of Sarakatsani society and culture is expressed.

105 182 59 [494] [233] Sarakatsani life unfolds within the framework of the extended, patrilocal and quasi-patriarchal family and in associations of families, the Tséligatos. Placed under the authority of a head, its omni-functional and strictly regulated and organized units develop a self-sufficient economic activity based on a symbiosis with the animals (nomadic herding [829] of small livestock). Relying on themselves, the Sarakatsani mistrust the [496] outside and follow a communal regime of internal cooperation. With [791] strict, very traditional customs they conceive of the world /393/ through beliefs arising from the myth of the mother-goddess, but at the same time they practice orthodox Christianity. Their culture, though [181] unique from several points of view, belongs basically to the Mediterranean [71] culture area.

121 182 However, this descriptive definition includes two points on which it

/408 cont./

121 he must show himself courageous and make use of all procedures likely
812 to incline these forces in the desired direction. A dramatic colloquy,
771 but full of nobility and human dignity.

121 However, man must mold himself to the requirements of his
812 environment. A profound dichotomy thereupon enters into the criteria
829 for molding--a dichotomy based on sex. The men, on the one hand, and the
462 women, on the other, must each develop certain skills, aptitudes, virtues, knowledge and beliefs chosen from "the arc of possible behavior." (1)

1. According to the formula of R. Benedict: Echantillons de civilisations, p. 281.--

See also M. Mead: Moeurs et sexualité, p. 268.

121 The following table gives us a concise idea of them:
829 /409/
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TABLE

Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Technical skills.....	Herding, wood crafts.	Building, weaving, housework.
Economic & administrative skills.....	Productions, trade, management of family property, spirit of cooperation, patriarchal type of command, righteousness.	Consumption, spirit of cooperation, obedience control of girls.
Virtues.....	Pride, independence, communal spirit, conformism, traditionalism. Sobriety, austerity. Good family fathers. Warriors.	the same. In addition: chastity, absolute submission to the men. Good mothers of family.
Magico-religious aptitudes.....	Very limited, relating to certain rites as shepherds or males (sexual content of rite).	Almost exclusive protagonists of the magico-religious ritual.

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Faculties to be developed	Men	Women
Knowledge.....	Techniques related to male work. Rudiments of letters.	Techniques reserved to women. Illiterate.
Beliefs.....	Traditional mythology (mother-goddess). Orthodox Christianity.	The same.
Aesthetic aptitudes.....	Storytellers, singers, dancers. Wood sculptors. Flute players.	The same. Embroidery.

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/410/ This table enables us to draw several conclusions.

The choice made by Sarakatsani society among the possible aspects of human behavior, thereafter presented to its members in the form of models of capacities to be acquired, etc., is made in terms of the fundamental ideas or principles ruling its life. A comparison between them and the preceding table suffices to provide an illustration.

The concrete content of each skill, each aptitude, etc., corresponds absolutely to the various categories of socio-cultural works of the Sarakatsani, on all levels of their social life.

The result is that their total social phenomenon is reflected wholly in their psyche. Given, on the one hand, the strong integration of the
[182] Sarakatsani in their society and, on the other hand, the direct and in-
[626] tense social control of individuals, it is clear that their social world is deeply engraved in them.

We thus come to another question: Do the Sarakatsani have the opportunity to develop capacities, virtues, faculties, etc., other than those which have been offered by their society? The study of their
[829] morality and above all their mechanism of dividing people into categories of "honored, not honored and dishonored," on the one hand, and their criteria for appreciating the artist, on the other hand, are very revealing.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [550]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [573]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [855]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [831]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family, 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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him there, drinking and putting on airs. I remembered that 596
his brother Vasili drew blood from my brother. I could not 577
stand it.' The consequences for the other man was a head 598
wound from a broken bottle before the two men were parted 627
and expelled from the wedding. It has to be remembered that fights and brawls in which individuals have the duty of both active and passive solidarity are relatively frequent, but that killings are rare.

The second category of affairs of honour concerns the sexual 596
conduct of women. The family has exclusive rights over the 577
sexual capacities of its women, and in this respect women 831
always remain *in loco filiae*. Here we are concerned not only 684
with external attack as in the spilling of blood, but also, some- 627
times, with treason from within when a daughter or sister betrays her virginity or when a wife voluntarily commits adultery. The will of a woman is vulnerable and her sensuality is evil. She is the weak link in the chain. For this very reason her sexual purity is an appropriate symbol of the family's honour. Its destruction, although itself a dishonourable act, in some way places the destroyer and his family in a position of superiority; for they have demonstrated that the woman is willing to abandon sacred loyalties for the gratification of her sensual feelings by a stranger. In these circumstances vengeance becomes primarily an act of purification. A father (or brother) must first destroy his daughter (or sister) and only afterwards turn his attention to the lover. Similarly, a husband ought first to kill a wife taken in adultery and then the paramour.

If it seems surprising that such violence may occur in a group 596
whose jural and affective solidarity I have been at some pains 577
to stress, this nevertheless seems to be a characteristic of small 627
groups whose solidarity is very intense. In the mutual identification of one member with another, there is no flexibility to contain widely divergent interests. We have seen that brothers, if they cannot reach unanimous decisions, must part company. Similarly, the association of family members demands absolute loyalty; the treachery of one member disrupts the group in such a way that this member's very presence is a denial of the qualities and attitudes on which the harmony of its internal relations depends. The objectionable element must, therefore, be excised. This is the only way in which the family honour can be

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already been examined: homicide, the drawing of blood, verbal insult, seduction, rape, and broken betrothal. 577 571

Honour, then, is a condition of integrity, of being 'untouched' by this kind of attack, insult, or betrayal. The integrity of a family and its equality (at least) of status is recognized when others take care not to give offence in these particular ways. If they do gratuitously commit an outrage against a family, they make it clear that they consider its social existence of no account. In that case, whether the violation is accidental or not, the outraged family must answer at once, and with violence, if its reputation is to survive. [627]

But honour is not only to be considered in terms of the various external situations where it may be lost. The intrinsic principles of honour refer to two sex-linked qualities that distinguish the ideal moral characters of men and women: these are the manliness (ἀνδρισμός) of men, and the sexual shame (ντροπή) of women. With the exception only of persons of the lowest lineage, all Sarakatsani are assumed to possess these qualities 'by nature', although in the fallen condition of this world a reputation for manliness or shame is easily lost. In this sense it is not difficult for a man to move in a direction opposite to the true inclinations of his nature. One aspect of honour, then, is a struggle of self-discipline over cowardice and sensuality, flaws of animal nature that continually threaten to limit the natural nobility of man. 577

In general, the qualities of manliness are obvious and familiar. 'To be a man' the individual must show himself to be courageous and fearless. He must be strong in body and spirit. But there is also a nuance of meaning peculiar to a community where values are agonistic and social reputation is frequently at risk. In these circumstances a man must have boundless self-confidence in his own powers. Where few men owe him more than conditional support, and the great majority none at all, he must rely on himself. Manliness implies not only the condition of being courageous but the ability of a man to do something efficient and effective about the problems and dangers which surround him. For in this complex of values results count for almost everything and intentions for very little.

The physical characteristics of manliness are important. A man must be βαρβᾶτος, that is, well endowed with testicles [P31]
and the strength that is drawn from them.

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβᾶτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen.

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother.

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context.

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is 834
evident. For in this context women are always a potential 562
threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani [535]
of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the 562
management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition 570
is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening con- [521]
versation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffer- 562
ing. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate 571
help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is 831
often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the [523]
male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

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find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding, is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously, need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but complementary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior. The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disciplined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a [831] quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of [554] adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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884 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in
156 the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple
577 singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from
831 guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related;
[581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children,
[554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 It is during these years of early manhood that the community
554 begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, deter-
[302] mines how other people will treat his family. When he is
[411] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess
884 as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to
554 a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to
577 say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds
578 seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts. 156 577 884 831 [885]

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day. 156 884 834 291 [302] [515] [302]

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards. 884 156 577 834 481 [826]

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may 884 156 577 834

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885 828 577 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 596 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 599 554 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 784 [755] But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic techniques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these [784] cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [794] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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156 women do not go
157 out into the world and compete with one another. On the
562 contrary, their activities centre round the hearth where they
[602] ought to co-operate with their kinswomen and, if they are married, with their sisters-in-law and the wives of the husband's brothers. When a woman is said to have self-regard, this generally refers to a touchy and unco-operative attitude with other women in the extended family or co-operating group; it is, then, not a quality for self-congratulation.

156 Conversely, where shame is the fear of failure or criticism
562 that demands a careful modest constrained demeanour, it is said that women have more shame than men. The Sarakatsani
[831] point out that since it is the sexuality of women which provokes men and not the reverse, women have the greater need to be constantly restrained in their thoughts and actions by a sense of sexual shame. Furthermore, since men must battle with one another in the community and show craftiness in their dealings with prominent and useful people outside its boundaries, it is clear that the restrictive régime, which an extreme sense of shame imposes on an individual, is incompatible with the social role of the head of family who must generally assert himself and on occasion for the sake of his family may even be forced into questionable actions. This is not to say that a man does not equally feel shame when he is judged to have failed. It means, rather, that unlike a woman he cannot remain always in a state of shame, in the sense of guarding against imminent failure by a careful restriction of behaviour and movement.

* * *

156 The fear of gossip and ridicule is closely related to the two
626 concepts of self-regard and shame. The prestige of an individual, or a family, is constantly being evaluated and re-evaluated in the community through gossip about personalities and events. To be gossiped about is in most cases to be criticized adversely, and since people enjoy this recreation they laugh at and ridicule the object of their discussion. The knowledge, or the imagining, of this ridicule and laughter is an important element in a man's feelings of shame. For if the outside world judges him to be a failure he has also failed to live up to his own ideal image of himself which depends on success.

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opposition of the sexes. It is consistent with the radical character 156
of this opposition that most virtues are sex-linked. Since the 577
sensuality of sex is a critical flaw in human nature, chastity 562
becomes an important element in honour, around which those [B31]
complementary virtues, the self-assertive qualities of the men, the modest constricted virtues of the women, are organized in defence. At the same time the moral superiority of the male sex in this opposition allows the main burden of the responsibility for original sin to be borne by the woman in a way that does not compromise the inherent nobility of man which is, necessarily, a premise of a system of values based on ideas of honour. And the complementary opposition of the two sexes and their ideal attributes allows the introduction of those quieter feminine virtues of love, modesty, and a disposition to co-operate, without inconsistency in relation to the self-assertive male values, and in the context of inner family life where they are most necessary to express the moral solidarity of the family and support those who face a hostile and competitive world.

The second relevant feature of social structure is the solidarity 156
of the family, and the categorical nature of obligations between 577
its members. This solidarity is both active and passive. Whatever is done or suffered by one member equally affects the 59
honour and shame of the others. No actor stands in isolation without reference to his membership in a family. He carries always a weight of representative responsibility when his actions are observed or even speculated on by others. And, on the other hand, the family is a small group in which there is no security of anonymity when other members fail. In these circumstances, where there is individual responsibility but no certainty of individual justice, important values are variations on the theme of strength and weakness, success and failure. Without self-confidence, prepotence, and skill, a man is 'lost' (χαμένος), morally as well as practically.

The relationships of hostility between families unconnected 577
by ties of kinship or marriage are the third feature of social 578
structure. They are oppositions consistent with a particular form of bilateral kinship system, and the absence of any forms of political or economic co-operation other than those based on relationship or patronage. These potentially destructive

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[787] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[787] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[835] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil. 771 996 996

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of 831 ● 577 884 [771]

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sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

But men are also divided from God and from one another by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brotherhood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps 831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [836] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

585 The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the
521 presence of men, look forward to weddings as
831 their only chances of fun. The talk takes a turn
[562] of hair-raising bawdiness. None of the exciting, comic, or absurd aspects of sex are left unexploited. Rhymes, anecdotes, and reminiscences are eagerly repeated and capped, crone mumbles toothlessly to crone, bantering wives make humorously boastful and teasing comparisons about their married lives, girls listen wide-eyed and agog.
[152] Fits of laughter punctuate this scandalous chat, hands are flung in the air in hilarity, faces are covered in mock shame. All this goes on out of male earshot, while at a distance their husbands and fathers and descendants smile indulgently at this seasonable ribaldry.

585 NIGHTFALL had transformed the scene indoors.
123 Late arrivals and a few indefatigable ones were
[359] still at meat; but the rest, lit now by scattered oil dips, had lapsed into a semitrance of wine and song. Our return with Uncle Petro evoked hospitable cries of greeting and invitation, repeated many times and driven home by a clashing of wine tumblers, to stay the night, as it was so late; or for a week, a month, or a year, or forever, to forget London and take to the huts. Alas, some tiresome fixture in Alexandroupolis next morning compelled us to leave, so, after manifold farewells, we climbed the stairs to pay our respects to the bride in her hushed upper chamber.

The rushlight on a stool cast so dim a light that the group at the end was hard to discern. One of the seated bridesmaids, mown down by her vigil, was fast asleep where she sat; a nudge from her neighbor shook her blinking into line. None of the other tiring women had moved, and the bride had remained frozen for the hours since we had last seen her in the same posture of submission. The faint radiance seemed to have robbed them all of a dimension. Darkly haloed by their own interlocking shadows, they merged with the wall, their black and white figures assuming the aspect of a half-lit fresco, with here and there an earring, a coin, a bracelet, a ring, or a necklace glittering momentarily and dimming again, as the wick rose or fell, like fragments of gilt or isolated gold tesserae in a mosaic. The bride silently bowed in answer to our farewells, miraculously moving among her still hagiographic troop of virgins and martyrs. We tiptoed out.

"Doesn't she ever speak?" I asked Uncle Petro when we were out of doors.

"Not now," he said.

"It's rather sad, during her own wedding."

"Ah! That's the way it is. That's how it should be."

776 spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

825 787 GOOD and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their 782 sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of 262 cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the [825] rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas'* son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these [252] are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking [989] into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

536 The approach to Lent, and especially the Satur- 522 day night and the early hours of the Sunday before 831 Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior [illegible] which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaras*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be baptized. But they are always named at once, and
[775] should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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[p.84 A]

/140 cont./

585 602 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world,"
848 surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that
562 everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her
613 descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure,
602 let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in
the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of
[342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody
sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that
the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the
833 sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the
602 family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the
family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the
newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs
unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the
matter.

597 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework
834 of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions,
831 especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
> [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
> despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
> extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic
rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this),
is not a simple and easy act.

/237 cont./

577 12 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [684] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] [888] [609] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /máquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. . --A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [788] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

[825] [128] If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.,-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΩΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong,"
Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΩΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Ἀρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία Ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 171 (831) character of a sexual symbol because of its connection with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc. According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις». M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς». Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G. Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the rôle of the latter (842) in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινοῦ βίου, τ. VI, p. 248.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

12 842 82 825 823 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion (1116) accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and <u>feliki</u>--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

/257 cont./

the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion

/259 cont./

796 she tries to lead to the hut. Cries, noise and unseemly remarks fill
536 the night. Abruptly the atmosphere changes. The merriment of the wedding turns to mourning. One of the participants is dead. Then they dig his grave, a ditch where they put the deceased, and start to weep in imitation of funeral laments. When the lamentations have ended the deceased comes
[535] out of his grave and, in general rejoicing, they recommence the dancing /which lasts/ until dawn. (33)

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33. The Sarakatsani whom we questioned spoke to us with great reserve about this festival. It is apparently its sexual character which embarrassed them. Madame Hadjimichali gives us a good description of this rite: Ibid., A. I. ρνη'. Similar practices are found almost all over Greece, according to Professor G. Megas: [illegible], the agricultural population, on the last Sunday /260/ of Carnival and on Pure Monday, give real performances simulating the death and resurrection of a young man designed to induce fertility and abundance; on pp. 95-122, in particular, he cites numerous examples found in Thrace, northern Epirus, Thessaly, Thebes, in the Peleponnesus, at Chios, at Skyros, in Crete. He refers also to the description of the festival in the village of Visyi in Thrace given by Richard Dawkins: The modern Carnival in Thrace /cited in English/, pp. 191-206 which leaves no doubt about the origins and the meaning of the festival. On this same point H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 321 f., referring to the work of K.A. Pomaios: Cultes Populaires de Thrace, tells us that one cannot, on the basis of the scenario of the festival, conclude in favor of a survival of a Dionysian ceremony, contrary to Dawkins and Megas. However, he does not doubt (p. 325) its character, "actually bound up with old fertility rites." As far as the Sarakatsani are
796 concerned, they say that the rite of Pure Monday is performed
789

/260 cont./

against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 5-

/260/ Sarakatsani life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the women of the Tsóligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shews that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/321 cont./

789 182 Now it is obvious that magic, acting on these elements, at the same time encourages the structuring of Sarakatsani society, and even more specifically, supports the structure of the various family groups and the Tséligato.

789 182 462 562 796 This influence in the direction of structuring always on the basis of these same elements is exerted in yet another way. The observation of the magical attributes of men and women is very revealing in this respect. We know that women are entrusted with rites dealing with the well-being of the couple, the birth and well-being of the child, family prosperity, the birth of female animals, exorcisms and purifications, and finally the making of amulets. To men is reserved the performance of [776] dramatic scenes on Epiphany and Pure Monday, the dance to turn away evil spirits lying in wait for married couples, the rites to remove the demon Daoutis. We see therefore that, essentially, Sarakatsani magic is the domain of women. If the men are entrusted with some specific rites it [831] is because the dramatic scenes which these involve have a very pronounced sexual character and their performance is incompatible with the state of the women in this patriarchal society dominated by strict and harsh moves. (122)

[291] 122. Let us remember that a woman must avoid every attitude, word or gesture which would attract lust. Her dress, which hides her lines, is evidence of this.

[233] As for the rites to remove Daoutis, the women cannot take part in them and this owing to the nature of circumstances, for the sheepfolds are distant from the dwellings and an attack of this plague necessitaties immediate intervention which therefore devolves upon the shepherds who are present.

789 562 462 233 791 These exceptions confirm the rule, as do /322/ two other facts: it is the women who apply to the richtologos to ask for his exorcisms; and it is they who take care of those animals consecrated to the devil,

/273 cont./

751 used as such far back in Oriental antiquity. The blue ball is a protection
789 against the evil eye. (65) And the wing of the bat makes a man charming
[237]
[832]

65. See above the special section on this subject and the footnotes.

and insures his success in romance. (66)

[171]

66. The use of the bat for magical ends is encountered in several traditional Greek communities (Epirus, Crete, Thrace, etc.), especially to make sure of a person's love. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 230. According to this author, at Kallipolis in Thrace the rejected lover desiring to win the lady of his dreams, cuts the throat of a bat with a gold piece and puts its spinal column beneath the church altar. Success is assured if he manages to touch his beloved with this bone. The same practice existed in Byzantium: M. ΨΕΛΛΟΣ: Ἐπετηρίς, Α, σελ.

[178] It seems that the Sarakatsani amulets testify to the survival of magico-religious beliefs of the east Mediterranean peoples, stored up in their souls in superimposed layers.

789 If Sarakatsani magic has to be very much concerned with children who "perpetuate the race," it must likewise be solicitous of the couple who represent the foundation of society.

789 During the nuptials, at the moment when the groom appears at the
585 dwelling of his fiancée, the latter's mother puts a rope around him. Then she smacks his face and all his attendants dash toward him and smack him also. We must see in this treatment an act that has a double meaning.
[178] First, it is a survival of an ancient rite of flagellation with switches,
[185] aiming at fecundity and abundance. (67)

67. On ritual flagellation see: Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 190.

[176] And also it is a means of warding off the bad spirits and the harmful

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obliga-
593 tions and affections are still entirely contained within his own
596 family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old
[833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and fre-
[513] quency of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for
833 the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which
596 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom
577 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of
[342] his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδρισμός) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

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But with the return of the young shepherd bridegroom to his sheep this co-operative interest in his sexual relations ends. He may continue to sleep with his bride in privacy for one or two months but if he prolongs this period unduly it represents a clear breach in the solidarity of the family. Sexual intercourse becomes now progressively associated not with the proof of manliness, but with conjugal intimacy and solidarity. And in his attempt to maintain his relations with his family of origin unaltered and intact he uses great care to avoid any demonstration of this kind of interest in his bride. Sarakatsan sleeping arrangements are simple. Velenzas, thick woollen carpet-like blankets, are spread on the ground. The Sarakatsanos removes his shoes and his jacket, and another velenza is placed over him. It is the duty of the young bride to place the heavy enveloping velenzas over each member of the family in turn and then to put out the oil lamp before making her way to her husband's side. It is not generally very long before a concert of snores indicates that the family is asleep and it is then possible for the bride and groom under their heavy covering to exchange silent embraces. Silence, of course, is necessary to avoid discovery but in any case the Sarakatsani believe that speech during intercourse is shameful. At first light the bride is first on her feet to blow the embers on the hearth into a blaze and prepare the coffee. With these conventional arrangements it is possible for the physical solidarity of the family to remain relatively unimpaired, and for the bride and groom to enjoy marital intimacy without directly affronting the sensibilities of the husband's family of origin.

However, there is a further complication. Before his marriage the young shepherd returned from the sheep to spend a night at the family hut perhaps once in every three weeks; then he changed his clothes, had the luxury of a night under cover, and heard the family news and gossip. After his marriage he comes openly to the huts more frequently; but he cannot return more than once in every twelve or thirteen days without feeling some embarrassment that he is showing too much interest in a person who is still an interloper in the family circle, and a sense of shame that his sexual desires and intentions must be very evident. He therefore supplements his fortnightly visits with other clandestine meetings. The bride sleeps near the door,

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585 a cold and draughty part of the hut not favoured by more
● 133 senior members of the family. The groom arrives at the huts
596 some time after midnight when the family is asleep, slips into the hut, remains with his young wife for an hour or so and then, well before dawn, is already on his way back to the sheep which may be two or three hours' walking distance away.
[522] Naturally the family are aware that these visits occur. Stories are told about grooms who tripped over milk cans as they entered the pitch dark hut or failed to convince the dogs of their true identity. They are considered to be hysterically funny; perhaps an indication of the ambivalent feelings which this conflict of loyalties provokes.

585 If the newly married shepherd is the eldest son the developing
596 pattern of relations has certain rather specific nuances. The family take an excessive pride in the first bride. They also take some trouble to make her feel at home, although at the same time their sensitivity to the attitude of the groom towards her is greater than in the case of the marriages of younger brothers. This after all is the first intrusion of an outsider into the hitherto exclusive family circle. More importantly the relationship between a father and his eldest son frequently shows signs of strain during this period. A father cannot in accordance with customary right long delay his retirement beyond the time when his eldest son has his first child, for it is an important value of this community that a man who is married and a parent should be the 'master' (νοικοκύρης) in his own household. But after the son's marriage and before the birth of the first child the father insists that he should continue to control the affairs of the extended family while the son is learning under his guidance the elements of his future role. Until the pregnancy of his wife is well established, the irritating uncertainty about the transfer of power, which will confer on him the status and prestige of a family leader in the community, sometimes tempts the son to show a lack of respect* to his father which previously he would not have dared to express so freely.

596 The retirement of the father resolves tensions between proxi-
577 mate generations in the extended family which are considerably aggravated by the influence of the prestige values of the wider

* Such lack of respect, however, is seldom shown in public.

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585 to make the bridal procession the spectacular occasion it must
612 appear if their prestige is to be maintained in the community.
[492] They give this support by their numbers, their own bearing, and the quality of their horses and the coloured woollen saddle-cloths which are draped over the backs of the animals. For whenever the procession passes through or close to a village both Sarakatsani and villagers line the path, to enjoy the spectacle with critical eyes, and to exchange greetings with the
[522] riders. The watchers laugh excitedly and try to draw the riders into an exchange of bawdy quips and jokes, but the horsemen must remain unmoved with upright backs and proud serious faces.

Earlier on the same Sunday morning before the bridal procession sets out on its journey, the bridegroom is prepared for
[302] his ordeal. Seated on a chair outside the door of his hut he is attended by a kinsman with the necessary skill, who cuts his hair, shaves his beard, and trims the moustache. This, like the sewing of the standard, is a part of customary wedding ritual.
[533] The kinsmen gather about the groom and accompanied by the gipsy band sing about the shaving of the bridegroom. From time to time the singing is interrupted by heated debate between the watching kinsmen and the barber as to the style of the hair cutting, the angle of the moustache, and the effectiveness of the shaving. For they fear the appraisal of strangers on the road and the malicious hopes of the bride's kinsmen that the bridegroom will in some way look ridiculous.

585 After the barber has completed his task, two or three of
605 the more senior first cousins with a reputation for worldly
292 knowledge go into the hut to supervise the changing of the bridegroom's clothes (ν'ἀλλάξουν τὸ γαμπρό). The Sarakatsani
[178] have abandoned the traditional kilt and today the prosaic costume of a bridegroom consists of a white shirt buttoned to the neck without a tie, and a blue suit of manufactured cloth.
[754] The cousins help their young kinsman to put on these clothes to
[833] which he is not accustomed and they make certain that he does not change his underclothes; for with these an envious man or woman might affect the sexual potency of the groom by sorcery. As a prophylactic against the same peril they place some steel
585 object in the folds of the shirt tails before he puts it on. As he is
605 dressed, almost like a child, they feed him with various pieces

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related. p34 562 [535]

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles. 562 578 [521]

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it. 562 571 p31 [535]

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562 find in it. A bride, during the last days before her wedding,
602 is kept company by those unmarried kinswomen who live close
831 at hand. They help her in the last feverish preparations of her dowry. The girls sympathize with the bride, but say that they will never leave their homes to submit themselves to a strange man. The bride applauds their decision, and says that she will secrete a knife upon her person and that when the bridegroom comes to her she will castrate him.

521 Unrelated men, when they are gathered together, criticize
562 women in a general way. Wives, it is often said contemptuously,
831 need two things, copulation and beating. But men are not given
577 to obscenity except in oaths, and they do not discuss the intimacies of sexual relations, since these concern their manliness in a very literal sense; moreover, any discussion of a woman's sexual qualities diminishes her honour.

562 The opposition of the two sexes is also reflected in a pattern
599 of sex-linked attributes which are antithetical but comple-
828 mentary. Men are courageous, austere, possess manliness and pride, but lack patience. Women are fearful, lacking in resolution but have greater depths of love; they are sensitive to shame, modest and patient. However, the masculine values transcend this opposition and provide the ideal virtues of the total community. Men must never in any circumstances be too modest or sensitive to shame. But when their family is threatened with violence and outrage, even women will find a pride and courage of heroic quality, and for this they will be honoured.

562 If the female sex is opposed to the male sex, it is also inferior.
828 The Sarakatsani believe that man is a being created by God
783 for the highest and the noblest purposes. Since the Fall there has been a legacy of sin in his constitution yet all in all he remains
[979] noble. The flaws in the human condition are envy and sexuality, for these are the thoughts and desires that particularly have the power to turn men's thoughts away from God and from the struggle to draw closer to Him. Manliness has a physiological basis but it only becomes a true manliness when it is disci-
562 plined and spiritualized. Sexual intercourse, then, is not an
783 unmixed good. It is something which is 'unseemly' or 'out of
833 alignment' (ἀνάποδο). In some way it pollutes (μαγαρίζει). After sleeping with his wife a shepherd ought to wash his hands before milking sheep. A ewe is a 'sacred thing' (ἱερὸ

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the 562
sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. 783
Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition 833
of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important [834]
religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body.

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be 562
in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), 577
but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for 831
shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of 828
sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, [276]
cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these [834]
reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied.

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as 562
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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[955] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and
[794] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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754 776 783 themselves, it is said that a person known to have the evil eye (τὸ κακὸ μάτι), 'has an eye infected by the Devil' (ἔχει τὸ μάτι διαβολεμένο).

754 152 A family attributes the majority of its misfortunes to this evil force. The range of effects attributed to its activity is wide. [825] The diseases of sheep and other animals, almost all childrens' illness and the sickness of adults, especially when it is accompanied by the onset of sudden pains in the body, may all be referred to the evil eye. A woman is anxious if another sees her kneading the dough for her bread; for then, perhaps, it [833] may not rise. The impotence of a bridegroom may be the result of the evil eye of a woman with an unmarried daughter. The force behind this action of the evil eye is the attraction of [554] things which are envied (ζηλευτὰ πράματα). And it is significant that the two things most important for social prestige, children and sheep, are the two things most prone to attack. It is men who are prosperous, or more especially men, in a sense, too prosperous, or lucky, who stand in particular danger. It does not please a man to be told by another that his sheep are [271] in excellent condition. Praise and admiration, it is thought, indicate the desire of the admirer, which is quite possibly unconscious, to possess what is pleasing to his eyes. And since that is not possible, frustration is followed by envy.

754 Since the evil eye may be exercised unconsciously nobody is sure that he may not at some time affect other people, their 751 possessions, or even himself. A common and effective precaution is to spit three times at any creature or thing which excites one's admiration. 'Spit on the child that he may not be bewitched' (φτύς'τὸ παιδὶ νὰ μὴν βασκαθῇ), demands a mother of those looking at her small child. In addition, many substances are used as protective charms in the phylacteries of children, or are tied to the tongues of sheep bells. Some of these operate sympathetically such as garlic, thistle, and pubic hairs. Others like a small wooden cross of boxwood, incense, a cross woven from flowers, or a candle taken from the representation of the tomb during Easter week, are objects with sacred connexions that mediate protective power. But even the magic powers of garlic and other substances exist only by the provision of God.

000 If, despite these precautions, a person (or sheep) is bewitched,

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene: One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

771 /254 cont./
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[171] In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in
[783] practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that
[844] evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period
[825] of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church
[842] before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period
[789] necessary for the celebration of forty services.

771 That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumer-
776 ated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her
178 unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt
177 expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

[171] 20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

842 Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote
776 fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the
771 Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding
177 ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some
178 of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

842 In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incor-
789 porated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

842 There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of con-
777 ception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several
[585] days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close
[833] by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833]

[171] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions. According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/275 cont./

75. Ibid., p. 1103.

233 the shepherds whose flocks are afflicted with this fatal illness must re-
789 frain from eating hot bread, drinking boiled milk, /276/ wearing clothes
784 washed in boiling water, and, last of all, having conjugal relations for forty days.

233 We have verified the foregoing data. According to our own observations,
784 which complement it, it is forbidden for married women to cross the threshold of the strougha. Yet it is advisable that the women carry some
[791] scraps of wool from a ewe of the contaminated flock to the curer, the
[554] richtologos (76)

76. About the richtologos we know only that he is a person (Sarakatsani or peasant) who is acquainted with anti-magic practices and that he derives his knowledge of the science from his predecessor--his master.--He does not represent an organically integrated means in the Sarakatsani social structure. One finds him only rarely among the Sarakatsani or among the peasants. See also p. 322-324.

(diviner), who will do what is necessary (unknown to us) for the recovery of the animals.

233 This complex of prohibition also presupposes transmissibility.
784 Since the woman is a multiplying agent, her presence among the stricken
562 animals will multiply the evil. Moreover, tha married woman is doubly
[831] dangerous: she procreates and she is impure because of her sexual life.
[833] A sexual act will cause the disease to spread. Finally, heat is prohibited,
233 for if the shepherd absorbs it by way of food or boiled clothing, he will
784 transmit it to the flocks whose skin inflammation will grow worse. How-
[374] ever, the visit of the woman and not of men to the richtologos merits our attention for reasons that will be analyzed farther on.

562 We have still to describe the protection against evils coming from
754 men, that is to say, the evil eye, on the one hand, and black magic, on the other.

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[833] [755] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes
[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
783 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/341 cont./
769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoudia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (~~placing the~~ body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoudia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoudia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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233 one another on terms of hostility and reciprocal trespass. Yet
474 even then, if we consider the community as a whole, the direc-
571 tions in which the shepherds of one stani may show active
578 aggression are limited, as also are the form and degree of its expression, simply because a shepherd cannot leave his sheep. And this also makes it possible for unrelated shepherds to feel, but not very often to express, an intensity of hostility for one another that would otherwise reduce a vulnerable community of shepherds to a condition of anarchy if confrontations were more numerous than, in fact, they are.

2. THE SHEPHERDS

825 For the Sarakatsani, sheep and goats, men and women, are
828 important and related oppositions with a moral reference. Sheep are peculiarly God's animals, and their shepherds, made in His image, are essentially noble beings. Women through the particular sensuality of their natures are inherently more likely to have relations with the Devil; and goats were originally the animals of the Devil which Christ captured and tamed for the service of man. It is consistent with these ideas that sheep and shepherds in their respective animal and human worlds display ideal moral characteristics. Sheep are docile, enduring, pure, and intelligent. When the shepherd carries out a small veterinary operation or when the ewe gives birth, the animal suffers
[577] in silence. To match this purity and passive courage shepherds ought to be fearless and devoted guardians, and clean in the
[234] ritual sense. After sexual intercourse a shepherd must carefully
[234] wash his hands before milking sheep and it is generally preferable that the two shepherds of the flock of milking ewes should be unmarried men.

233 Whether or not shepherds require quite the degree of courage
461 that the values of the community insist they do, is open to doubt.
[579] Perhaps devotion, endurance, and a head for heights, would be a more objective assessment. Two experienced shepherds, preferably men between twenty-five and thirty years of age, guard the pregnant or milking ewes. Another young and active shepherd follows the flock of last season's lambs, the 'zigouria'. One or two older but not necessarily intelligent men watch the rams and sterile ewes, the 'sterpha'. Young shepherds before their military service often serve their apprenticeship with the

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [776]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical [841]

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582 marriage takes place. In a united extended family this presents
596 no difficulty; but if wool had to be collected from a number of
583 autonomous households, it would certainly lead to friction be-
[578] tween the wives with reciprocal accusations of sharp practice.
596 Finally, in a large household which has many women the honour
834 of the sister is more efficiently safeguarded. It is not sufficient to have an unmarried brother to take revenge if the sister suffers rape or insult. This is certainly a deterrent, but it does not ensure complete security. It is equally important that whenever a sister goes out on some errand, to gather firewood or carry water, she has a companion to go with her. In the popular mind wells and illicit sexual intercourse are linked together. If a man for any reason wants to see the local girls, he has only to
[312] sit by the well and by and by he will see them all. (The wells used by the Sarakatsani traditionally were never, and today are often not, village wells, but remote mountain springs.) If an unmarried girl goes to the well too frequently alone, the gossips are quick to suggest that her object is to collect something more than a barrel of water. But if she always has a companion, she is protected both from the danger of assault which is probably, in fact, remote, and from the danger of slander which is much more real.

596 For these reasons, then, brothers do not divide the extended
594 household until all the sisters are married. Afterwards, the brothers are free to complete their own marriages and separate their households in the manner that has been described. Each is now the leader of an autonomous family. But when the division of the joint household occurs with 'good heart', and where there is sufficient grazing, they will normally remain together in a 'company' under the general leadership of the eldest brother. But working operations are now on a basis of strict accounting. Brothers often point out that the relative peace and goodwill which prevails between their wives and children after the division of the extended family household is bought at the price of a hitherto unknown element of calculation in their own relations. This is true. However, they sometimes forget that just before division took place it was often precisely the lack of calculation in their relations that they themselves had been complaining about.

000 In describing the process of development which occurs

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The importance of virginity
is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605 834
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [593]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 765
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 558
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 577
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect, she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'. This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family. The girl, Chrysanthe, is acknowledged to be modest, comely, and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue of the girl Chrysanthe, the fact that she is the daughter of such a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered. Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

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593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
599 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.

[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able[4] protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης). He must at least be able to provide his
[558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skilful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισμός), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open com-
[471] petition. The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

[4] I translate ἱκανὸς as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the 593
family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

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577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But βαρβάτος is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is
831 shame (ντροπή), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the
834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions;
562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is τίμια and τιμημένη, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is ἀδιάντροπη, shameless, and σκύλλα, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (μεταχειρισμένη), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (χαμένη).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

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honour prestige is not possible. But also for those families, which on other grounds have no prestige, honour itself is already lost.

3. THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS

The number of roles which the individual is required or able to assume in this community is limited, and some description of these has already been given in earlier chapters. Whether or not the individual fulfils the more general expectations of his various roles is a further consideration in the assessment of his prestige. Therefore, in this section I shall discuss certain values and qualities which are associated with the different complexes of roles that are appropriate for men and women at various stages of life. These are related to honour and the concepts of manliness and shame but are not always entirely consistent with them.

Together with age, the division of the sexes is the significant discriminating factor in the system of social roles. The two opposed but complementary categories of persons that result from this division provide both a division of labour and a pattern of moral virtues and faults.

The division of labour is unambiguous but not rigid. Some tasks which are normally performed by one sex are carried out by persons of the other sex in an emergency. This does not provoke criticism except where the reversal of roles becomes an established feature of a family's working arrangements. A family which day after day sends a twelve-year-old daughter to herd goats will certainly lose prestige. There are, however, a number of tasks which are never attempted by the other sex. For example, women never milk sheep or use a shepherd's crook; men almost never milk goats. Although men will lift heavy objects to secure them to a mule, they never carry burdens on their backs. However sick or feeble his wife or daughter a man will never help her with the intolerable burden of heavy water barrels. These tasks have become diacritical symbols of the two sexes; and to ignore them is to deny that one possesses the essential qualities of one's sex, manliness or shame.

As we have seen in earlier chapters, companionship and co-operation between people of opposite sex is possible only within the family and the kindred. Outside these limits the sexes (except in the case of the very old and the very young)

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are rigidly segregated, and the categorical opposition is evident. For in this context women are always a potential threat to the honour of men whether the latter are kinsmen or strangers. Thus unrelated persons of opposite sex seldom speak except to exchange a curt and conventional 'good day' if they meet on a narrow path. Although a man calls out a greeting to an unmarried girl, she keeps her eyes on the ground and never replies. At weddings unrelated persons of opposite sex, even though they are members of the same kindred of the bride or the groom, may not speak to one another. On these occasions the two sexes hold their feasting and dancing separately. In recent years at village festivals unrelated Sarakatsani of both sexes sometimes dance in the same ring but a woman is always flanked on both sides by men to whom she is related.

Within the group of related families which co-operate in the management of sheep, there are occasions when this opposition is expressed in accepted attitudes of sexual solidarity. If a number of women are working together on a common task such as the building of a hut, a group of men with nothing better to occupy their time will stand about smoking while they freely criticize their women's craftsmanship, and even revile them for their more general faults of ugliness and cunning. From time to time one of the more senior women will attempt some reply. 'Men', she calls out, 'are lazy good-for-nothings who do nothing but talk.' These exchanges begin in tones of banter but sometimes, in the later stages, they find sharp edges. In family life a favourite topic of evening conversation is a debate on the relative contributions and sacrifices which are made by the men and the women of the family for its well-being and security. This kind of talk is good-humoured but serves to draw out and emphasize what is expected of male and female roles.

Women face a hard and merciless routine of work and suffering. *Camaraderie* and the consciousness of a common fate help them to face it. This aspect of the solidarity of women is often expressed in the frequent discussion among those related by kinship or marriage of their common subjection to men in sexual activity. There is a great deal of bawdy reference to the male sex organs, and women constantly speak of their dislike of sexual intercourse and the absence of physical pleasure they find in it.

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πρᾶμα), and παρμάρα, a disease which attacks the udder of the sheep, is often attributed to the omission of this precaution. Another illustration of this idea of pollution is the prohibition of sexual intercourse on the eve, or the day, of an important religious festival. Sexual activity is necessary in that it produces children, who are God's children, but evil in that some sensuality is unavoidable. It must be performed in the utmost secrecy, without speech, and the woman must remain motionless and passive. It is thought shameful for a husband to gaze on his wife's body. 562 783 833 [834]

In this situation, where man is noble (as indeed he must be in a system of values that puts stress upon the concept of honour), but where certain aspects of his propagation are matters for shame, the discomfort of inconsistency is avoided in a kind of sexual dualism. If man is nearly all nobility, a natural predisposition to evil (κακία) is the most striking feature of the female character. She is above all cunning, especially in the sense that her cunning involves the corruption of another, that is the man. She is a constant threat to his honour. Πονηρός, cunning, is typically the adjective which also describes the Devil, and the Sarakatsani believe that the Devil has a hold over women who are his peculiar emissaries dispatched to provoke men's hearts with sexual passions. Thus the whole burden of the shame of sexual relations is shifted on to the female sex. Since her powers of sexual attraction are of this supernatural order, man, in general, is unable to resist them. It is simply the quality in a woman of being a woman which inflames the man. She may lure him to disaster without even a glance or a gesture. Once he advances on her she has not the strength to resist him. In the Sarakatsan view, the power of woman's sexuality, the weakness of her will, and the physical strength of a man, are the important factors involved in sexual activity. It is for these reasons that the individual woman is expected by her kinsmen to have 'shame', in the sense that in speech, gesture, attitude, and dress, she must, as far as possible, cloak the existence of this sexuality. For the same reasons the family watches over its women with the greatest care; especially in the case of an unmarried girl anxious eyes follow her if she must go to the well or collect firewood unaccompanied. 562 577 831 828 [276] [834]

These beliefs about the sexes are accepted by the women as 562 828

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week, and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of
others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that
causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a
greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often
through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The
[79] attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with
these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only
twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the
feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings
which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they
do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age
[561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect
[288] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought
to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving
cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the
public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested
[584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-
katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or
through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way
to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her
vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that
she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be
as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,
if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.
A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her
public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in
the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I
have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express
exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.
Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to
move about more freely and with less supervision. She must
appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).
It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife
of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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783 holds any real terror for the Sarakatsanos, but rather the
784 spiritual death which precedes physical death. For sin interrupts
771 the communion between man and God on whose provision and protection a man and his family are, in the final analysis, entirely dependent. The consistency between this view of divine punishment and the system of prestige values is clear enough. In both cases it is the events of this life, and this world, which are significant.

783 But the Sarakatsani do not expect to be punished individu-
577 ally in the same way for ancestral sin. For this kind of sin refers to the general human condition not to individual transgression of particular interdictions. The two sins they particularly include under this rubric are sensuality and envy. Both are conditions which imply an attachment to material things which leads man away from God. And it is equally inevitable that every man must succumb, in some degree, to both these sins. However, the attitude to sensuality and envy is not precisely the same. The consequences of sensuality, as we have seen elsewhere, destroy the integrity and honour of the family. Sensuality is a condition which constantly threatens to undermine this institution from within. It must, therefore, be disciplined by all the strength and will of each man and woman.
[828] But unlike the protestant puritan who attempts to win his battle by destroying sensuality itself, and feels individually responsible and guilty when he fails, the Sarakatsanos accepts that sensuality is part of the human condition, but that he must struggle to contain and discipline it. The important
[834] restraints are essentially external. Unmarried men and women who are not kinsmen or affines have few legitimate opportunities to meet, and none to speak to one another. The unmarried daughter seldom goes to the well alone, and when she passes a man on the path she lowers her eyes. It is a tight prudential control, collectively exercised. For, as the Sarakatsani say, 'If you put your hand in the fire, it gets burnt'. A man of God may win an individual and inward control over the condition of sensuality, but ordinary men need the help of kinsmen and the support of institutions in the unequal fight. Sensuality is part of ancestral sin and as such a man or woman does not feel individually guilty for its existence. But it remains a threat to honour. And in this respect the struggle to control it is so

848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a [352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on 513 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- [1535] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- 122 aneled. If he should die on the road — and the [155] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for 554 his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women 761 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/237 cont./

577 121 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

* * * *

597 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [834] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. I. the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] [888] [609] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward

/238 cont./
elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we

~/335 cont./

128 764 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

[602] At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 593 604 [605] When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun. If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife is added to the persons just metioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 834 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 [589] Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

[171] 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.

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The importance of virginity
is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes 605
amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred 834
is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold
conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do [582]
not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-
five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, 605
and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kin- 835
dred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social
relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own
sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own genera-
tion with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is [583]
very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical
obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With
female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar
manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and
bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite
sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is ex-
pressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinch-
ing. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite
sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the
margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also
almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a
boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently
greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form
of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his
head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke.
In this context teasing is a social convention which permits
a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet
absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily
rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises
under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the
only female company of his own age that he is permitted to
enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and
secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and
trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only 572
heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the 605
family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this com- 612
munity true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends
are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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612 'Why is the wound in your eye so deep? Because my kinsman
578 gouged it out' (γιατί'ν'τὸ μάτι σου βαθειὰ βγαλμένο; — γιατί μοῦ
539 τό'βγαλε δικός), expresses precisely this difference.

612 Between kinsmen who co-operate in a 'company' for the co-
474 management of their flocks it is almost inevitable that from time
578 to time differing interests produce a coolness in their relations. Yet it is remarkable how seldom these frictions develop into the kind of quarrel which causes an irreparable breach. A stern self-control is maintained by these kinsmen on their injured feelings because they know that they depend on each other's assistance in the struggle to survive the hazards, natural and political, which surround them. However, any form of dishonesty in their co-operative handling of the flocks destroys the
[685] basis of their association. Recently a cousin who was herding his sheep with a 'company' of married brothers was discovered during the lambing season in the act of trying to attach a number of his kinsmen's newly born ewe lambs to his own ewes, and his own male lambs to the ewes which he had robbed. Inevitably, after such an incident, the trust between these kinsmen was permanently broken.

835 Incest (αἱμομιξία) represents the most dramatic form of decep-
612 tion that one kinsman can practise on another. Unmarried
605 cousins of opposite sex enjoy an easy, friendly companionship with one another which they are denied with unrelated persons. Very occasionally a youth succumbs to the temptation of sexual experiments with a young kinswoman, an act in which he may destroy both the girl's honour and his own. It seems most unlikely that these affairs, if protracted, can ever remain secret in a community where there are so many questioning eyes. Over
835 a period of ten years I discovered three probable instances, of
605 which one was incest between first cousins. In this case a youth
558 was staying in his uncle's house and there, it seems, seduced the unmarried daughter. The cousin had left his uncle's house before it became apparent that the girl was pregnant, and he naturally denied from a distance that he had had any hand in the matter. The girl for her part claimed that she had been impregnated by divine, not human, means, but little attention was paid to this suggestion. The girl's family did not take any drastic action
[684] in the matter beyond disposing of the child when it was born. The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two

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The girl herself was allowed to live; and in fact, a year or two later was married off to a poor widower who extracted a considerable dowry in consideration of her blemished history. Although the girl had an unmarried brother no action was ever taken against the alleged seducer. The family claimed that it would not be right to kill a first cousin (any more than a brother) whatever the crime committed, and there are those who agree that there was some force in this argument. But there are others who do not hold this view and believe that the family made a virtue of a dishonourable preference. In any case the family emerged from this affair with its honour destroyed. Needless to say, all forms of social intercourse have ceased between the kinsmen concerned. This involved the destruction of the relationship between the brothers who were the heads of the two families. Incest between first cousins is a sin, for the same blood turns in upon itself in the pollution of sexual intercourse. It is something which goes against nature and something also which inevitably wrecks the whole scheme of kinship relations.

684 605 583 558 835 605

Sexual intercourse between second cousins is still described as incest but it cannot be said in quite the same way that it is an act which goes against nature. Second cousins are kinsmen but they are, also, nearly 'strangers'. Men know that in the towns the Church, from time to time, solemnizes marriages between second cousins, and that in two notorious instances in recent years such marriages have even been contracted by Sarakatsani. But so far as premarital sex relations are concerned the choice here lies between calling them incest or fornication. Whichever term is chosen to describe the liaison, it is less an unnatural sin than conduct of the deepest dishonour. As one man put it with ironic scorn, 'It would be better to marry your own sister' (καλλίτερα νὰ στεφανωθῆς τὴν ἀδερφή σου). But although an illicit affair between second cousins is serious enough, for it inevitably destroys the girl's honour and the relationship between the two parents who are first cousins, it does not have quite the same catastrophic consequences for family and kindred relationships as incest between first cousins.

[582] [558]

It is clear, then, that where there is a flagrant breach of the norms of kinship, the relationship is annulled. The trust which is the basis of kinship relations is an axiomatic value in Sarakatsan life which is never questioned. From the injured kinsman's point of view there can be no extenuating circumstances which

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [684]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

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bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

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828 in which he lives, and sometimes more seriously by the turning
771 of his free will away from God. God will come to a man's aid when he asks for it with a 'good heart', but he cannot enter the struggle unless a man wills it. It is upon this contingency that the Devil's opportunity and power depend.

776 The Sarakatsani believe that if a man is willing to deny
787 Christ and surrender his soul to the Devil almost any material favour is obtainable, poor men gain power and wealth, and sterile women have children. The Devil keeps a ledger in which these contracts are signed in blood. This is a somewhat melodramatic image of the general belief that any sudden or extraordinary material success can only be the result of communion with the Devil. In the world as it is, occasional dealings with the Evil One may be unavoidable, but too close a communion represents the surrender of the soul.

776 Similarly, sexual temptation by the Devil is expressed in
831 the belief that the Devil is able to have sexual intercourse with women in their sleep and that ladies of good luck, who are peculiarly beautiful even if their hair is sometimes in the form of
[287] snakes, try to entice lonely shepherds into 'marriage'. These, generally, are the explanations accepted for erotic dreams in either sex.

776 One of the Devil's chief concerns is to corrupt those relation-
596 ships of kinship and marriage which are instituted by God. His success is, of course, more likely where there are inherent strains, particularly between the wives of brothers still living in an extended family, and sometimes between the brothers
[287] themselves. When a man attacked and nearly strangled his brother, his kinsmen said, 'The Devil has entered into him' (μπῆκε ὁ διάβολος μέσα) and they meant this in a quite literal
[833] sense. When the shepherds hear of a case of father-daughter incest among the villagers of Thesprotia, they only understand this enormity as a plot of the Devil.

776 It must be emphasized that the sins into which a man is led
783 by the Devil's temptation always possess a certain reference to external agency. If a man has sinned in a way not easily understandable it is said, 'The Devil pushed him' (τὸν ἔσπρωξε ὁ διάβολος). A man, by not placing his whole trust in God, inclines his desires towards material and sensual attachments. He is, then, as it were, physically unable to resist the Devil

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605 a wide circle of kin. It is entirely consistent with these needs
612 that the collateral extension of the kindred is wider in a person's own generation than in either the first ascendant or descendant generations. As the children of a family approach adult status, a father through the identification of his interests with those of his children, is drawn less into the affairs of his own cousins and becomes more concerned with the cousins of his children's kindred, who from his point of view include affinal relatives as well as the children of his own siblings and first cousins.

605 The essence of cousinhood, as indeed of all collateral kinship, is that measure of confidence and altruism to which we have referred more than once. Cousins are the children or grandchilden of siblings and the values of cousinship contain the ideal that their affections are like those of brothers and sisters. Cousins are genuinely concerned about each others' successes
605 or misfortunes, hopes and fears. When a man meets a cousin
521 after a long interval of time there is obvious pleasure on both
576 sides. They find a quiet corner away from other people and a conversation begins which, if circumstances allow, may continue for many hours. There is a certain conventional sequence of topics. At first there are detailed inquiries about the health of each member of the two families. This is followed by an exchange of information about sheep and grazing, marriages and match-making in either family or amongst their kinsmen. Afterwards the talk ranges in random fashion over many subjects, the local personalities and gossip of their villages, the latest oppressive measure of government bureaucrats. What is so striking about the private talk of kinsmen is its fluency, freedom, and its mellow modulated tones. It presents a striking contrast with the talk of unrelated Sarakatsani in the forum of the village square or coffee-shop. There, conversation is a contest of wits, cast in a compulsively restrained monosyllabic form, yet accompanied with the striking of assertive attitudes. It is not intended as a means for exchanging information but rather as a form of protagonistic competition.

605 There are certain kinds of general social intercourse which
836 are possible only between kinsmen, more especially between cousins. For the Sarakatsani, marriage and sexual relations can-
[684] not be separated. A girl who loses her honour is in danger of her
000 life at the hands of her own family. The importance of virginity

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
578 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.
[554] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-
[836] assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her
[578] chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in
[582] physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband
[461] does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.[6]

The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important
[627] element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation
[584] of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to
[582] arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the sisters have been settled.

[6] Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

585 groom, flanked by his comrades, came to claim the bride and lead the first dance. She was reft from her shadows, conducted downstairs and out under the trees as the sun set at the end of the valley.

585 535 Her husband conducted her through an extremely formal *syrtos*, followed by a *kalamatiano*, each taking alternate places at the head of a dozen guests strung out, with linked hands, in a crescent. Neither looked at the other, and there was a distinct hint of constraint in the air — no wonder, since, though they came from neighboring summer pastures, it was quite likely they had never [584] met before. Their marriage was as free of private choice as a medieval dynastic alliance between a Wittelsbach and a Hohenstaufen.

585 It is hard not to wonder about the early phases of primitive marriages all over Greece; the shuddering apprehension which must prevail on the one hand and the unmanning strangeness on the other. Till very recently, in the Mani, so inhibiting was the shyness of newly wed strangers that a sword was placed under their pillow in the hopes that it might symbolically sunder this knot of 585 constraint in one Gordian slash. These handicaps 831 must have been made all the more debilitating, in former times, by gloomy preoccupations with the previous inviolacy of the bride, and the long vigil of the guests outside the nuptial dwelling till the groom's mother could blazon forth the all-clear in red on white — to an outburst of salvos and of rustic epithalamiums — on a gory sheet or a shift. In these strict and moral societies, such proofs were surely redundant; but I have heard of Cretan bridegrooms — convinced, and probably baselessly, that others have been beforehand with them — repudiating their brides and unloosing, as though in compensation, unstanchable bloodshed between families. And what about the poor bridegroom? Would the flood tide of wine swirl him triumphantly through all obstacles, or unmast him amidships? No wonder they looked shy. [202] Young Sarakatsáns now do their military service like the rest of Greeks and no doubt head for the lanes on the outskirts of garrison towns on mating [830] forays with their fellow recruits. But formerly, living in a ferociously chaste society, they approached wedlock unarmed by all but theory, hearsay, and rule of thumb.

585 535 HER two dances over, the bride withdrew to her chamber, and more general dancing began. It was uncomplicated, formal, and correct. Plenty of the younger Sarakatsáns were well on in wine and had been so for days, but their dash and high spirits deserted them the moment they joined the

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593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife. [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to co- 593 habit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience 837 by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery. 558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (κερατᾶς), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (τοῦ βάζει κέρατα), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.[1] Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock [684] of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to [522] strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

[1] Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., p. 116; and Onians, op. cit., p. 243.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan 867
children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive 858
sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is 593
correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a [876]
note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour 867
is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child 867
of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such 858
discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family [887]
about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

/218 cont./

629 682 [602] [581] [182]

33. The same idea is to be found in antiquity: G. Glotz: La solidarité, p. 47-48.

Thus, there is no contradiction between the vendetta and the prohibition of homicide. If the execution of the murderer is avenged in turn that is because another principle comes into play, that of safeguarding at all costs the moral and social integrity of the family. The necessity to abide by this principle is so over whelming that the prohibition of homicide yields to it in the end.

627 628 682 182

It is true that this arrangement is not the most fortunate. However, it reflects very well the relations between the individual and /219/ the group, or rather the individual and the family, the choice in the final analysis being in favor of the group.

Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the vendetta presupposes a collective responsibility of the family groups in case of homicide: first, because they usually seek to kill the murderer himself; second, if they kill instead one of his close relatives, which is not unusual, this is not because they consider him co-responsible, but in order to weaken the family. That is why, furthermore they then choose the best, the most distinguished, the strongest.

As to the application of the vendetta, there is no procedure provided to judge the affair and to pronounce a verdict. Custom, known beforehand by all, is followed.

Carrying out the vendetta is the responsibility chiefly of the youngmen of the family. The women are excluded from it both as victims and executers. [562]

Sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

837 181 577

Sarakatsani society disapproves strongly of sentimental and sexual relations outside marriage.

A statement based on Sarakatsani ideology is very indicative in this respect. According to it, cases of this kind never occur among them, as

837 /219 cont./
181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

[171] Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
[182] of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
[848] to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
[593] matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
[584]

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
[684] acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

[626] However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

837 /220 cont./
577 "in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."
562 626 Rape and abduction of a young girl.

684 These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

583 The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of
584 vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by
627 the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off
[584] forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

685 The theft of animals.

[674] This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.
[673] If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

685 /221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration
555 by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In
577 order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dar of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

685 On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter
577 camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

685 Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies anothe
577 rule:

783 The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case

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S G 621 648 S 186 591

Although the individual family receives from the local gathering of Sarakatsani no practical support in its difficulties with the villagers, there may be expressions of moral support. In the coffee-shop where the Sarakatsan heads of family gather to drink, play cards, argue, and discuss the village news, a man who has had a quarrel with a villager, or difficulties with the village council, will be asked what happened. He may not tell his audience all the facts, or the truth, but he will tell them something of the matter, careful always to present his own actions and arguments so that they appear honourable and vigorous. The villagers in the case he will condemn as unjust, cowardly, and as men who do not love honour. Such a recital is a formal statement of the moral solidarity of the whole Sarakatsan community against those who molest it and its way of life. Every Sarakatsanos present supports without reservation the condemnation of villagers. 'Eh, what a "poustis"[2] that man is.' They all agree. Many, of course, will have unspoken reservations as to the part played by the narrator. Yet in regard to the actions of the villagers in the dispute, the solidarity of feeling is complete. Often at the end of the discussion, just as a hymn sometimes closes a religious service, somebody will start to sing a wild klephtic ballad in which the whole assembly join their voices.

S [533]

S G 621 648 [574] [608]

Parallel to this conflict of interests and values is the social exclusiveness practised by each community towards the other. Sarakatsani do not generally invite villagers to their homes at weddings or festivals unless they are patrons or the godparents of their children. Nor do the villagers receive the Sarakatsani in their houses unless there is some particular relationship. At the festival of the village patron Saint, the reluctance of the master of ceremonies to allow shepherds to lead the traditional ring dance may be interpreted by the Sarakatsani as an attempt to humiliate them publicly. Each year it provokes in some villages violent incidents. In this context men forget the absence of relationship and stand together with the help of visiting kinsmen from other villages in defence of the honour of the whole Sarakatsan community against the villagers of Zagori who attempt to ridicule and belittle their way of life.

S [776]

S G [838]

[2] A πούστης is the passive partner in a homosexual relationship.

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the shepherd's honour is touched. In numbers and quality 233
sheep are the prerequisite of prestige. He is aware of their 825
dependence on him and of the dependence of his whole family [554]
on what the flock is able to supply. He knows each animal, its history, and peculiarities. There is an extensive descriptive vocabulary of sheep terms. Skilled shepherds do not count their sheep, they scan them, recognizing at once the absence of an animal identified by a particular combination of markings, colours, and idiosyncrasies. Sick sheep are tended with care and compassion. A shepherd may sleep with the animal under his cape to give it warmth. He is neither gentle nor sentimental towards his sheep but between the man and his animals there exists an evident solidarity.

3. THE WOMEN

Women and goats are conceptually opposed to men and sheep. 828
Goats are unable to resist pain in silence, they are cunning and 825
insatiate feeders. Greed and cunning are important charac- 233
teristics of the Devil and Sarakatsani will often say that although [776]
Christ tamed these animals the Devil still remains in them. Sarakatsani keep some goats to exploit that part of their grazing land which is unfit for sheep. But as animals they are despised, [558]
and a stani with too high a proportion of goats to sheep loses prestige. Women are not, of course, simply creatures of the 828
Devil but the nature of their sexuality which continually 562
threatens the honour of men, makes them, willingly or unwillingly, agents of his will. It is consistent, therefore, that in the 462
practical division of labour women rather than men care for 233
the goats. Although it is unfitting for women to graze these animals, they alone are responsible for building the goat-pen, for cutting and carrying to the pen the branches of tender leaves to wean the kids, often for watching the kids in the first days when they graze without their mothers, always for milking the goats, for carrying the milk to the cheese-maker, for shearing their fleeces, and for collecting and sacking the goat dung which is sold to the villagers.

Conversely, women, particularly married women involved in 562
sexual intercourse, or girls during their menstrual periods, do 233
not approach the sheep unnecessarily. A woman is careful not [834]
to cross directly in front of a flock, partly for the practical [841]

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the Church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[129] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[833] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.

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prefer relatives through the father', may name a maternal cousin as his most trusted friend.

When a Sarakatsanos talks loosely of his 'fathers and forefathers', he is probably thinking of a vague body of ancestors in the agnatic line. But in fact a man seldom knows very much about his direct ancestors in any line beyond the generation of his grandparents unless they have some claim to particular fame or infamy. Ascendant kinsmen are only relevant as individual personalities to the extent that they affect the inheritance of physical and moral attributes and social prestige. And it is the families of origin of the man's parents, presided over by his four grandparents, which essentially affect his social standing. The lines of descent from the two pairs of grandparents are the kinship co-ordinates, as it were, which intersect and define the unique position of a group of siblings within the community. Naturally the preference for the kinsmen of the father implies that in this evaluation the qualities of paternal kin have more weight, but this is not to be confused with the presence of a patrilineal descent principle.

A man is more interested in his sons than in his daughters simply because they are males and not because they are specifically agnatic links ensuring continuity in an exclusively agnatic descent line. It is important to a man to beget male children because in so doing he accentuates his own masculinity, extended in time. A man wants sons 'so that his name will be heard' (νὰ ἀκούεται τ'ὄνομά του), not simply the surname which is inherited patrilineally, but for it to be said that this is George Carvounis son of John Carvounis. Sons bring prestige, daughters do not. When the husband enters the hut for the first time after the birth of a daughter, his wife turns her head away and lowers her eyes in shame.

This formal preference for the father's kinsmen is consistent with, and indeed is, in the area of kinship, a reflection of the greater value placed upon the male sex. This is a fundamental value of Greek culture, whose essential masculinity can be remarked at all stages in its development from Homeric times until the present day. Thus, in the Sarakatsan community it is the behaviour of the ideal man that provides the dominant value patterns of honour and pride. The sexes divide the community into opposite yet complementary categories, categories

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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reputations. Honour and prestige depend, also, on other 577
factors besides the possession, or apparent possession, of personal qualities. We turn now to a discussion of these other factors.

5. THE MATERIAL ELEMENTS IN PRESTIGE

The elements of prestige we now discuss differ from those that 554
have just been described in that they emphasize, not the ideal 577
equality of honourable men, but the inevitable inequalities which differentiate families in terms of numbers and wealth and certain other criteria. Whereas the concepts of honour and the honourable man are purely social facts, the elements of prestige we are about to examine are clearly not; they involve demographic and ecological factors, and chance.

(A) NUMBERS

Ὄγκος means mass and, by extension, social influence. The 554
Sarakatsani often use the word to refer to the numerical strength 596
of the family, particularly the number of sons or brothers. It is noticeable that in folk-songs and folk-tales the pallikari is typically one of five brothers, or more. The ideal type hero is never an only son. To have many sons is the crowning pride [142]
of a man's life, and conversely, sterility, and to a less degree a family of girls, is a mark of failure.

That a strong and united group of brothers supports a family's reputation is wholly understandable. They are able effectively to guard its interests by physical force, they are not necessarily dependent on others for co-operation in the management of their flocks and, until the extended family is divided, there is at least one unmarried brother prepared to revenge its honour. Other men think twice before they offend a shepherd with four or five brothers.

At the other extreme, the man without brothers, or the 554
father without sons, is weak. A man without a brother may be 577
killed with less fear of revenge than is generally probable, a 596
girl without a brother runs a greater risk of insult or a broken marriage contract than do other unmarried women. For in these circumstances the only person under any formal obligation to retaliate is the father, a man of advancing years who is isolated in his family without the active support of other men,

had pocketed our tickets, we watched him work his perilous way along the duckboard of the corridorless train like a cat burglar. A large open cattle car was hitched to the rear of the train. A sound of raucous singing was carried along the line, and a blue flag whirled overhead on a long pole. The conductor, settling in our carriage for a chat on his return journey, confirmed what we had surmised. "Yes, it's a Sarakatsán bridegroom on his way to a wedding up at Sikarayia. They've been drinking for days." When we pulled up at the next wayside halt, the whole party leaped, shouting and singing, to the platform, the banner aswirl, and bore down on a small group waiting under an acacia tree. The white-clad groom and his cronies returned a few moments later, carrying the bride, who was attired in a stiff black and white costume of angular and Aztec strangeness, by her elbows. She sailed along the platform with the passivity of a sacred image being transported from shrine to shrine. As the shaft of the standard-bearer's banner careered past, I saw that it was topped by a pomegranate, and the same fertility symbol was affixed to the top and the two arms of a beribboned wooden cross. When they were all aboard, the groom's party fired their guns into the sky, and singing and intermittent firing accompanied the rest of the journey.

"*Paraxenoi anthropoi*," vouchsafed the conductor, after clicking his tongue censoriously a dozen times. "Odd people —" They did seem a contrast to the lofty Victorian stateliness of our carriage. He told us that the groom was the son of a great *tsellingas* — the head of a clan, as it were, of Sarakatsán shepherds — in fact, an *architsellingas*, called Kosta Zogas, who wintered at Sikarayia and pastured his sheep in the Rhodope Mountains in summer, not far from the flocks of the bride's father, another *architsellingas*, called Vrysas, who wintered near Souphlí, along the banks of the Hebrus. "You'd think," he went on, "when you see them in their rush hovels and their old capes, that they were poor. Not a bit of it! They've got pots of money. Literally pots. They fill up pitchers with gold sovereigns, and bury them — no one knows how many — whole fortunes in the ground."

SIKARAYIA turned out to be a village of beautifully thatched Sarakatsán huts. Giant beehives swelled and tapered in tiers of cropped reed which overlapped with the precision of the plating on armadilloes' backs, and all of them were topped by wooden crosses near holes in the thatch through which thin blue smoke curled. Black-clad Sara-

/17 cont./
published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

--The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi; p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

--Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/139 cont./

593 562 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife protection socially as well as economically.

594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only [842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.

[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.

[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.

[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

/247 cont./

123 to try to systematize this incoherent material and submit these conclusions
124 to the verification of informants who have proved both the most reliable and the most accessible.

121 A methodological principle has been of great use to us during this work. The practices and beliefs of a coherent society must form an equally coherent whole, without internal contradictions. If, in reconstructing them, one does not succeed in integrating them into a system, one can be certain, or nearly so, that the approach followed has failed. One must then begin again /248/ from other hypotheses. Of course it is necessary to allow for deviations insofar as special reasons require.

Comparative ethnography and the history of religion of peoples in the Mediterranean basin have aided us very much. The result of our account will testify to this.

128 The present chapter is divided into three parts: the first deals with "The magical practices of the Sarakatsani and their historical and cultural origins." It focuses on the subjects to which the practices refer. The second is concerned with the analysis of "the magic thinking of the Sarakatsani." The third deals with the "social functions of Sarakatsani magic."

121 The keynote of this research is the effort to know fully the deepest layers of the soul and thought of our herders.

MAGICAL PRACTICES AND THEIR HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL ORIGINS

181 FERTILITY OF HUMANS AND ANIMALS.

In the universe of Sarakatsani social values there are two which, in view of the conditions of their existence, represent the foundations of their conception of material well-being. The first is crystallized in the following maxim: "True wealth means numerous offspring." The second is expressed in the general esteem for large flocks.

121 The practice dealing with this domain are multiple and correspond to
842 various aspects of procreation and gestation. It is appropriate to distinguish between acts aiming at the prevention of sterility and those which

/248 cont./

12 842 directly promote fertility, and those, finally, which, though directed toward different ends, indirectly aid fertility. Practices dealing with [233] human beings are in many respects different from those applied to animals But since the ideas and beliefs that determine them are almost the same, we shall study them together.

* * * *

842 The phenomena that call forth the intervention of magic, classed according to cases, are the following, beginning with sterility.

842 262 [825] /249/ In order to avoid it, the Sarakatsani woman and young girl must abstain from eating the meat of a sterile animal, the defect of the latter being considered contagious. On the other hand, if a family is very large it is advisable to give the mother such meat in order to stop her fertility. (1)

1. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 1104.

842 754 Now for the male: under his wedding clothes the husband must keep his soiled drawers, for if this underwear should fall into the hands of his enemies they would use it to practice magic on it and cause his impotence (2)--any object which is even temporarily in contact with someone

2. Ibid., p. 463.

842 825 789 being the best means of transmitting evil to them. Furthermore, the newly married couple wear the head of a viper as an amulet. We shall not dwell on this point, for we shall have occasion, to come back to it. Finally, 233 825 789 as far as the livestock is concerned, it is necessary, in order not to provoke sterility, to be silent about the fertility of animals and above all about the number of animals that have mated, probably because of the "evil eye."

842 Non-sterility having been assured, it is necessary to pass from the negative to the positive, therefore to act appropriately /Fig. 100 appears [531] here/ to promote fertility. First, human fertility: the bottom of the wife's

/249 cont./

842
531
262
585

Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
531 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).[A] The Sarakatsani call them indiscriminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[262] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of
[585] spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

[A] /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 (114) animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes

3. Ibid., A.I. p. . .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. (775) (262) And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 (789) (825) (128) Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6)

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
762 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
776

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
764 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
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12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
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14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol: I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Saraketsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

(829) Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ζώων ἰατρικῆς λόγος, 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet [789] the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΑΟΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: Περί ἀμφ. τροφούσας αὐλῆνας,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

«ἄνοδος καὶ κατωγώγια»,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΟΙΣΑΡΧΟΥ : Ἀρκαδικά, 95, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/252 cont./

825 17 (831) character of a sexual symbol because of its connection with women.-- ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ : Περιήγησις 11, 10. 30. Suetonius: Divus Augustus, 94, etc. According to Sir Ar. Evans: Palace of Minos /cited in English/, vol. IV, p. 138 f., It is the guardian of the hearth and of the house «οἰκουρὸς ὄφις». M. Nilsson: Minoan Mycenian Religion /cited in English/, pp. 247, 248.--As the personification of Zeus it is, according to Homer, the protector of the enclosure «ἕρκειος Ζεύς». Being chthonian, it is related to the dead, according to G. Van der Leeuw, ibid., p. 67. We have seen the role of the latter in fertility. The caduceus of the psychopomp Hermes, /namely/ snakes entwining the tree of life, symbolize this last point very well.--b) Byzantium: In the magic books of Byzantium the snake recurs as an antidote to sexual impotence:

(842)

Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ : Βυζαντινὰ Μνημ., ἡ VI, p. 244.

c) Modern Greece:

Κ. ΧΑΤΖΗΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ : Ἔθιμα Κύπρου. Φ. ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ :

Ibid., p. 243.

121 842 821 825 823 We are therefore compelled to assert that this common symbolism covers an identical content. If the Sarakatsani are Greeks, if they have lived in the same cultural ambience and in the same geographic area as the other Hellenes, why should we conclude that these /253/ practices, which are the same, take on a different meaning when one passes from one case to the other? It seems to us, on the contrary, that this would be a misinterpretation, the more so since no aspect of Sarakatsani life warrants our formulating any other hypothesis or inferring from it another interpretation. Moreover, if one has recourse to the methodological criterion accepted above, that of the possibility of integrating the content of

(176)

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121 different practices into a coherent system, we see that from the moon
842 to the snake, from the snake to the earth, from the fire to the moon,
821 there is a continuity, if not apparent and logical, certainly symbolic
825 since all these forces are merely variants or avatars of the belief in
823 the great creative force which dominates the world and which is person-
776 ified in the Great Goddess, the Mother-Goddess. (17)

(191) 17. On the evolution of the cult of the Mother-Goddess and her avatars from the Minoan epoch to the imposition of Christianity we refer to the works already mentioned and full of information by E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 143, 144, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 264, 165, 166, 167, 168, and J. Przyluski: Ibid., pp. 87, 134, 135, 144.

842 However, it would be erroneous to assume that the Sarakatsani when
776 they seek to influence fertility through the medium of symbols stemming
771 from the belief in the Great Goddess, also worship the latter and can therefore be considered followers of a religion other than Christianity.
771 It is necessary to see here another phenomenon, well known elsewhere, (18)

177 18. See R. Bastide: Sociologie Religieuse /Religious
178 Sociology/ p. 16.

which occurs when one religion replaces another. While yielding to the new, the ancient religious practices continue to exist, but henceforth become integrated in the magic practices, and are considered as such while simultaneously entering into a certain syncretism which permits them to survive, the /254/ officially religious ideas hallowing the officially profane ideas which would otherwise be intolerable. (19)

(171) 19. In political law as well as in canon law of Byzantium one finds countless rules forbidding the practices deriving from religions that were ancient and described as magic, as for example: Codex Theodocianus, 9, 16, 2.--Codex Justinianus, 9, 18, 4.--

[illegible], 60, 80, 5 et 3, etc. — ΒΑΛΣΑΜΩΝ : [illegible] collaysi, in : M. P. G., 138, 1 240, etc.

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

842 /254 cont./
777 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

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29. It is known that in several countries, including Greece, the maypole is burned--a reminiscence of the ritual of the Hilaria festival in Rome, in honor of Attis (a complete description of which is found in E.O. James: Ibid., pp. 205-208), which promotes universal fertility,--M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 264.

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(underworld forces) is known to us. Even here these entities exert an influence favorable to abundance (30) by /258/ affecting the economic

30. A very fine study of St. Basil's pastry (Greek homologue of the cake of kings prepared in France) and hence of all the ceremonial pastry and bread of Christmas, New Year's day, marriage, etc., in Greece has just been published by the Greek ethnologist D. Doukatos: Ἡ [illegible]. A detailed analysis of this custom, accompanied /258/ by commentaries on its significance in promoting well-being, abundance, prosperity, etc., as well as on its origins, and a study comparing it with similar customs of the West clarifies this problem. From the copious bibliography we single out two works: Margaret Hasluck: The Basil-Cake of the Greek New Year /cited in English/, pp. 143-177, and G. Bidault de l'Isle: Vieux dictons de nos compagnes, p. 43-44.

mechanism (the decoration of the pastry and the combination if its motifs constituting an indisputable illustration). We must take into account the fact that the magic practices in general fulfill a multiplicity of functions. But two things must still be noted: First, the Sarakatsani, like all Greeks, attach a special importance to the first person who crosses the threshold of the house on New Year's day, for if the person brings luck, the year will be favorable; if he brings ill luck, the year will be disastrous. (31)

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31. This belief, very widespread in Greece, already existed in antiquity: and even

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796 [789] against drought and untimely deaths; see Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I. 8-

/260/ Sarakatseni life includes two more practices the theme of which is likewise connected with the death and resurrection of an individual. This is the festival of St. Lazarus and the lament for the Lord by the [128] women of the Tsóligato. In view of their Christian origin, these cases will be studied in the chapter devoted to religion. However, we may state even now that, though the second instance may be debatable, the festival of St. Lazarus has a significance analogous to that of Pure Monday.

796 182 831 789 Nevertheless, the presence of the couple in the festival described shows that it is not merely the resurrection of God, but likewise the sexual act which fertilizes nature, including men and animals. (34) Thus,

[842] [233] [191]

34. According to M. Nilsson: Primitive Religion /cited in English/, p. 32, for primitive man the fertility of man and of nature coincide absolutely. Thus, according to Homer: Odyssey, 125 f., and Hesiod: Theology, 699 f., Demeter sent the world wealth (Pluto) after uniting with the hero Hason in a field ploughed three times. This belief recurs in the practices of numerous agricultural peoples.

this practice is connected with those described in the preceeding section.

796 789 535 533 539 We come across the married couple once more in another custom followed at Epiphany. On the eve of the festival a newly married couple (two boys disguised) accompanied by their retinue made up of boys carrying bells and wearing goatskin masks walk around the huts, and in front of each hut they dance while performing the following song:

Matron "Madana" see that you adorn yourself
in order to help tomorrow morning
at Epiphany...
Put the sun on your face
and place the moon on your chest

/271 cont./

844 574 789 [783] likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 783 789 [788] Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the childbirth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). [842] A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

751 789 [529] The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

63. According to the explanation of Madame Hadjimichali:
Ibid., A.I. ρμζ'.

The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child [237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/280 cont./

789 825 snake had resuscitated another snake. Let us recall in this connection the sign of Aesculapius and the sacred snakes the medical center of Epidaurus.

It is therefore in the best position to neutralize occult acts and their (155) harmful influence. It removes all ills, /281/ evil spirits, sicknesses, the evil eye. That is why we find it not only on men but also on the ram, the billy-goat or the sick (animals and people). It is considered "sacred" and has its place among the icons. Its properties emanate from its very nature, but also from various conditions. Not any viper at all can be transformed into an amulet. First it must be caught on the first 825 789 of May. On this day men and women spread out over the countryside to 789 hunt vipers. Armed with a stick that ends in a fork, they immobilize the animal and cut off its head. In Greek the word "magic" and the word "May" sound almost the same. Hence in several regions of the country the first of May is considered the most propitious day for magic. (88)

88. This is the explanation of G. Megas: ~~Thirgmed Thorod,~~ p. 139. According to the Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines /Dictionary of Greek and Roman antiquity/ of Darenberg and Saglio, the word MAIA, the goddess Maia "personified the bringing forth of living things and above all the development of plant life. The name of the month of May, Maius, has the same meaning and comes directly from the same root, but the Romans who celebrated the festival of Maia in May were inclined to believe that the goddess had given her name to the month... They linked Maia to the Good Goddess, Bona Dea, that is, to fecundity."

825 Furthermore, it must not be forgotten that it is bound up with the 842 regeneration of nature, the fertility of the earth and the festivals and 789 rites which relate to it. The snake is thus eminently suited to be taken as a symbol against magic and in favor of fertility--an adaptation which in

825 842 789 /281 cont./

itself is also a magic act.

825 789 The head is put in a small bag which the women place in the nearest church where it remains "for forty services." Thus this animal, linked [183] with Satan in the Christian tradition, is blessed, purified, if not [118] sacred, hence suitable for wearing.

The Sarakatsani themselves apparently influenced by their fear of black magic, give odd explanations when asked what the role of the viper is in their magic. According to the first account, the head of the viper "protects against magnetism," because the snake is endowed with a special magnetism. They add that "in the villages, during festivals and fairs, you meet fakirs who magnetize their spectators and make them believe that fakirs perform miracles. But one who carries the viper's head is never fooled by pseudo-miracle-workers for their magnetism is neutralized." That this explanation is clever but false is more than evident. A society living in isolation, whose members only very rarely run the risk of being deceived by fakirs--really, /282/ a very harmless danger--does not need such defense. By enlarging this statement a bit we realize that the protection against "magnetism" is chiefly a protection against the dark forces emanating from certain persons, hence from magic and the evil eye. The preceding paragraphs and the circumstances in which the viper head is used converge toward this same point and substantiate our deduction. (89)

> 89. Moreover, some verses of an Epirote poet, G. Kotzioudas, are revealing. Far from his native soil, he evokes Epirus and with great longing wishes for his return which, among other things, would permit him to go into the country on the first of May in order to find a viper's head which would protect him from spells and evils. ('Ημερολογιακή Ἠπειρος, T.E., 1956, p. 178). Let us recall that Epirus is the cradle of the Sarakatsani,

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105. If we use the term "mythology" to denote this system of beliefs it is because, as we have explained on page pp. 283-285 their original religious character has disappeared. The part of their content that has survived constitutes henceforth a mythological explanation of the world, adopted by the Sarakatsani and a justification of their magic, with which these beliefs are connected. See also p. 415 f. and pp. 421-423.

121 789 In order to solve the problems belonging to the second category the Sarakatsani has recourse to elements of the visible world.

Despite the risk of repeating ourselves, we must recall certain facts to illustrate these assertions, as well as to justify what follows:

[842] --In order to decide the sex, a boy is set on a bride's lap so that she will give birth to boys.

--In order to acquire physical, physiological or biological [827] characteristics they use elements having (or presumed to have) those same (or presumably same) characteristics. A bride walks on metal in [823] order to acquire its strength. If a man wears a thing taken from wild [825] animals it will communicate to him their resistance, their agility, [842] their adaptability, etc. To eat the meat of a sterile animal makes the [233] woman sterile. An old skull placed on the fence transmits its solidity to the livestock.

--In the third place, to acquire a state of being one again has [824] recourse to elements of the visible world and their characteristics: the seeds of the pomegranate or the grains of rice, symbolizing by their number the multitude of products, assure prosperity and wealth. The sweetness of honey with which one coats the entrance is a sure token of [231] a happy life. The bride's horse must have /297/ a light coat, for a [822] black horse calls to mind the conventional color of the devil.

--In order to induce curative or preventive effects, a simple

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121 789 On the other hand, once created, the visible world can act on itself, for it belongs to the same category of reality. Thus, the 772 842 conceived, or presumably conceived, child can be submitted to the influence of another child for the purpose of deciding its sex. But no child can, by its influence, induce the creation of a new life.

121 789 /298/ We believe that we are touching here on the essential character of Sarakatsani ideas of life, of nature and of the possibilities of /their/ acting on them. It is, moreover, in terms of these ideas that we must understand the differentiation of their magical action bearing on the problems we have enumerated. But above all it is in this intellectual ambience that the postulate of transmissibility is called upon to intervene and to inspire magical action which is then differentiated when put in concrete form, in terms of the ideas previously set forth.

The result is that there are grounds for speaking of a simple transmission in connection with other problems, taking into account the reality in which this transmission is practiced.

However, since mythology that determined the first type of transmission has been forgotten by the Sarakatsani, we must ask ourselves whether such a distinction corresponds to the facts.

Now these facts force us to recognize that though the myth-originators of the rites are forgotten, the existence of universal forces, even anonymous ones, is always felt behind the objects they symbolize and that consequently the operator finds himself clearly in the domain of myth and the mythical climate, even though the latter are no longer expressed in a formula or a narrative. (107)

107. We shall not stress further the specific traits of the myth, for we shall come back to them in one of the subsequent chapters.

The mythical transmission exists therefore, and its mythical foundations

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece
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35 saw the framework of poles, supporting the walls and roof of reeds, black-
[342] ened from the smoke since there was neither chimney nor smoke hole in the roof.

The partition separating the entrance room from the main room was
[422] smoothed with clay stucco over the reeds. The total movable earthly pos-
sessions of these people were either in these two small rooms or in the form
[583] of the sheep pasturing outside. We noted the mattresses on the pounded
earth floor, a pile of dowry blankets in one corner, another hearth, a small
kerosene lamp hanging on a post over the single bed, two windows about a
[273] foot square covered with chicken wire, a hanging shelf from which Konstan-
tin's gentle twenty-year-old sister got a sweet liqueur (*mastica*), *loukoumi* (Turkish delight), and ouzo to serve to us. The flour was kept in a sack in
592 a corner. The family living in this hut consisted of the widowed mother, two unmarried daughters, and two unmarried sons. There were three more married daughters, who were of course no longer in their parental home.

842 "The poorer the family, the more children you find; the richer the family, the fewer the children," said the mother. In an aside to me, Konstantin added, "For producing children is the only recreation of the poor." "But I understood," I said, "that shepherd families like to have lots of children to help with their flocks." Western influence was already making itself felt,
152 for the mother said, "No, every child is just another mouth to feed." The look of fatigue on the faces of these people — the look of age on the pale
[481] twenty-year-old — showed that they had gone through more than their
[648] share of unrest and tribulation. Even their bodily movements, slower and listless compared to, say, the Valtetsi shepherds', reflected the strain of being in a border or frontier area where part of the enemy strategy seems to be to make the inhabitants feel so insecure that they will abandon their fields, just as the previous owners had done.

342 But these worn and weary frontier Sarakatsani have a saving sense of humor. When I was asking about the differences in the shapes of the huts
522 used as dwellings and those used for animals, one of the unmarried daughters who was serving us refreshments said with a smile of pure fun lighting up her pallid face, "Oh, we only use different kinds of tile to distinguish where we live and where the animals live." Everybody laughed at this ridiculous reference to nonexistent tile roofs.

462 Here again I tried to learn how the Sarakatsani viewed themselves in relationship to the other nomadic groups. They assured us that they never
[582] married with the Karagouni or the Albanian-speaking Greek Vlachs. "Why
[186] not?" we asked. "Isn't the work of their women the same as yours?" "Most definitely not," affirmed the mother. "The Karagouni women don't know anything except pasturing the sheep and twisting their spindle. But we Sarakatsani women can work on the loom, work in the fields, and also if necessary care for the flocks."

842 /254 cont./
799 Tuesday--a day considered unlucky. Marital relations likewise, are
[585] forbidden on Saturday /255/ and Sunday. (21) Children conceived on
[833] 21. It is very difficult to explain these prohibitions.
[171] According to a belief very widespread in Greece, Tuesday is an unlucky day because Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks on a Tuesday. Yet it is certain that it was already considered unlucky before the fall of the Empire.

[171] vol. I, p. 42.--As for Saturday, it should be said that in many regions of Greece it is considered the day most favorable for magic. In others the prohibition of sexual relations is due to the fact that Saturday and Sunday are days meant for religious duties, and therefore he should refrain from unchastity.

these days are supposed to be burdened with defects. On the other hand, those who are conceived on a Monday are gifted with health and exceptional intelligence.

843 When a child is conceived, the mother-to-be must protect herself
789 against a miscarriage. To this end two methods are prescribed. The first
[824] consists of making an amulet: flowers of the willow are placed in a small bag which the woman wears. The second is more complicated: three women, all called "Mary" (the name of the Holy Virgin, mother of God) make a rope composed of three strands of wool previously fashioned by each of them. Having finished the rope, they make several knots in it and place it around the waist of the mother-to-be. (22)

22. Cited by Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., A.I. p.

The symbolic efficacy of these methods is in the use of the willow and the rope as "bonds," (23) therefore also capable of binding together the mother

[342] 23. It will be recalled that the parts of the hut
[824] frame are tied with willow. On the magic of the "knots" see M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 145.

/255 cont./

843 and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view.
789 And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another
[801] expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth
[352] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the
[831] three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow
825 /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but
789 whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and
[527] family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the
[574] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

527 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be
233 a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly
825 and <u>feliki</u>--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she
789 must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [762]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [794]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiences will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour 577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the 596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the 577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through 554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech- 754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed [755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and [794] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [823] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/249 cont./

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Fig. 100

842 skirt, her bodice, her stockings and her knitted sleeves are bordered
53 with geometric motifs, the predominant one being the cross. The central motif, as well as the secondary motifs surrounding it are variations of the same symbol (see figures 84-87).[A] The Sarakatsani call them indis-
[262] criminately "moons." These same "moons" are found on the wedding pastry
[585] prepared for the wife, but this time in the shape of a four-petal rose of spirals or interlaced lines in relief (see figure 100). The study of this cake will be the subject of a special paragraph.

844 /250/ A second point to be emphasized concerns childbirth practices.
602 The mother-to-be, assisted by the women of the family (the men must absent themselves at this time), gets on her knees on the ground close to the hearth where a very bright fire is burning. When the child arrives the oldest of the assisting women puts her hand under the skirt of the mother (who does not undress) and receives the child. The placenta, when it has
[783] come out, is removed by the aunt on the father's side, or secondarily by the aunt on the mother's side, and after having been fumigated with incense, is buried behind the hut in a corner where neither men nor impure animals may walk.

[A], /See p.119--Analyst/

/250 cont./

844 602 [114] animals may walk. According to Madame Hadjimichali, (3) the burial takes place under the very hearth of the hut. No glance, especially not a male one, must fall on the placenta at that moment.

3. Ibid., A.I. p. ~~[illegible]~~; .--A statement that our own observations have not permitted us to confirm.

764 A practice of parallel significance is found in death customs. The deceased is laid on the ground on a velentza until the moment of burial. [775] [262] And in order that his soul should find rest and forgiveness of men and God, "the cake of the dead," the kolyva is prepared on a plate from grains of wheat boiled in water. It represents the body and is likewise placed in the ground.

842 [789] Finally, we must mention again the viper head which the spouses wear as an amulet.

[825] [128] If we have presented all these practices without comment it is because we intend to discuss them all together.

842 821 823 825 831 372 What stands out first of all when we consider them is that the Sarakatsani appeal to the moon, the earth, the fire and the snake--personifying the forces whose common trait is their favorable influence on fertility. All four represent the source of life: the moon "living and inexhaustible in its own regeneration...and the source of universal fertility"; (4) the earth, mother of all; (5) fire, symbolizing rejuvenation and immortatlity; (6) the snake, image of the moon, which regenerates itself by shedding its skin, (7) and which resembles the phallus. (8)

4. See M. Eliade: Traité, pp. 145, 148 and the bibliography. /?previously/ mentioned.

5. See G. Samter: Geburt, p. 2 f., M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 223.

6. See H. Jeanmarie: Dionysos, p. 387.

7. G. Van der Leeuw: La religion, p. 67.

8. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 152.

842 /250 cont./
821 By wearing them or coming in contact with them one benefits from their
823 virtues.
372
825 /251/ In practice all this is interpreted as follows: the decoration
531 of the skirt and the bride's cake serve as the lunar amulets. Giving birth
262 on the ground and in the posture in which the ancient goddess of birth
585 Eilithyia /Artemis/ is shown insures for the child the advantages which
844 come from contact with the earth. (9)
776

9. See B. Nyberg: Kind und Erde, p. 207 f.--Birth by proximity, according to M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 265.--Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 119.--Monolina Marconi: Riflessi mediterranei /Mediterranean reflections/, p. 254 f. p. 254 f.--Marie Delacourt: Stérilité, p. 31 f.

844 The placenta which has nourished the child until then returns to the earth
764 where a new life will rise again (10)

10. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 45.

(the position of the deceased directly on the ground and his commemoration by means of the grain which is buried and comes to life again symbolize the same life cycle). (11)

11. J. Przyluski: La grande déesse, p. 124 f.--G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--P.M. Schuhl: La formation de la pensée grecque, p. 211.

372 The healing, invigorating fire which makes mortals immortal and which is
844 born from two pieces of wood representing the two sexes, (12)
842

12. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 49, also citing Ad. Kuhn: Die Herabkunft des Feuers und der /sic--should be: des/ Göttertranks, p. 64 f.

protects the mother who gives birth in front of it, as well as the newborn child. (13) Moreover, it encourages a new impregnation by the burial of the

13. W. Mannhardt: Antike Wald und Feldkulte, p. 503.

372 /251 cont./
844 placenta under the hearth. (14)
842

14. J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144.

842 And the head of the viper, with a polyvalent symbolism (lunar as well as
825 chthonian) exerts its influence in the same direction. (15)

15. M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 150, who also cites Frazer: The Folklore in the old Testament /cited in English/, Vol. I, p. 66 f.

842 It seems to us that to the mystery of fertility which is an the basis
171 of the mystery of life itself, the Sarakatsani reacts in the same way as all the peoples who for thousands of years have occupied the geographical area that extends from the Indies to the Italian Peninsula. In the practices enumerated above, the first cosmologies of humanity come to life. They have imbued all the civilizations of the Middle and Near East and infiltrated into Christian practices and into the folklore still alive in western Europe, as far as the more distant countries of Scandinavia and Ireland.

(829) Yet to pass from hypothesis to conviction is not easy, since the Sarakatsani, when speaking of their practices, content themselves, by way of explanation, with replies such as "it does a lot of good," "it is good for one's health," "it is our custom."

But thanks to numerous testimonies at our disposal, /252/ which cover the entire evolution of the various beliefs of the Hellenes from the Homeric epoch to our day, we believe we have the right to assert the validity of our argument.

During this period, which extends over 3000 years, we discover the same symbols involved for the same purposes. Used continuously by the Greeks, they have had an unchanging meaning throughout the ages, a meaning that has been fully demonstrated and that coincides with our foregoing assumption. (16)

/252 cont./

842 171 16. In support of our argument, we herewith present some of these testimonies classified according to subject:

842 171 821 I. The moon as a fertilizing force: a) Antiquity: J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 134-315 and his citations.--Ch. Picard: Ephèse et Claros, pp. 368, 3710372.--E.O. James: La Déesse Mère, p. 167.--b) Byzantium: ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ: Περί ὅλης ἰατρικῆς ὑλης, 5, 141, saying that the women wore as an amulet [789] the "selenite" stone /a variety of gypsum; named "stone of the moon in Greek because it was believed to wax and wane with the moon/.--c) Modern Greece: The bride among the Karagounides of Thessaly wears motifs called "moons" on her wedding dress (personal observation).

823 842 171 844 II. The earth and its forces on behalf of birth and the newborn child: a) Antiquity: The earth gives birth to all beings, nourishes them, then receives from them anew the fertile seed."--

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ: Περί ἀνθ. κρεοφάγου ψυχῆς,

28, B 18, where the dead are called "Demetreioe," that is, "belonging to Demeter," goddess of grains. Let us add that during the hierogamy symbolized in the Eleusinian mysteries, the hierophant gave the initiates a stalk of grain, J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 87, P. M. Schuhl: Ibid., p. 211, symbol of rebirth.--Moreover, during antiquity, the birth and death of the grain

« ἄνθος καὶ καταγώγιον »,

represented "the eternal vicissitudes of existence," which begin and ends on and in the earth. G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 87.--Leto gave birth to her children Apollo and Artemis at Delos, kneeling on the ground.--b) Byzantium: The priests of the Orthodox Church follow the custom of pronouncing during a burial the passage from

/252 cont./

823 Genesis, Chapter 19 /actually chapter 3 verse 19/ "for dust
842 thou are, and into dust shalt thou return: (King James Version)
171 although according to Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά, T.B.-
844 p. 269, this quotation is not included in the service of the dead.--According to the physician: ΣΟΡΑΝΟΣ: Περί γυναικείων, p. 357, 12, the women also gave birth kneeling on the ground.--c) Modern Greece: The Karagounides women lay the newborn child on the ground. At Rhodes the same thing is done "so that the muscles of the little one and its body will be strong," Α. ΒΡΟΝΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Ρόδου, p. 568.

372 III. On the properties of fire: a) Antiquity: According to
171 the legends of Achilles and Demophon, Thetis and Demeter wished to make themselves immortal by passing through fire, H. Jeanmarie: Ibid., p. 387-6. According to ΠΑΩΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ : Ἀρκαδικά, 35, for Greece, and Virgil: Aeneid, vii, 71, for Rome, the power of fire was considered efficacious against evil influences. According to Przyluski: Ibid., p. 144, the custom of new fire at the beginning of the year represents the energy that reanimates nature after the mortal cold of winter. b) The same custom is to be found in Modern Greece: It is called "the marriage of fire," the fire that is lighted with two pieces of wood, the one "male," the other "female," on Christmas eve or New Year's day, in Thessaly, in Leukas (Greek island), Ν. ΠΑΣΣΑ : Λαογραφικά, p. 123-124 and elsewhere.--We shall speak farther on of the healing properties of fire in case of illness and otherwise. Let us but note the custom, in Macedonia and Throw, of lighting the healing fire by friction in imitation of the coming together of the sexes.

825 /253/ IV. On the snake: a) Antiquity: According to
171 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ : Ἱστορία ζώων, II, 12
[821] and Pliny: Natural History XI, 28, the snake is a representation
[831] of the moon since it appears and disappears. It also has the

/254 cont./

In the case of our herders this syncretism takes concrete form in practices such as the fumigation of the placenta with incense so that evil spirits will not attack it (Judeo-Christian belief), or the period of forty days during which the head of the viper must remain in a church before being worn as an amulet, that is to say, during the period necessary for the celebration of forty services.

That is not all. Originally present in the rites that we have enumerated, the Mother-Goddess has become "deprived of all that made her unique" in the past; she is "de-individualized," according to the apt expression of R. Bastide, to become a force symbolized in acts and operating as such on other forces. (20)

20. See R. Bastide: Ibid., p. 18, where the author, in connection with Greco-Roman magic, treats the question of the de-individualization of gods by magic. Farther on, on p. 296, will be found supplementary observations on this evolution.

Thus, by way of conclusion, /let us say that/ in order to promote fertility, the Sarakatsani appeal to forces related to the belief in the Mother-Goddess. But the presence of the latter in the corresponding ritual is only discernible if one goes back to very remote times, for some of these avatars survive in the symbolism of various practices and the effectiveness of the latter derives from them; over time, some of these practices have taken on a Christian coloring.

In the pages that follow we shall again find these same ideas incorporated in other facets of Sarakatsani magic. For the moment we have yet to describe the practices which promote fertility indirectly.

There are, first of all, some observances concerning the day of conception. If the festivities of the wedding (which sometimes last several days) end on Monday evening, the women of the family keep the bride close by so that her husband will not touch her, since this night forms part of

/270 cont./

776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
[787] of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p. [illegible]

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/270 cont./

000 burned bit of the father's cloak. The first excrements of the newborn
751 child are kept and transformed into an amulet. An amulet meant always
789 to protect the child is made from the excrements of a dog.
[237]

All these measures put the child in contact with the mysterious
[825] forces that dwell in the body of the mother and the father and that have given it life, or with the warding-off properties of the dog /271/ (a being capable of forcing back the evil spirits) (61).

[171] 61. The beliefs pertaining to the caul and the dog also existed in the Byzantine epoch. See Ἰω. ΤΖΕΤΖΗ : Σχόλια ... versus 55 et 77.

--Moreover, everthing dealing with the woman in childbirth, her excrements, her clothing, transmit vitality. The physician ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ὁ ΤΡΑΛΛΕΩΝ I, 437, says that sick people gave their shirts to a parturient to wear; after her confinement they got them back and put them on again in order to be restored to health. On blood, the source of life, see

Ἰωάννου τοῦ Νηστευτοῦ : Ἀποκαλύψεις καὶ Τάξις διὰ τὸν ἄρρω. M. P. G. 88.

[372] The regenerative fire represented by the ashes also must not be forgotten though the role of the latter is not limited to this.

844 In general, visits to the woman in childbirth and to the child are
574 forbidden. Those who enter may bring evil spirits with them. That is why
789 one hangs on the door of the hut a tuft of red wool--this color having
[822] warding-off properties; (62)

[302] 62. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 203. Colors are treated as powers
[171] ...Red, for example, is the only color everywhere used to paint the body (Grosse: Die Aufange /sic/ /should read: Anfange/ der Kunst, 58 f.). In popular beliefs red is a color that protects against evils and the evil eye:

Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ M. P. G. 61, 104 et passim. — Ν. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Ibid., p. 200 et saiv. — Ε. ΣΑΡΑΝΤΗΣ : Τὰ φυτὰ τῆς θυράς, p. 39-40, etc.

/271 cont./

844 574 789 [783] likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

846 783 789 [788] Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the child-birth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family. [842]

751 789 [527] The health of boys is likewise ensured by another method. On Easter Sunday at dawn each head of a family kills the paschal lamb which will then be roasted on the spit. The moment the blood runs, he wets his fingers with it and draws a cross on the forehead of boys "so that they do not become anemic." (63)

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The amulets, too, afford a protection against evils, and that in a lasting fashion. We have given some particulars concerning their composition, which varies/272/ greatly and constitues a veritable breviary of all the Sarakatsani magic beliefs. On an amulet necklace worn by a child [237] (see figure 101) we found: a miniature of the Gospel which is sold at all the village fairs; a blue ball on which was fastened a small cross; a cross of mastic; a small bag filled with /Figure 101 appears here/ salt and incense; a medal struck with the image of the Virgin; a coin; a bag containing a wing bone of a bat; a ball of amber; a cowrie /porcelain/ (shell of Venus); finally, the weight from a fairy's spindle, carved in gabbro.

/288 cont./

121 others--an assumption that is both ontological and operational.

789 A governing idea comes to light behind these postulates and serves

153 as their foundation: a desired result can be obtained if man, the livestock and their lives are brought into relationship with an appropriate agent--the source of a favorable influence. The magic operation thus involves two components that are placed in association.

Which leads to a new question: How is this association brought about? Two more postulates furnish the solution:

1. Contact. The components of the magic action are placed either in direct contact or in mediated contact. In the second instance one of the elements of the action--and at that moment it is a matter of a cosmic force or a qualitative reality, hence arbitrary--is represented by a symbol or a sign serving as mediator.

It is interesting to note that often an object is chosen as a symbol which itself has a relationship, obviously assumed, with the force it represents, so that the latter will have transmitted to that object some of its properties. Thus the symbol in question has a double efficacy. It becomes a means of contact both indirect (as a symbol) and direct (because of the properties which have been transmitted to it.) That is the

826 case, for example, with the blood of the woman in childbirth on the lips of

844 the child, it symbolizes the creative forces and at the same time has properties of its own since it has already been in contact with the creative forces. In this case we may speak of a mixed contact.

/289/ 2. Representation. The association is sometimes brought about by simple representation. Instead of being brought about materially, the contact is represented. This is the equivalent if not the corollary of the postulate of the representation of situations, but the two things must not be confused. In the postulate, the representation produces the final effect. When the representation is a means of association, the contact is simply imitated without going further.

788 /322 cont./
789 554 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
182 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
[351] the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[848] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[585] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[604] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[844] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
592 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
777 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity. They have
[777] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

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776 must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this
777 she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one
[782] and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report
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1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heaviness, 783 a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be 828 near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the 829 previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situation 783 sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sarakatsani 828 from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred 829 through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make 771 communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, [851] innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The 777 Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe 776 that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three 846 Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's [171] cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

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ill fortune, generally an early death in predicted circumstances. Her precautions, however, are inevitably unsuccessful.

If the Sarakatsani are pressed to give the provenance and authority of these Fates, they reply that ultimately all things are written by God. But it would be incorrect to suggest that the Greek villager or shepherd faces all the events of his life in terms of a simple determinism. They do not think that the Fates arrange every detail of an individual's life. Length of life and amounts of good and ill fortune provide an external framework within which man must still struggle to avoid dishonour. These external circumstances tell nothing of the individual's moral worth; nor within the general limits set by his fate is a man prevented from seeking the help and protection of God. In practice, of course, the individual does not know what the Fates have decided for him. But the knowledge that something has, indeed, been decided encourages him to face dangers with manliness and honour, since no bullet or knife can reach its mark before the appointed hour of death.

When a man suffers misfortune, although different people may variously refer it to God's punishment or the evil eye, all will agree that it was 'written from God' (γραμμένο ἀπὸ τὸν Θεό). Similarly, in commenting on differences of fortune they will say, 'God wills it thus, some are higher, some are lower'. In Sarakatsan thought, existence in a world of external necessity is inevitably involved with ancestral sin. The multiplicity of contrary wills, the division of the sexes, the limitations of time, space, and physical resources lead to acts which are sinful. These conditions imply that the material circumstances of men must be different. Instead of being united in their respect for God, men are divided by their different personal circumstances and their self-interested struggle to improve them. Thus although Sarakatsani would not systematize their thoughts in this way, there is implied a link between ancestral sin and fate. The notion that particular events in life, and the circumstances of an individual's social position are 'written from God' indicates not so much God's detailed pre-arrangement of each individual's life, as His prevision of what will happen to each of His created beings caught up in the contingencies of sin and fate and yet still exercising in the struggle a measure of free will.

/271 cont./

likewise, burning charcoal is placed upon the threshold and, from time to time, grains of incense are tossed upon it. All who enter are subjected to purifying fumigation. The same desire to keep away "evils," causes /the Sarakatsani/ to throw into the hearth an old shoe or a piece of coarsely woven wool which give off malodorous fumes.

Forty days after the birth, mother and child, soiled by the childbirth, must submit to purification. The hut is thoroughly cleaned, the mother and child carefully bathed. Then both betake themselves to the nearest Church where the priest, in accordance with the Orthodox rite, blesses them (in commemoration of the presentation of the Lord to the temple, according to old Hebraic customs which recall the universal taboos of birth). A boy accompanies them so that other boys will be born into the family.

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condition did not improve, she was returned to her father with the dowry. In the second instance, the bride discovered after the wedding ceremony that the bridegroom had a cleft palate. She succeeded in evading the embraces of her husband by feigning sickness and escaped in the night to her father's home. But once the blood of a woman's virginity has been dedicated to her marriage and the honour of her unborn children, the marriage bond is indestructible except in death.

Ideally a girl who has a premarital love affair should be killed. However, there have been cases where either the father or the brother had not the courage to do it, or was persuaded by the girl that she was raped rather than seduced. But where the fate of the mother may hang in the balance, that of the illegitimate child is never in doubt. It cannot be allowed to live in the community, a testimony to the dishonour of the girl's family. It is placed on a mule-path where it may perhaps be found by others and delivered to an orphanage before it dies. No trace of pity is felt for the infant, for it is a thing without honour and therefore scarcely to be considered human at all. In this community an individual cannot exist simply *qua* individual, he can only be taken account of and evaluated in relation to his family membership; and this implies membership within the group of a wedded pair and their legitimate offspring. To harbour in the family a bastard, only one of whose parents belonged to the group, would be a contradiction in terms. It seems clear that the impossibility of divorce and the destruction of illegitimate children are, in different ways, indices of the solidarity and exclusiveness of the corporate family group.

The property of the family is owned corporately. Although the father and, later, the elder brother administer it, it is never, in Sarakatsan thought, the individual 'dominion' of the head of the family. When the elder brother takes the place of his father, he does not succeed to an estate but only to an office. Speaking of the Indian Joint Family, Vinogradoff[1] suggests that the material goods belonging to it are regarded as a common stock of wealth providing means for the subsistence of its members. This applies equally to the Sarakatsan family. Of the sheep it is said, 'They guard us, they allow us to live' (μᾶς φυλᾶν,

[1] Sir Paul Vinogradoff, *Outlines of Historical Jurisprudence*, Oxford, 1920, vol. i, p. 263.

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[794] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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531
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848 775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 [114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a [352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 515 The nomad approach to all feminine physiological troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened 764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar- 573 [589] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un- 122, aneled. If he should die on the road — and the [133] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for 1554 his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in 764 761 mourning. When men turn fifty and women thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.
594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be established between the spouses. (19)

[113] 19. The same principle was valid during classical antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see A. Delatte: Le cycéon /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie: Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.
[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant. It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.
[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here. Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the newborn child.

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 We have spoken previously of the public consent of the bride's kin, the significance of which, beyond what we have pointed out, consists of granting to the marriage of the young girl all the guarantees of legitimacy and convention. It seems to us that this act presupposes a rule according to which "the children born from a proper marriage are legitimate."

However, though on this point we can proceed only by hypothesis, since the Sarakatsani do not express themselves, they are fortunately a certain number of practices which leave no doubt as to their function and which we shall now enumerate:

[221] [492] [484] First, in the course of the seasonal migration, if there is a new bride in the group, it is she who, on horseback, rides at the head of the caravan.

[554] [474] When one realizes that only the chief of the Tséligato has the privilege of traveling mounted while everybody else goes on foot, we understand that this distinction granted the bride has a profound significance. This significance cannot be reduced to the desire of the Sarakatsani to honor the bride, as was formerly maintained. (20)

20. See Hadjimichali: Ibid., A. I, p.

Neither in the ritual of marriage nor in the family life as such does one find anything that can justify such an attitude with regard to the bride.

On the contrary, we have seen that everything tends to place the latter in an inferior position. Now, the practices found in a traditional society cannot be mutually contradictory. They always form coherent systems, and it is obvious that where one thinks one sees apparent contradictions, there is in fact a profound and sometimes hidden reason that guarantees the equilibrium and the cohesion of the system in question.

Our conclusions about the social functions of marriage (to insure collaborators and friends among lineages) explain this phenomenon.

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585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] [342] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:
> [593] One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

848 /142 cont./
598 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, [593] first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. [152] Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, [182] since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parentai hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

/171 cont./

596 171 [113] 44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[176] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16.1.

[595] [848] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[168] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

596 593 171 428 Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, futhermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

837 /219 cont./
781 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
577 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

577 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
629 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
(191) it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
(348) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
577 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate
(684) acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

788 /322 cont./
789 fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman
554 announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When
182 the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to
[851] her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are
[848] publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to
[585] bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy,
[604] means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige
[844] and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his
[428] head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

182 All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with
554 socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to
592 paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could
788 be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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community. A man who, although married and a parent, remained for a number of years under the day-to-day direction of an elderly father, however vigorous, would lose prestige and find himself the butt of comic satire. The fact that the younger married brothers work for a time under the direction of an elder brother in a common household is a different matter. The relations of brothers after marriage are based on free association. Policy decisions are a matter of consensus rather than direction. The suspicion against the man who does not relieve his father of his burden of responsibility (whether he wants to be relieved of it or not) is that he is nervous, diffident, lacking in self-assertion, and unable to be a 'capable protector' (ἱκανὸς προστάτης) of his family.

In summary, then, the first phase of the development of the elementary family is a latency period in which conjugal solidarity, although gradually developing, is subordinate to the sibling solidarity between the husband and his brothers and sisters. In general it may be said to last until the birth of the first child. Also, although there is no formal change in the relation of father and eldest son during this period, competitive friction between them tends to increase.

2. BROTHERS AND THEIR WIVES

After one or two years most brides have become mothers. This, naturally, brings about a great change in the bride's position in the extended family. Previously, although full membership of the group was extended to her, yet in an affective sense she remained a stranger even in the eyes of her own husband. After the birth of her first child it is said that the new bride 'takes root in the new family'. Not only does she take root, as it were, in the extended family but more significantly the new elementary family, consisting of herself, her husband, and the infant child, takes a definitive form. The arrival of the child is received with joy by the whole extended family whose attitude towards the bride shifts from tolerance to acceptance and affection for her as the mother of their tiny kinsman.

It is from the moment when the members of the extended family first feel this new affection for the bride that their control over her begins to diminish. So long as the extended family remains undivided and a younger brother of her husband does

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851 596 not also bring a wife into the group, the bride continues to work very hard carrying water, and gathering firewood for the family. But she will now receive, necessarily, more assistance from the other women in the family and often the demands of her child for the breast, as well as the other attentions it requires, will take priority over all other considerations.

At this time the husband's behaviour towards his wife undergoes fundamental changes. He now begins to talk with her more freely before other members of the family. She is not any longer merely the conjugal partner with whom he has sexual relations, which even in marriage possess a suspect if not exactly shameful quality. She is now the mother of his child; and in this role, especially if her infant is a son, the husband openly recognizes his wife without the ambivalence which previously attached to their relationship. For the child represents his own social individuation; it stresses his separation even from his siblings with whom his common interests have previously been almost undifferentiated. As a father he must now assert himself in the world, and even within his own extended family, if he is to carry out adequately his parental obligations.

[601] After the birth of the first child the bride does not usually continue to address her husband's brothers and sisters as respectively, δάντη, 'master', and κυρά, 'mistress'; instead she [551] uses their christian names. And if, by this time, a younger brother of her husband has been married, the family no longer address her as νύφη, 'bride', but use the name of her husband with the suffix '-ina' added; thus Pericles, Periclina. With these changes it is openly recognized that a new elementary family group has emerged; and they reflect, too, the growing equality in the relationships of the wife with the members of her husband's family of origin who are of her own generation. It is [606] also significant that no member of the extended family, except the parents-in-law, any longer orders her about in peremptory fashion in the presence of her husband, let alone attempts to scold or discipline her.

Parallel to the diminished control of the family over the bride, is the tacit understanding that the husband/father of the new elementary family is no longer able to fulfil critical obligations of his roles as son and brother in his family of origin; specifically, he is not expected to risk his life in any form of

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vengeance killing even if it concerns the death of a brother or 851
the dishonour of a sister. Under the conditions of social life in 596
a patrilocal extended family it is inevitable that there will be some conflict between a man's roles as son and brother in his family of origin and his roles as husband and father in his family of marriage. In important matters the Sarakatsani solve this [602]
problem by holding to the principle that obligations to direct lineal descendants always take priority over obligations to either direct ascendant or collateral kin. It is, then, not marriage but the birth of children which breaches the unity of the group of brothers.

The Sarakatsani claim that brothers would undoubtedly live 596
together all their lives were it not for the quarrels of their wives. 578
This is a rather too simple explanation of the causes which eventually lead to the separation of brothers; yet it is true that the differences between wives often provide the occasions for separation. There are two proverbs which the Sarakatsani often [639]
quote when discussing this subject. 'Women make the house and they destroy it' (οἱ γυναῖκες φτιάνουν τὸ σπίτι καὶ τὸ χαλᾶν). 'Wives are like nuts from forty different walnut trees' (ἀπὸ σαράντα καρυδιὲς καρύδια). The second proverb implies that wives are all alike, yet each comes from a different home. 'Each wife', said one informant, 'has her own mother. They cannot come to an understanding.' The Sarakatsani expect the wives of brothers to quarrel and on the whole they are not disappointed in their expectations. Yet, fundamentally, the growing distance between brothers is due to the obligations and affections which they owe to their children and which replace their former attachment to the sibling group. Quarrels between wives are not simply the result of incompatibility of temperament or some innate Greek sense of individuality. They arise because wives identify themselves with the rights and interests of their children. That this exclusive identification occurs, follows from 596
the logic of the kinship system based on equivalent bilateral 612
extension. As we have seen, the elementary family is the only [594]
corporate kinship group which is relatively enduring in this bilateral system. The children of each brother have in common with their cousins only half of their kindred. Through their affiliation to the kinsmen of their mother, they have certain affective interests and moral obligations they cannot share with
their cousins.

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the 596 extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a 593 number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes [851] clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are [612] consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits.

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing 596 are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the 577 community. We have seen how the belief that a married man 554 with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent

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612 τὸ σόι) the Sarakatsani say. But a man's own feelings also prompt
476 him to give this help. Like the grace of God, which is expressed by the same word, such favours are generally without motive or conscious sense of calculation.

There are, however, other forms of assistance and co-operation between collaterals which make some demand on the material wealth of a kinsman and his family. This is no longer merely a matter of personal kinship solidarity, since it is the principle of parental obligation which guides a man in his conduct as trustee of the corporate resources of the family, human
[431] and material, under his control. He is not free to make gifts of money or animals to a kinsman in difficulties. Yet it is still
[675] possible for the families of these men to help one another in situations which involve corporately owned resources, providing that the assistance or co-operation is on a contractual basis of strict accountability. And this, of course, is only possible because between kinsmen there are normally sentiments of confidence and trust. In this way kinsmen sometimes make modest money loans, pasture each other's animals for a consideration, and frequently join in the co-management of their flocks.

The history of the misfortunes of Vasili Arvanitis illustrates this distinction. In the spring of 1955 his winter pastures were flooded by the irrigation of adjoining fields and, as often happens in these conditions, his animals contracted liver-fluke. From a flock of 105 sheep only 63 survived, an entirely inadequate number to support a growing family of five children. Vasili has a first cousin, Spiros Tangas, a more fortunate Sarakatsanos with 450 animals and a small property in the winter pastures near
[409] Preveza. When Spiros learned of the difficulties of his cousin he at once left home and went by bus to Igoumenitsa, a day's
[662] journey away. There he visited an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a friend who had baptized his youngest daughter,
[426] and asked him if he would try to arrange his cousin's applica-
[851] tion for a considerable loan from the Agricultural Bank. For such applications are sometimes delayed for many months because of the formalities of proof relating to the cause of the animals' death. The following day he made another bus journey of some hours to a small town where the Mayor was an animal dealer with whom he sometimes did business. The Mayor introduced him to a friend with a few acres of rough

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VI

AFFINAL RELATIONS

1. BETROTHAL AND ABDUCTION

581 ALTHOUGH in one respect marriage is a religious sacrament binding together two individuals in the sight of God, it is also a contract between the two families of origin of the man and the girl. In the early years of the marriage a brother's wife or a sister's husband is often referred to in such phrases as, 'She is our bride', or 'We have him as bridegroom'. Similarly, people do not ask whom a man has married, but whose daughter [851] has he taken. Indeed it is only as a contract between two families of origin that a marriage arrangement has immediate significance, for, in effect, there is no real recognition of a new [582] family until the first child is born. And since the prohibition on marriage within the kindred compels the Sarakatsanos to find a bride among families which are not related to him, that is among people who are hostile to himself and his interests, this marriage contract is in the nature of a peace treaty between two previously-opposed social groups.[1]

584 Despite the contrary testimony of love songs, romantic [533] courtship is impossible. 'The songs tell lies,' the Sarakatsani say. Virtually all marriages are arranged. It would be shameful for a man or girl to express any preference, and they have only to answer the specific question, 'Will you marry this particular man or girl?' It is almost impossible for a girl to refuse the bridegroom of her family's choice if they insist upon it, although it is believed that a good father or brother ought not to force her into a marriage against her will. But it is also said that a daughter should be guided by her parents' or brothers' choice, and in the period of the last twenty years I have discovered evidence of only two cases of 'marriage by force' (παντρειὰ μὲ τὸ ζόρι). It is more difficult for a father or brother to dictate to a potential bridegroom, but here again, in most cases, unless his feelings are very strongly engaged against a particular girl, the weight of family opinion is likely to persuade him to accept their decision. John Myriounis saw a maiden at a wedding

[1] Except in the marginal instance of a marriage between third cousins.

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God.

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect, but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified.

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction

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S G 648 and groups in the village, the town, and the State, which have the power to threaten his interests. The officers and merchants with whom he must deal have a common quality that they S G 648 G 829 stand outside the community's field of values. In the absence of strongly held universal values concerning the obligations of a man towards general humanity they feel free to exploit, or at least not to help, another person from whom they are divided by the absence of common ties of kinship, community, or class. If they have power, they see no reason why they should discipline themselves in its use towards a person from whom they are morally isolated.

S 571 648 To protect himself the Sarakatsanos tries to establish some kind of link which will transform an otherwise impersonal confrontation into a personal relation; that is, he attempts to draw the individual whose goodwill he wishes to influence into an institutionalized relationship which may exist across the frontiers of community and involves the person's self-esteem and to some extent the sanction of public opinion, so that he must discipline himself in the extent and manner in which he exercises his power. The most effective means of achieving these S 571 648 608 ends is the form of spiritual kinship between the bridegroom and his wedding sponsor (κουμπάρος). After the birth of a child this changes into the even more significant relation between the natural parent and the spiritual parent.

S 608 585 The duties of the wedding sponsor begin on the day of the wedding, throughout which he supports the bridegroom by his close presence both in the secular marriage custom and feasting, and at the religious services of betrothal and marriage. He stands at the right hand of the groom and it is his privilege to exchange three times the crowns of the bride and bridegroom. By his public sponsorship of the marriage he declares that it is an honourable union and that the partners are persons worthy to receive the sacrament of marriage; on the spiritual plane he becomes responsible for them. The relationship (κουμπαριά) which is established between the groom and his sponsor (and for which there seems to be no adequate modern English translation) does not end with the ceremony. It looks forward to the birth of children which is the explicit purpose of the marriage. S 608 851 It is the right and the duty of the wedding sponsor to stand for these children at their baptism, and consequently to enter a

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608 851

The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851 795 796 783 [779]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (νουνός) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851 796 608 [593] [778] [783]

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851 sacrament of Holy Chrism follows at once. In this rite the child
796 is anointed with chrism, a consecrated unguent of many in-
608 gredients, on the forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet; each time the priest says, 'The seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' During the service the godfather holds the child.

851 At the beginning of the service the priest asks the godfather
553 the name of the child. Although a father may give some hint of
608 his preference, it is recognized that it is the absolute prerogative of the godfather to name the child. Generally, he follows tradition by naming the child after one of its grandparents or perhaps after the saint on whose day the Baptism occurs. As soon as the name is known small children rush from the church to the home of the parents to give the news and to be rewarded
[551] with small coins or sugared sweets. In the child's home there is always some anxiety until this information is received, for a person's first name is in some peculiar way an important aspect of his individual personality; and it links him, also, to a particular saint to whom he will turn for protection.

851 At the end of the service those who have attended return with
608 the godfather to the child's home where they offer their wishes for long life and prosperity. The godfather hands back the child to the mother and tells her, 'I return the child to you in this life; but I shall ask it back from you in the next. Protect it well from fire, water, and all evil.'

431 There are certain exchanges of gifts between spiritual kins-
608 men. The wedding sponsor makes a not inconsiderable outlay
585 at a wedding. He must give the bride a dress, and a gift of money when he takes his leave at the end of the celebrations; he must provide the wedding crowns, the candles, and sugared almonds, as well as his share of bread, meat, and wine; he must tip the band generously when the bride, the bridegroom, and his close relatives are leading the dance; and he is responsible for the offering to the priest. The sum of these expenses is unlikely to be less than ten pounds. In return the bride gives the sponsor
431 the choicest blanket from her dowry. Later, as the godfather,
608 he is expected to give his godchild a complete set of clothing, a gift which is generally offered when the child is one or two years old. It must be reciprocated by the child's family at the next Easter with the gift of a lamb with fleece dyed red, a round of

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608 generally not connected by kinship or marriage. It is therefore, despite the ritual sanction it contains, an inherently fragile bond which can only be sustained through the meticulous disciplining of attitudes and feelings on both sides. Two people formerly unrelated are drawn into a relationship of exacting ethical standards in which their mutual esteem and respect are profoundly committed.

[283] Just as the gift of God's grace which is implied in the rite of Baptism is a free gift, a gift without motive, and one which expects no reciprocity, so it is held that a godfather ought not to refuse any reasonable request of his godchild. In practice a godchild has little to do with his godfather, to whom, however, he must show a formal respect more punctilious than the respect he observes to his natural parents. While the ritual relation between the godfather and his godchild is more important than that between bridegroom and sponsor, the social relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent, persons of the same generation with common or complementary interests, is more important than that between the spiritual father and his godchild. Nevertheless, when a man seeks a favour from the godfather of his child, he asks for this help implicitly, or explicitly, in the name of the child; for it is understood that he has the right to make this request because of the ritual relation which exists between his child and its spiritual father. It follows that, in an important sense, the social relationship between the natural and the spiritual parent is dependent on the ritual link between godfather and godchild.

608 The wedding sponsor, in theory, has the right to baptize all
851 the children of the marriage. The Sarakatsanos, however, sel-
557 dom wastes these opportunities by allowing a single godfather to baptize all his sons. When the second son is born he tactfully asks the godfather of his first son if he would mind surrendering his right on this occasion because X has asked him if he might have that honour. He may add that as X is an important man he fears to give him offence. This, of course, is not true but the lie serves its purpose. In this way a man may establish almost as
608 many links of spiritual kinship as he has children. If the first
851 child is a girl, the sponsor baptizes her but normally he must also become the godfather of the first son when he is born. However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be

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However, if two or three girls are born in succession, he may be asked to waive his right before the birth of the next child in case he is bringing bad luck by having an 'unlucky hand' (κακοφίζικο χέρι).

A man may sometimes ask a father if he can baptize his child, and it is agreed that ideally this is the correct procedure. However, since the prospective godfather is more often a person of higher social status or prestige, it is generally the father of the child who takes the initiative in establishing the relationship. It is not easy for a person to refuse to 'baptize' a child, but a man who is forced somewhat unwillingly into the relationship does not generally become a useful or co-operative spiritual kinsman. Yet the advantages of the relationship do not all lie on the one side. A man who has 'baptized' many children has many clients who are in some measure morally bound to support him whether with votes, commercial custom, or in some other way. A man with many dependants wins prestige amongst his equals. And to stand as godfather is in itself a good thing, an action pleasing to God.

Considerably more than half the spiritual kinship relations of the Sarakatsani are with persons outside the community. The occupations of these persons are various. They include cheese merchants, animal dealers, village Presidents, members of village councils, village shopkeepers, other prominent villagers with influence, transport lorry owners, veterinary experts, lawyers, Members of Parliament, grammar school teachers, tailors, and others. They have one quality in common that they all are able in different ways to help or hinder the families who wish to establish a link of spiritual kinship with them.

Spiritual kinship is not the only means of introducing an element of moral commitment into a relationship with a person outside the community, but it is the most effective. The ritual sanction 'locks' the relationship. An accusation of ingratitude may easily break well established relations of friendship of the kind that are based on the exchange of complementary favours, but it cannot destroy a connexion of spiritual kinship, nor is it a justification for retaliation against the other partner whatever the provocation. Although there are godparents who do not alter their course of conduct after entering the relationship, this is rare. Public opinion and a man's religious and social conscience put some restraint on him. Naturally, merchants and

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which does not necessarily compromise the nobility of his soul. 783

Nevertheless these are sins which separate man from God. 828 If they provoke no sense of personal guilt, a man feels a heavi- 783 ness, a depression of his spirit, when he thinks of his need to be 828 near God, and of this inherited condition of sinfulness. In the 829 previous chapter I mentioned how the Sarakatsani think of the years of youth as the time of moral excellence. Later come responsibilities and the need for cunning, deceit, and lies. There is grudging admiration for the expertise of the shrewd leader but regret that the means to success must be these. 'If only we had trust in one another', is the most common Sarakatsan expression of utopian values. In the face of the many external threats to their way of life they are profoundly conscious of their own disunion. They sense, also, the distance between the heroic quality of their ideals and the often petty quarrels, or hypocritical posturings, of everyday living. But, they say, there is nothing the individual can do to alter the corrupt forms and conditions of life in this world. In this situa- 783 tion sin, for which they are not responsible, separates the Sara- 828 katsani from God. It requires the grace of God, conferred 829 through the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist, to make 771 communion possible. Inevitably if a child dies unbaptized, [851] innocent of the world but still implicated in the appalling consequences of original sin, its soul is lost. The baptized Sarakatsanos is free of the original guilt, yet participation in the world of sin again separates him from God and he requires, therefore, the periodical renewal of his state of grace which the Eucharist effects. The related elements in Sarakatsan religious life, then, are simply these: the nobility of the Sarakatsani, ancestral sin in the forms of sensuality and envy for which they are not individually responsible, the consequences of this condition of sin which separates them from God, the sacraments which reunite them to Him.

Ideas about fate are related to these notions of sin. The 777 Sarakatsani, in common with most Greek villagers, believe 776 that on the third night after the birth of a child, the three 846 Fates (Μοῖρες), in the form of three old women, visit the infant's [171] cradle and write the child's fate. What they decree is unalterable. In a number of folk stories the mother overhears the words of the Fates and attempts to prevent some stroke of

536 pair then retired to a hut, and to the hilarity of all,
522 comic simulacra of considerable indecency were
831 enacted within. But the groom was found wanting and thrown out; candidate after candidate entered with apparent promise, and each one in turn was
[533] ejected in disgrace. A fitting champion was discovered at last, and during a final mime of triumphant bawdiness, the entire company danced around the hut singing "The Pepper Song," the dancers alternately banging their noses and their rumps on the ground with a seesaw motion I would give much to observe.

● 851 The feast of St. George is the most propitious
553 for christenings, and babies born immediately
[796] afterward often have to wait for a year to be bap-
[775] tized. But they are always named at once, and should they fall ill, they are given a lay baptism on the spot, lest they should die and turn into little
163 vampires. The average family varies between
848 five and fifteen children. Random fornication,
[684] adultery, divorce, rape, and bastardy are unknown, and should a case of bastardy ever crop up, death to all concerned is the only remedy. This is not only for reasons of morality, for these ill-starred children are thought to be Satan per-
[725] sonified; they bring a curse on the huts, and should one grow up and die a natural death, a ghost rises

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848 We believe that the true justification for this suppression
842 resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the
[833] legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act
[602] must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives
574 his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the new-
[431] born child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation
852 of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and
848 which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father
182 the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to
602 surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in
578 advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship
602 bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

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fixing of the tuft of red wool on the door of the child-bearing woman announces that a legitimate birth has taken place in the family. When the wife carries out the /323/ rites of prosperity which are entrusted to her, her new role as mistress of the house and her status as wife are publically acknowledged. The right of the aunt on the paternal side to bury the placenta, testifying to the arrangement of tasks in a hierarchy, means that there is here likewise a hierarchical arrangement of prestige and, consequently, or persons. And when the elder son breaks on his head the bread commemorating his father (an act both magical and religious, of which we shall take note in the following chapter), his attendants recognize him as the successor to the deceased.

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All these examples, except the burial of the placenta, deal with socially new situations (birth, creation of a new family, succession to paternal authority) which, as such, might be questioned. The child could be illegitimate, the marriage not in order, the succession usurped. In studying the Sarakatsani family, kinship and the functions performed by the latter, we have become convinced that out herders place extreme importance on relations dealing with the family bond. All the actions connected with it aim to rule out any possibility of disagreements which would permit the incorrect application of the rules of family life. Now, it seems to us that the performance of the rites which, basically, are rites of passage dealing with the status of persons, is also directed toward the same end. No one is authorized to practice a rite or to benefit from it if his status, which authorizes it, is not confirmed beforehand. And if the group accepts the performance of the rite by or for this person, it is because it recognizes it the same time the legitimacey of the act and its context. This approval rules out any tension, any explosive situation, such as would occur if, in our examples, the child were illegitimate, the marriage irregular, the succession usurped. In these hypothetical instances, respectively, the conjugal family would split up; the extended

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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
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2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

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854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

585 long chain of the dancers. Their pace subsided
535 to a ritual shuffle. There is nothing unusual in this; with a few exceptions, Greek dances, however many people may be joined hand in hand, are in effect solos — everything devolves on the leader, and each dancer, when his turn comes, fulfills the temporary role of coryphaeus. The job of the others, and especially of his immediate neighbor, to whom he is linked by a handkerchief, is to support him in his convolutions, and these are astonishing when a real mountain dasher is in the lead. But today, even after the first bridal saraband, the Dionysiac zest seemed to abandon the others when they linked hands. The dominance of form in the life of these nomads began to dawn on us.

595 Outside this semicircle, however, all was rejoicing. Staidness evaporated on release, and scores of young nomads were carousing and reeling under
[535] the branches. Squatting or standing among the wigwams, rings of geometrical women confabulated or sang together, and there was even an ex-
[283] clusive little ellipse of dancing women. Their gatherings were abristle — like those of the men with their crooks — with the carved distaffs tucked in their belts, all cloudy with rough hanks of raw wool, the spindles rising and falling at the end
[854] of their twirling threads. Some of the younger of these spinning squaws had wooden cradles slung papooselike on their backs, each containing
[533] a miniature nomad. Their songs had the same epic themes, laced with lament, as those of the men. The murmur of their talk was broken, again and again, with peals of laughter.

The Sarakatsánissas, usually so silent in the

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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[803] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

868 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The 593
solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of [558]
prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or
dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the
individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever
he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do [627]
siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for
the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a
legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's
family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the
common experiences of early childhood. As children they [573]
sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. [264]
Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them [555]
from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking
trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried
sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother
or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody
but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and 593
hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to 152
mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's
anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge
with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried
sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in
its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for
some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy
of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's
accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension
which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective
circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The [631]
violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family, 593
flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the 233
family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the
animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is
another ground for their close identification. They do not work
(as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers
with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make
sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual 593

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community. 593 591

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after 593 577 867 [855]

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

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596 2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
858 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore 867
him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep' 858
around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the 861
minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual 862
process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in 863
cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In 858
other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two 861
and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child 593
to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life 858
is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents. 593
The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

868 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[583] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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593 domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth
596 with her various grandchildren around her, the mother be-
[888] comes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but
858 also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing
888 up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right
[596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations
828 towards each other but they are morally identified. The
858 responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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ἀπὸ κάτ' ἀπ' τὴ μηλιὰ θὰ πέση). It is thought that God often 593
punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression 828
in another proverb, 'The sins of parents torment the children' 858
(ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).[8] Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God.

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its 593
general character from the close physical and psychical de- 828
pendence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse.

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very 593
strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother 577
possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love.

[8] Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is 593
carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any 593
discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is 861
difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young 858
children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in 593
later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes in- 867
creasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the 858
duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and [577]
prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct 593
authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the 593
public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent 554
estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the pres- 578
tige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent.

But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other 593
ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles.

It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old [222]
boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister.

It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one 593
of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, 858
of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the

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593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάρικο ἀρνὶ μὲς τὸ μαντρὶ δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
593 connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
578 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general, authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the speciali-
578 zation of technical roles.[5] Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or
463 failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

[5] An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

/17 cont./
published data. (1)

1. Madame Hadjimichali: Ibid., p.

and on information furnished by the Services of the Hellenic State.

Thus, there is evidence that:

--The birth rate is very high among the Sarakatsani. Their families are very large, and the number of children that play around the huts is considerable. "It is the children that make up true wealth," the Sarakatsani say; they also maintain that number of boys is of greater importance to them than the number of girls. This statement is based on the fact that children of the female sex are not preferred and it is what they all believe, but it--is false. If it were true, the Sarakatsani would have difficulty marrying, since they practice endogamy; as a general rule they marry only Sarakatsani.

Now, there is no shortage of girls to marry in spite of information to the contrary furnished by B. Skafidas. (2)

2. Oi Sarakatsanaioi, p. 362.

In taking a census of married women within the limits of two large Sarakatsani groups (at Tchoucalades very near Mt. Parnassus, and at Plaka near Lamia) who, significantly enough, were in the process of transition towards the sedentary life, we had occasion to /18/ confirm that non-Sarakatsani women represented a minute proportion (about 1.5%).

--Mortality is apparently low. It is the common belief among the Sarakatsani as well as among the peasants surrounding them that longevity is the rule among them.

This belief seems justified. The local health services of the Hellenic state, established in different localities visited by Sarakatsani, told us that mortality really is very low. Moreover, a visit to the Sarakatsani cemetery at Tchoucalades gave us the opportunity to ascertain that the average age of the deceased inscribed on the tombstones exceeded 70 years. Obviously, since there are no civil state registers among them (3) one may question whether these figures are very accurate.

/134 cont./

586 solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that
587 divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established
182 alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise
[581] to hostilities and disorder.

586 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife,
182 an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the
578 estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can
602 scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective
581 grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives
602 of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the
858 children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If dis-
578 affections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only
[613] the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility
182 of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life
[586] together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the
[587] widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of fights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

/362 cont./

121 15. Thus M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 243, who, although starting from another experience, arrives at the same conclusion.

It is part of the human function that is commonly designated by the term "understanding". It presupposes neither a specific mentality nor a strictly traditional social framework. As long as there are /363/ problems that knowledge will not solve, and there will always be such, myth will make its appearance beside them.

Examples abound. We find them in the dialogues of Plato, wherever Socrates, the analyst without equal, seeks to grasp entities inaccessible to the logos. (16)

16. P. M. Schuhl: La fabulation platonicienne, passim.

We find them in "technicized" societies where science and technology advance side by side with social, political, governmental, historical myths promising to render life paradisical, side by side with miraculous therapies, with astrologers and fortune-tellers, spiritualism and Christian science.

The marriage of rational thinking and myth is characteristic of man and will disappear only with him.

The Sarakatsani, profiting both from rational thinking and mythical thinking, is, in the final analysis, simply obeying the make-up of the human mind.

EDUCATION

86 The term "education" is taken here to mean communication and transmission of knowledge and of myth, the complement of knowledge. Now, as we know, it is direct and daily personal contact of youth with their elders (brothers, parents, grandparents) which ensures the transmission of knowledge during, and in connection with, common work, discussions, narratives, festivals, etc. (17)

86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction, given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 494 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in 596
the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activi- 578
ties, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the [861]
child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the co-existence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives 596
has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not 626
unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the [578]
wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought 591
to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother 596
has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married 591

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discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is 861
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children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

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596 identification of their interests and affections are the members of the family that they cannot tolerate a permanent minority opinion. To dissent is a kind of treason. In a qualified sense, it may be said that authority over the affairs of the corporate family, in the later years of its existence, is corporately exercised. In practice, there are naturally many matters in which the head of the family through his experience in bargaining and negotiation has more expert judgement; and here the family will be guided by his recommendations. But, similarly, he in turn will take the advice of his sons or brothers when difficulties arise over the grazing and condition of the animals.

596 No outside person or group has the right to interfere in the
626 internal affairs of a family. The family has an unfettered jurisdiction over its own concerns. Public opinion exerts an immense moral pressure on a family, if the conduct of its members falls appreciably short of the ideals of family life; but it has no means of legitimately and forcibly restraining an unrepentant father
596 or brother. One day, together with a Sarakatsan friend, I was
861 passing the home of a man from whose courtyard we heard a
626 confusion of shouts and cries. Looking carefully over the high wall, we saw the father lashing his thirteen-year-old daughter with a leather belt; it seemed that the girl's only fault was that she was too frail to lift and secure some heavy sacks on to a waiting mule. My friend's fury was evident. Sarakatsani cannot tolerate any form of cruelty to children. Yet he insisted that he could not interfere with the father's action even if he were on the point of killing her. But, lifting a heavy stone, he tossed it over the wall. The man, realizing that somebody had been watching him, at once ceased his blows on the child.

596 Within this autonomous family group there is a certain equivalence of rights and obligations between the members. It must be said, however, that this abstraction and separation of rights and obligations only emerges somewhat artificially in our analysis. Because of their very diffuseness it would not normally occur to an individual to balance his rights and privileges against those of another member of the family. There is no conscious accountancy in this solidarity. In general terms everybody has the right to expect material, moral and affective support from the family, as well as assistance in the event of physical assault. We have already stressed that a person will never admit

/146 cont./

594 The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representa-
[593] tives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks
[861] like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern
themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they
represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring
alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years,
861 that is to say, before thay are ranked in one of the preceding tiers,
858 enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the
others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with
the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to
learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this
[596] social education comes about easily and without special effort on their
[494] part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the
general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family
and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken
care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy
128 within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

594 Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family
593

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the <u>whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the</u>
177 <u>head for the family</u>. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the <u>konakia</u> and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 <u>The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy</u>, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

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the world' (μὲ ἔφερε στὸ κόσμο). With the physical connexion 593
between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelm- 844
ing pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from 593
his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long [862]
suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the [789]
provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care [754]
for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that [755]
was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the 593
extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays 596
an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambi- [606]
valence of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her

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593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsan family the obligations of the
581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
[586] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

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2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
[855] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867
858 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

867 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan 867
children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive 858
sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is 593
correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a [876]
note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour 867
is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue
is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child 867
of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such 858
discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family [837]
about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 858 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 883 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old. Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 577 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή). [152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is [593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is [577]
largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the [562]
unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his 593
sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her 867
public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day [123]
by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. 593
Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conver- 834
sation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age 593
provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary [562]
functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community.

The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
[624] role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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prestige, a withdrawal of recognition, a kind of social abandonment. But there are also important sanctions related to this withdrawal of social recognition which are internal to the social personality. I refer to the sentiments of self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός)[7] and shame (ντροπή).

Fundamentally, self-regard is the inner necessity and obligation to achieve identity with the image of the ideal self. This image, of course, is a stereotype presented by society, there is little room for individual speculation, nor would it occur to most Sarakatsani to question its traditional content.

We have seen, in chapter seven, how a father instils in his children a sense of responsibility and loyalty to the family. They learn that in all their actions they are judged by others as representatives of their family and that, therefore, they must compete and hold their own with other children of the same age and sex. A boy learns from songs and stories (and later at school) to identify himself with the values of the idealized heroes of the Revolution. He comes to believe in the superhuman deeds of Katsandonis and Kolokotronis, and in the ability of men to repeat them where the cause has sanctity and men possess honour.

At a more prosaic level he learns, from the interminable criticism of other people's failings, what conduct is expected of himself. The significant point about the image of the ideal self is that it is directed towards what must be positively achieved, that is to the ideal of a social personality with particular moral qualities but also certain material attributes. It is not concerned with a code of moral or ritual interdictions that simply must not be transgressed. Failure to achieve what he expects of himself brings self-disesteem and shame.

A man may feel the loss of self-regard even where his dishonourable conduct, or personal inadequacy, is unlikely to become known to others. But more often than not self-regard also has an external point of reference. A man is constantly anxious as to how his actions and qualities will appear

[7] Although the Sarakatsani use the adjective φιλότιμος to describe a person who 'loves honour', they do not use the substantive τὸ φιλότιμο, 'a sense' of this honour, which is a concept of popular thought extremely common in many parts of Greece. It is clear, however, that ἐγωϊσμός is a close analogue.

/169 cont./
596 626 exercised by the family.

[113] 39. On the idea of social control: E.A. Ross: A Survey of the Foundations of Order /cited in English/; R.E. Park and E. W. Burgess: Introduction to the Science of Sociology /cited in English/, L.L Bernard: Social Control in its Sociological Aspects /cited in English/; H.M. Johnson: Sociology, etc. See also the systematic and critical exposition by G. Gurvitch: "Le contrôle social " in: Sociologie au XXe siecle, Vol. I.

There is no doubt that the Sarakatsani are committed to the strict preservation of their way of life, as we shall see later on and in our final chapter. What is important to note here is that their society, in order to protect itself from possible changes, moves along two courses which converge: it defends at any price the integrity of its cultural armature and it obliges its members to conform to the traditional norms and models of behavior, both for individuals and for the group. That this conformity leads to the preservation of the cultural armature which in turn gives meaning to conformity is obvious.

/170/Now in practice it is the extended family that finds itself charged with this mission, first of all through the education of the [867] children. It molds their moral and psychological personalities according to the ideas and values peculiar to it.

Secondly, /it carries out this mission/ by the direct and tight control of the life of all its members. Its way of life, living together, the community, the collectivity, represent means highly efficient in this regard. No one can escape them. This control goes very far. It reaches even areas which, by definition, ought to enjoy a certain independence, indeed a profound spontaneity, as for example, maternal or filial affection, the joy born of a festival, or the sadness of mourning. In all these instances neither an individual nor the group

/240 cont./

577 [182] Sarakatsani life, on the other, thus appear clearly--the first depending on the second and the second finding considerable support in the first.

* * * *

/241/ These reflections open the way to the study of another problem, that of the process through which morality actually controls the life of individuals and groups.

Observation shows that their morality is strong. It is the result, [867] first of all, of the moral education of individuals, which commences at a tender age and is carried out chiefly by the extended family, as we know. Next, come the example and the putting forward by society of what G. Gurvitch calls "ideal symbolic images," (7)

7. See G. Gurvitch: "Sociologie de la vie morale" in Traité vol. II, p. 152.

which hold a special attraction for men and which correspond to models presented by a good headman, a good father and mother, a good shepherd, a brave Sarakatsani, etc., or by a truly communal family, by the perfect Tséligato--goals toward which every human act must constantly lead. But there is more. It is the mechanism of approbation or of censure proper to [626] morality which is supported by the direct control of behavior (particularly intense in groups such as this whose range is limited) and which expresses itself in valuation of concrete behavior, presupposing the idea of "honor" as the Saraktsani conceive it.

This particular point merits attention. For it is through the idea of honor and the conditions according to which "a man is honorable or not" that one can: 1st, show the margin that Sarakatsani society leaves to individuals to exercise choice in favor of this or that orientation of their action (which constitutes the essence of the moral phenomenon); 2nd, determine the line of demarcation separating morality from law; 3rd, discover the hierarchical relationship of these two types of social regulation in relation to one another.

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

848 /142 cont./
578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential, (593) first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children. (152) Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love, (182) since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
855 and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
593 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
868 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
594 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.

593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed her hand.

596 /176 cont./
474 ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

Not only obligations relevant to the contractual character of the Tséligato must be taken into consideration by those who belong to it. Likewise there are a certain number of principles and prerogatives that derive from the extended family as such; from these the cooperative benefits fully, so that its members are forced to submit to them.

Thanks to this mechanism, the Tséligato becomes a form of group life much richer than an ordinary cooperative, and it effectively succeeds in ensuring the defense and cooperation to which its members hope to obtain from it.

There is no doubt that the Tséligato is charged with economic functions, the reasons for its creation testifying to this. However, for /177/ its functioning to be truly effective it needs a system of organization.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE TSÉLIGATO.

596 The Tséligato has, first of all, a head who is in fact only the
474 head of the extended family constituting the nucleus of the Tseligato.
554 This head, called Tséligas, represents the key figure of the cooperative.
[428] Very often his position becomes hereditary in the sense that he himself during his lifetime chooses among his sons the one who seems to him the most able to replace him. This young man must be intelligent, active, and above all "sociable," according to the Sarakatsani expression. His father does not permit him to occupy himself with herding, but keeps the latter near him in order to train him. Thus the future head learns
[871] reading and arithmetic with the teacher in charge of instructing the
[868] boys of the family of whom we have already spoken, and acquires his technical training from his father, who imparts to him his knowledge and his experience.

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and 593
practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not 606
widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions.

The content of co-operation between affines is not signifi- 602
cantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different [584]
neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they 602
generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man some- 233
times turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour.

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the 602
variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain [361]
of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately, some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His [871]
small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthe cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no [431]
money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
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Greece EH1

There are other ways, less legal, in which the President may sometimes help Sarakatsan friends. When the sheep are mustered for counting each spring on their arrival at the village, it is relatively easy for the President to arrange that the total of animals is underestimated so that perhaps 350 instead of 400 is entered in the records for taxation purposes. Similarly, when milk, meat or wool are sold to a merchant a tax of 2 per cent is levied on the value of the sale. For a friend the President may mark down the price actually paid over for animals or the products they yield. With the connivance of the President and the schoolteacher, a family which is short of labour may sometimes take a child from school before the full term of its compulsory education is completed. It is also possible for the President to do some things to a Sarakatsanos which are strictly against law or custom, because the man may be frightened that if he takes the case to the courts, or the Nomarch, he may suffer worse injustices in the long run. After Theodoros voted against the President in the elections, his sheep were sent for the second year in succession to the worst area of village grazing land. Theodoros could have appealed to the Nomarch but decided it was more politic to settle his differences with the President by more indirect methods.

The strength of the President's position is apparent. In their efforts to come to terms with his authority and influence, the Sarakatsani attempts to draw him into some form of personal relationship that will introduce a moral element of mutual consideration. Three methods are in general practice: spiritual kinship, friendship, and gifts. The first of these has been discussed. The second possibility is that the Sarakatsanos may be able to align himself as the 'friend' (φίλος) and political supporter of the President, if he will accept him.

Here a brief digression is necessary to consider the nature of friendship in Zagori villages.[4] Between villagers ties of friendship relate persons who are, in principle, equals. All villagers, without discrimination, possess the same legal rights in the local polity. If a man is also honourable in his conduct, a good neighbour, and legitimately born of Zagori parents, he is entitled in the social life of the village to be treated with a degree

[4] Friendship in Epirote villages appears to be very similar to the parallel institution in Andalusia. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, op. cit., chapter 7.

/176 cont./
596 474 ties of an efficacy equal to the preceding ones, especially in cases where kinship ties are not available. For the members of the Tséligato are obliged to develop among themselves the same spirit of solidarity as the core relatives of the extended family.

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86 /363 cont./

[illegible]. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [554] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 474 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

53 The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

S /404 cont./
177 cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants
175 served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

S b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According
177 to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows
311 for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive
G use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage
311 of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter
S [361] practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

S c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary
177 jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke
464 the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain
562 occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

S d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.
177
871

Measures benefitting the "landless."

S The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures.
177 Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The
423 Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by
[452] state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages
[233] where they engage both in limited herding and farming.
[241]

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

S At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that
177 all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they
423 were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result,
656 all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on
G leased sites.
656
423

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.

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858 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and
593 indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their com-
868 pulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
[855] and seven years, children remain for the most part in their
[872] mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.
857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
434
[436]
[581] Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
554 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

[861] The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
[872] time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
[875] and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
[562]

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
[561] respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/161 cont./

439 --Leather objects (footwear, belts, etc.).

432 --Metal objects, among which one may enumerate:

a) cutting objects: axes, daggers, knives, penknives, etc.,

b) firearms (guns, pistols) and ammunition,

c) utensils: cooking pots, saucepans, frying pans, metal forks, plates, trays dishes, etc., not forgetting the ghastra,

d) tools, above all pastoral equipment: cauldrons, ladles, etc.

/162/--Complete looms made by peasant artisans, or beaters for looms in general. (35)

(178) 35. This purchase is characteristic of the Saracatsan who have turned toward sedentary life.

--Scissors for shearing and carding machines, insofar as they do not make these themselves.

--Cotton fabric for making certain garments, cotton thread and dyes to dye the fabrics they make.

177 Likewise they try to obtain indispensable service such as:

[233] --The services of shepherds who, not being owners of flocks, accept
[964] work for a Sarakatsani group that does not have a sufficient number of members in relation to the size of its flock.

[875] --The services of a teacher who teaches children the rudiments of the Greek language and arithmetic.

[796] --Religious services administerd by the priest of a neighboring parish.

[256] --The services of a miller whose mill is near the place they are
[286] occupying, not to forget the services renderd by the fulling mill or mandani.

[656] --The services of the Hellenic State (formerly the Turkish administration) with a view to regulating a whole series of questions dealing with the life of our herders (administrative services, taxes, etc.).

596 474 554 434 [436] [581] /163 cont./
not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal
594 554 family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 474 177 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

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86 /363 cont./

17. See pp. 144, 146, 162, 163, 167, 169-170, 236, 237-243. We shall also return to this on p. 430.

871 212 [954] [875] [562] We also know that the Sarakatsani are in general illiterate, that the Tséligas and a few individuals are somewhat able to read, write and do simple arithmetic, thanks to the rudiments of instruction given to boys--never to girls--by the teacher who is summoned to spend a few weeks in the konakia.

871 212 233 596 474 [461] But there is still another fact which deserves to be discussed in particular and which shows that the Sarakatsani are aware of the usefulness "of letters" not, of course, with a view to acquiring any learning, but for the practical aim of being able to control accountability within the Tséligato and not be duped by the possible bad faith of the Tséligas. During long hours when the animals are in pasture, when all is /364/ calm and the shepherds can watch their flocks from a distance, those who are "educated" teach the others the alphabet or arithmetic, carving the letters or the figures on tree trunks or on thin pieces of wood with their knives, from which they are never separated. The Sarakatsani speak proudly of this "open air" school which enables them, should the occasion arise, effectively to check on accountability within the Tséligato. However, it is understandable that this instruction is inadequate. And our herders have never left behind written monuments--save perhaps some letters or contracts about the location of pastures. That is why the investigator who studies their lives cannot hope to discover and be aided in his effort by texts reflecting their lives and written by themselves.

/365/

CHAPTER IV

53

ART AMONG THE SARAKATSANI

The art of the Sarakatsani, like all art called "folk," is apparently naive, but in reality full of meaning. For, although in-

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless critism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life, but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the same age.

● 882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλή).
[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
[583] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected 882
in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he 577
sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his 593
guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possibility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange [581]
an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his [584]
reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter [558]
does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, [836]
she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must [684]
certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of authority.

* * *

At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins 882
his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the 593
direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father. A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible working member of the family under his father's leadership. He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ κάνει τὸν τσέλιγγα).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the
576 instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
[295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
[817] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to
884 his father. After a young man returns from his military service,
593 when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to
576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[701] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[626] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

/166 cont./

596 562 In relation to the men, the women are considered inferior.

The dichotomy according to sex, noted with regard to the conjugal family, exists also, in even more pronounced form in the extended family where men and women constitute different groups, separated and arranged hierarchically.

[535] [196] It is not only the division of tasks which illustates and demonstrates this, but all the phases of daily life, such as festivals in which men and women dance separately, and magico-religious practices in which rites are performed which differ according to the sex of the performers.

* * * *

596 882 554 [627] [535] The young men embody the virile element and the pride of the family. They must distinguish themselves by their "spirit," both in difficult moments, as well as during festivals. They are the ones who take charge of the vendetta, and of the defense of pastures against encroachment, flocks against thieves and of the men against bandits. And they are the ones who will lead the dance, competing with each other in the execution of priouettes and movements full of harmony and masculine ardor. Moreover, there are manifestations of a magico-religious order in which the protagonists are young men, who thus become the movers of forces favorable to the group. Finally, they represent productive forces in their work and, as future husbands and fathers of families, they guarantee the continuity of the lineage and of the family.

596 554 However, for them, too, seniority on the one hand and kinship on the other, represent the criteria by which they are placed in the social heirarchy within this same family framework.

* * * *

596 In conclusion, it is necessary to emphasize another significant aspect of the life style of the extended family, which has to do with festivals and with religious and magical practices.

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged by the love and support of all the members of the family and other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable catastrophe.

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[593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

/180 cont./

474 554 578 Dissatisfactions and disagreements sometimes arise between the Tséligas and the participants. Likewise, his management may provoke controversies.

(627) To cope with these difficulties, arbitration is provided; each party proposes one or two other Tséligas as arbiters, and the sentence pronouced is obligatory for everyone. The chapter devoted to Sarakatsani law will give us all the details of this.

474 596 571 On the other hand, the daily life of the families belonging to the Tséligato changes in no way except for the fact that they have ceased to be isolated. Their interior functioning continues to remain the same. It is only /181/ that thereafter their members have the opportunity to develop social relations (friendships, congenialities, as well as hatreds and dislikes) with a greater number of individuals. Thus, social life becomes more intense.

474 596 554 For the headmen of families, responsibilities weigh less heavily. The Tséligas is always there to assume them in the name of all. Since they represent the link between their family group and the head, they receive instructions and benefits from him and, twice a year, before the change of location, "accounts are settled with him." Then, should the occasion arise, the Tséligas must "give an account of his management of the family enterprise associated with the Tséligato" to the members of the family, of which they are in charge.

474 883 (621) The communal defence against wolves, bandits and trespassing devolves upon all the young men of the Tséligato, who must act collectively, aided if necessary by all the able-bodied men. The Tséligato is a community which its members must all defend together, whether the individual or possessions are threatened.

596 629 A vendetta, on the other hand, remains a family affair. The other participants do not involve themselves in it.

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882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
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576 drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he
295 generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son
[901] no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.
[561] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group[2] of fully adult but unmarried
[577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
[558] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

[2] Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλληκάρι is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[626] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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562 828 well as the men. They admit that they do not possess the intelligence of men. But they take a certain perverse and compensatory pride in their reputation for cunning and the ability to deceive their men 'forty times each day'. They agree that women are weak, and that the fault in cases of seduction or adultery lies mainly with the girl or the wife. Therefore they accept it as right that, in the first place, retribution should fall on the woman. In customary behaviour this social and moral inferiority is expressed in a number of ways. Women walk behind their men when they are together in public and show them respect. In church the women huddle at the back or line the left-hand wall. Women agree that they are inferior to men in every way, and they continually bemoan their fate that they were not born into the other sex.

562 828 577 Nevertheless, through the possession of shame it is always open to a woman to discipline and redeem her sexuality. The inclinations of her nature, whether conscious or not, make this [831] difficult; but it is the prerequisite of honour. Virginity is a quality which provokes the deepest respect and a sense almost of awe. But the moral dualism of the sexes is finally transcended through the paradox that from women are born the noble sons [554] who will protect the honour of the race. And, as the mother of adult sons whose reputation for manliness is untouched, and as a woman now past the period of her active sexuality, she has almost overcome the moral disabilities of her sex.

* * *

562 156 561 This opposition of the sexes provides the frame for contrasted ideal types of social personality for men and women at each of the three stages of adult life.

884 826 For the unmarried but adult shepherds, the boys (τὰ παιδιά), the pallikaria (τὰ παλληκάρια), physical perfection is an important ideal attribute. A youth ought to be tall, slim, agile, and tough. Ideally, at least, a pallikari is never short in stature. A certain regularity and openness of feature is desirable but without any hint of effeminate fineness. Swarthy complexions and [232] narrowly set eyes are deplored. Any kind of physical deformity is fatal to the reputation of a young shepherd.

884 577 554 But moral qualities are also demanded of the young shepherd, especially courage and strength of purpose. If in addition to

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these qualities he also possesses the necessary physical attributes a young Sarakatsanos can fairly claim to be λεβέντης καὶ παλληκάρι. The first of these terms is perhaps the more composite, describing a youth who is handsome, manly, narrow-hipped, and nimble; such a youth will distinguish himself at a wedding by his upright carriage, restrained manner towards his elders, and his agility in the dance. Παλληκάρι is rather the hero warrior with physical strength and assertive courage who is prepared to die, if necessary, for the honour of his family or his country. Caution must always be foreign to his nature.

It is also said that the young shepherd is free and independent. This does not indicate a freedom from social obligation that permits the indulgence of individual fancy. On the contrary, it means an independence from the cares and duties of a married head of family that frees the young unmarried man to give all his thoughts to the defence and vindication of personal and family honour. A head of family must consider what will happen to his wife and children if through involvement in some affair of honour he is killed or thrown into prison.

Since it is only in the years before he assumes the practical responsibilities of parenthood that a man is both innocent of the sexuality of woman and free to model his actions without compromise according to the ideal pattern of honour, these years of youthful manhood (τὰ νιάτα) represent for the Sarakatsani a time of perfected manliness when a man reaches as high a point of moral refinement as the human condition will normally allow. Speaking of his youngest unmarried brother Elias, Demetrios Carvounis explained that he, as leader of his family in a world where the majority of men are without love of honour, was forced from time to time to acts which his conscience did not approve. One day it might be necessary for him to go into court, place his hand on the Holy Bible, and swear falsely to save a member of his family, or his stani, from a crippling fine. Another day he must forgo his natural pride and obsequiously seek the aid of some Government servant. Deceit and lies are always needed in his work. On the other hand Elias was every day with the sheep on the high ridges in the clean mountain air, alone or with a single trusted comrade. Evil could not touch Elias in the same way.

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884 156 577 831 He was simple and innocent (ἁπλὸς καὶ ἀθῶος); not simple in the meaning of an absence of intelligence but in a simple singleness of purpose; and innocent in the sense of freedom from guilt or the need to use guile. Such young men, Demetrios added, since they do not know women, are παστρικοί, that is, clean and pure. Male virginity is the ideal. And continence is thought to confer a certain invulnerability on those who face dangers, especially the danger of bullets in war or brigandage. Of sex relations in marriage Aristoteles, a young man of 28, who in every way conforms in conduct and person to the ideal pallikari pattern, was able to say before other men that he was ashamed even to think of them. Sex, sin, and death are related; [581] similarly virginity, continence, and life. The Sarakatsani anticipate marriage with joy, but also with regret. The founding of a family is wholly good, yet marriage, sex relations, and children, [554] inevitably foreshadow death. The pallikari, not the head of family, is the ideal of manhood.

884 554 It is during these years of early manhood that the community begins seriously to take stock of a man. His marriage will be the means of linking two families in affinal alliance, and the assessment of his manliness is one factor which, in part, determines how other people will treat his family. When he is [302] twenty or twenty-one years old and shortly before he goes on [411] military service, he will grow a moustache, and his father, or brother, will buy him a broad-bladed dagger. These are the outward symbols of his assumption of the status of manhood and of his pretension to be a pallikari.

156 884 554 577 578 The community will gradually form an opinion of his prowess as a shepherd, his fearlessness on the high ridges, his devotion to a sick or injured sheep, and his skill in grazing. It is difficult to say how this opinion is formed, since unrelated shepherds seldom work together. Possibly the estimate is sometimes inaccurate. But the critical moment in the development of the young shepherd's reputation is his first quarrel. Quarrels are necessarily public. They may occur in the coffee-shop, the village square, or most frequently on a grazing boundary where a curse or stone aimed at one of his straying sheep by another shepherd is an insult which inevitably requires a violent response. In any case some account of the event becomes public property. If the quarrel occurs before unrelated bystanders, the

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community may obtain a reasonably factual account of the fight. If it is not witnessed by an impartial audience, the contestant with the fewer marks of injury and the greater number of persuasive kinsmen wins the day. It is the critical nature of these first important tests of his manliness that makes the self-regard (ἐγωϊσμός) of the young shepherd so extremely sensitive. It is not only the reality of an obvious insult which provokes him to action, but even the finest of allusions on which it is possible to place some unflattering construction. To direct the slightest public mockery (χορόϊδευμα) against a young shepherd challenges him to fight. It may be possible to recover from an early failure of nerve and conduct, but a series of failures is fatal to a man's reputation. The more clearly his weakness is exposed the more often he risks open ridicule, and only the careful protection of brothers and kinsmen will save him from complete social obloquy. In fact there are few failures. Few physically weak children survive, and from an early age sons learn the meaning of their personal responsibility for the pride and honour of the family.

Sudden death stands close to the Sarakatsani and they are continually aware of its presence. 'He is behind our ear' (τὸν ἔχουμε στὸ ριζάφτι),[3] they say. Many children die in their early years, childbirth is dangerous, shepherds miss their footing on high ridges or fall into swollen rivers. But the tragic quality of the death situation is most evident when the pallikari dies for honour. For the young man will lose the perfection of his manliness if he will not on the instant give up his life in the cause of honour. If men must lead their lives according to a pattern of exemplary actions which express a system of agonistic values, the meaning of existence is the freedom to struggle to realize a certain mode of being and honour which, in the case of the pallikari, the Sarakatsani believe to be as near perfection as the determinations of the human condition will allow. Death extinguishes life, and the ability to compete in terms of pride and significance in social life at the very moment when the pallikari is most fit to compete. Death also removes an individual who was closely bound to family and kin; this is part of the tragedy expressed in the funeral dirge. But if death destroys the individual in the pallikari it leaves untouched his 'persona',

[3] Cf. Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ροη'.

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156 884 577 761 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 577 885 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family. Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possess. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 885 577 425 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company', has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures, he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 885 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with [794] these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age [561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect [286] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara- [584] katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
885 huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements, if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled. A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect. Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to move about more freely and with less supervision. She must appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή). It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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The root of the involvement of the Sarakatsani in these dramatic happenings lies in the simple belief constantly reiterated, especially by the women on the Friday, that 'he died for us'. They identify themselves with the sufferings of Christ because He has identified Himself with them. In becoming a man like themselves He asserted the essential nobility of man. In His death, His blood effected a union between man and God which overcame the separating barrier of ancestral sin. His resurrection has for the Sarakatsani the paradoxical significance that He lives to die again; for, particularly in the events of the Great Week each year, and more generally in the sacrament of the Eucharist, He continually performs the miracle anew. In the cry, 'Christ is risen', is the knowledge that His liberating blood will always be at hand to save men from abandonment to the Devil. 771 996 996

The role of Christ in this situation, like those of the Mother of God and the Saints in the everyday cult, is that of intercessor. But in this instance the act is on the cosmic scale, not merely a partial and external relationship effected by a Saint between a particular individual and God. It is the reconciliation of all men to God and to one another. The fitness of Christ for this role lies in his origin from God the Father on the one hand and His human mother on the other. 'He was a man, then, like us' it is said both in folk tales and in comment upon the events of His life. From His mother the divine Son of God took on a condition in all respects like that of man, except that through His virgin birth he remained outside sin. Born of a virgin, a virgin in His life, it needed the sacrifice of a Being, divine, human, exposed to sin yet untouched by it, to bring man and God together.

The Sarakatsani understand well the efficacy of virginity. It is a condition which, temporarily at least, defies the corruption of age and death. As it has been suggested in the discussion of prestige values, the time of moral excellence in a man's life is the period of youthful manhood before his marriage, when he is free to live by the ideal standards of honour and when, also, he is ignorant of the sexuality of woman which is one consequence, in a world of sin, of the division of humanity into two sexes. As the virginity of the Sarakatsan youth or maiden is a partial and individual attempt to deny the consequences of 831 577 884 [791]

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577 771 sexuality, so the virginity of Christ suppresses in His person this fundamental division of humanity.

771 But men are also divided from God and from one another 783 by their mutual envy. This disunion is a more subtle form of 776 corruption which few men attempt or are able to resist. It requires the sacrifice of Christ's blood to redeem this condition and to establish, even briefly, the ideal of the brotherhood of men that makes possible a full communion between man and God. That in their own social experience only an unmarried brother would make this sacrifice of life and blood confirms in the minds of the Sarakatsani the role of Christ as the archetypal brother, in a transcendent sibling relationship where only identification, and never rivalry, finds a place.

571 The idea of Christ's brotherhood implies, at least, the brother- 574 hood of the Sarakatsani of Zagori, and by extension (though less 771 certainly) the brotherhood of Orthodox Greeks. Christ sacrificed 781 Himself not for one but for all. Not the least miracle of Easter 796 is the measure of social goodwill. There is an easy warmth of greeting and attitude between unrelated men which is entirely foreign to the tense aggressiveness that is the formal idiom of social life at other times. On Easter Monday each family visits, and is visited by, all the Sarakatsan families who live within easy walking distance, whether they are kinsmen or not. Except at the summer festival celebrated by each family (very often the feast of the Assumption) this is probably the only occasion during the year that a man penetrates into the home and receives the hospitality of another unrelated shepherd. On the Saturday of Easter instead of delivering their milk to the cheese merchant the Sarakatsani give it away to villagers or the poorer families of their own community. These simple gestures that might be unexceptional in other communities are an impressive reversal of normal attitudes. The union of men in Christ is reflected at the level of social relations in an expression of ideal solidarity which for a moment breaks down the barriers which isolate family from [829] family and community from community. At other times, the notion that all the ills of the world derive from the view that every man is concerned only for his own family is constantly asserted, and as often deplored. There is always a yearning for unity and goodwill in the community, but it is a yearning accompanied by the knowledge that it can never be.

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VII

THE FAMILY: A SYSTEM OF ROLES

1. HUSBAND AND WIFE

594 THE elementary family contains a number of different relationships and it will be convenient to say something about each of these in turn, always bearing in mind that these constituent relationships do not exist *in vacuo* but are mutually affected by each other and their position in the total complex of family relations of which they are part. There is some difficulty in writing about relations familiar in our own [171] society. We are describing shades of difference and emphasis in relationships which are common to European society. But the importance of the elementary family group in the Sarakatsan community is so considerable that its constituent relationships merit attention.

581 885 One source of strength in the Sarakatsan marriage relationship is its complementary form. A man only participates fully in the community as the head of a household and the father of sons. Similarly, a woman realizes herself in marriage and motherhood. Only as the mother of adult sons does she, to a [585] degree, emancipate herself from male domination. To remain unmarried is failure and the admission of some grave moral or physical deficiency. Both the man and the woman, therefore, become mature social personalities in marriage directed to [586] parenthood. And from a marriage that has been physically consummated there is no escape except in death.

594 The roles of husband and wife are complementary, and generally restrict each partner to a particular sphere of activity. The role of the husband is representative and protective. His work lies with the sheep, their management, and the disposal of their produce. He alone handles money, negotiates with officials, and takes definite decisions about the marriage alliances of his children. He also is the protector of his wife from rape and insult, and when she is sick he brings her medical and spiritual assistance.

The wife's role is domestic and expressive. Her activities centre in and around the huts where she cooks, spins, weaves,

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593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

593 885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593 562 462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

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596 he loses strength. Since courage and physical strength are
826 particularly the qualities that men require in order to defend
828 the reputation of their families, it becomes clear why, for the
[577] Sarakatsani, the honour of the family is literally the honour of its blood.

596 The solidarity of the family group restricts the expression of
551 purely individual feelings, opinions, and personality. This is
[551] reflected in the way that individual members are normally described by reference to the father, who until the marriage of his eldest son holds the chief authority. After her marriage a woman is never again addressed by her baptismal name except
[553] when she visits the home of her birth. She takes instead the christian name of her husband to which the suffix '-ina' is
[885] added; for instance, Periclina (see p. 70, above). In this way there is expressed not only the severance of a woman from her family of origin and her subordination to the authority of her husband, but also the absolute quality of their union. Similarly children of both sexes are known by their own christian name followed by the name of their father in the genitive case, for instance 'John the son of George'. In the eyes of its own members and the outside world, the family is a unity.

581 Whether we regard Sarakatsan marriage as a solemn contract between two opposed groups, or as a religious sacrament establishing the union of a youth with a maiden, it is certainly a transaction which transcends individual interests and desires. Just as the partners must be spotless (nobility in the boy, virginity in the girl), if the relationships which result from their union are to approach and participate in the qualities and nature of the divine model, so it is clear that either divorce or illegitimacy is incompatible with these values. To be born and to grow up in a complete and legitimate family is a minimal requirement for the honourable establishment of children.

586 In fact, divorce is permitted in Greece by the Orthodox Church on a number of grounds including adultery. Among the Sarakatsani I discovered only two instances of divorce; but in neither case had the marriage been consummated. In one instance, the father of the bridegroom advised his son not to have intercourse with the bride because she was coughing
[734] and expectorating blood. The Sarakatsani are apprehensive of tuberculosis, and after eight days during which the girl's

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156 that part of his personality which, shed of individual traits and
884 circumstances, relates him to the ideal type of manliness that
577 he has realized in dying for his honour. Dishonour can no longer
761 threaten the dead pallikari. He is free. And it is in their certain knowledge of this that the women of his family will sing in their dirge not only of their grief, but also of their pride.

156 After marriage the pallikari becomes the head of family.
577 Now the essential ability demanded of him is that he should
885 be an able protector of his family and his flock. Cleverness (ἐξυπνάδα) is the quality which he must possess. It implies a quickness of mind and a degree of foresight. Such a man is not caught asleep or off his guard. It implies also the skill to plot with guile and craft. This appreciation of cleverness is evident in many stories and anecdotes which are told and retold around the fire after the evening meal. There is the tale of the shepherd who had scarcely returned to his huts with a stolen lamb when he saw a detachment of police approaching along the path. At once he threw the animal into a baby's cradle, covered it with a blanket, and ordered his wife to undo her blouse and give it the breast.

156 Lambros, the leader of a substantial co-operating 'company',
885 has a reputation for craftiness. In 1937, in the winter pastures,
577 he shared a grazing boundary with a family of Albanian
425 Muslims who owned a property of 250 acres. Foreseeing that at some time in the future these Albanians might be expelled from Greece, Lambros filed a statement with the court of First Instance to the effect that he had held a lease of protected rights over this property since 1929. At the time there was no reason for the clerk to verify Lambros's statement, since any attempt to implement a false statement would have been repudiated with ease by the owners; and Lambros would have faced a serious charge of perjury. Lambros's foresight was justified in 1944 when the Muslims fled from Thesprotia. He was now able to produce his document and in a few weeks he was duly confirmed in his rights of protected lease over a property which in fact he had never previously occupied. It is this kind of subtlety that wins for a man the reputation for cleverness.

577 It is conceded that a head of household must continually use
885 lies. Lies are not the same as purposeful cleverness, although

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they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (εἰλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

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156 The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding
577 duties gather in the village square or the coffee-shop. On this
571 public stage the chief representatives of the families of part of
517 the total community appear, and by their attitude and bearing
885 and the recognition and response they accord to one another they confirm or deny the ideal equality of one family with another. This equality is only maintained by a constant effort of self-assertion. A family head must strut about as if his affairs are of the greatest consequence. His expression is expected to be severe and proud. Modesty in these circumstances is no virtue but a sign of weakness. Ideally, the claims and assertions of other men must be at least equalled, and preferably surpassed. Yet care must be taken not to make a boast which can be proved to be empty. The boaster whose bluff has been called
[521] is despised. Conversation has a sharp, monosyllabic, contrapuntal quality. It is concerned with self-assertion, not with communication or the exchange of information. On these occasions a man must on no account sit quietly in a corner
[525] unspeaking (ἀμίλητος). To withdraw is to admit defeat. Card games often supplement the drinking and the conversation. Although they are games of chance rather than skill, they are acted out with great seriousness. As each man plays his card, this is struck down on to the table with the full force of his open
[578] hand. Quarrels are frequent if one man wins too handsomely and makes facetious or boasting remarks to the losers.

Yet a man ought to combine with this competitive behaviour a generally sociable attitude. The essence of being one of a company (παρέα) is equal sharing. Each man in his turn is expected to buy a round of drinks for the others. Any hint of meanness is enough to brand a man as tight-fisted (σφιχτός), a very serious charge. On the other hand, the man who moves to the other extreme, who spends lavishly and indiscriminately on entertaining others, or gambles recklessly at cards, is also condemned. Such people are known as wasteful spenders (σπάταλοι), without any sense of responsibility towards their families.

885 Caution, moderation, and self-restraint are the qualities
156 demanded of the family head if he is to be a successful steward
577 of his dependants' interests. We have already seen that in questions of honour the head of the family is unable to hazard himself as freely as his unmarried brother. For similar reasons

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the self-regard of the head of family is not so sensitive as that of the unmarried man. The man whose quick anger before marriage was approved as showing the spirit of the pallikari, is condemned as irrationally violent (ζουρλός) if, after his marriage, he draws a knife at the least imagined provocation. The underlying self-restraint of the head of the family, and the fact that the more volatile unmarried shepherds are isolated each with his own flock for the greater part of the year, contribute to a relative degree of peace and order in Sarakatsan communal life. 885 156 577 [571]

The family head must be able to cut a figure at a wedding or a village festival. At a feast he ought to be able to drink continuously without becoming either stupefied or aggressive. To fall asleep even after long hours of dancing, feasting, and drinking, is a mark of weakness. A repertoire of songs, and a proud upright bearing in the dance, are necessary for a man's social prestige. Similarly his clothes and appearance on these occasions are important. A man like Costas Pistiolis with his unkempt appearance, clothes fouled with dirt, and his inability to sing or dance, is a figure of mockery at the very few weddings he attends. Graceless (ἀχάριστος), and unnatural (ἀφύσικος), is the verdict passed on this wretched man. 156 885 554 577

Finally, the degree of dependence on, or independence of, others is a factor which differentiates the prestige of heads of family. To be a tselingas, or a member of the dominant sibling group of a co-operative association of families, carries the greatest prestige. The dependence of a man without brothers on more distant kinsmen is by no means dishonourable, but it is clearly a situation of less prestige. But the family head who is forced to watch the sheep of another unrelated Sarakatsanos, or a villager, for a wage (ρόγα) forfeits any pretension to social reputation. It suggests that he is so poor that he cannot live from his flock without the money supplement of the wage, or that he has no relatives with substantial flocks with whom he might co-operate, or that he is not acceptable to them. Customarily a shepherd's wage is paid only partly in money, the balance being given in kind, grain, and a pair of shoes for every six months of service. The galling feature of becoming a wage shepherd is the fact of dependence on an unrelated man and the sense of being a kept man. 885 554 464 465

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the pallikari, so the fact that she is not yet a wife and mother allows the maiden to cultivate her shame which lies in her seclusion from the outside world and the denial of her sexuality. This is scarcely possible for a married woman. Not only must she submit to her husband's sexual embraces but her practical duties take her to some extent into the world outside her huts.

The maiden's cultivation of her shame demands that her clothes hide her femininity. Her hair is hidden under a black cotton scarf. A girl who by artifice or accident allows her scarf to become frequently undone gains an evil reputation. The only concession to the display of the hair is that girls grow their hair long, plaited into pigtails. The length of these pigtails, often artificially increased, is a point of pride and beauty. Thick, black, homespun blouses and woollen cardigans are buttoned to the neck and the wrists. The breasts are not supported and the shapeless bodice of the blouse effectively prevents the least hint of a provocative contour. A black woollen skirt is worn to the ankles. Generally as many as three thick underskirts are also worn under this. The general impression of the whole costume is one of shapelessness. The shame which is felt at the exposure of the body, even when no other person is present, means that undergarments are not changed for long periods and the body between the neck and the ankles is never washed. In contrast the hair is washed at least once a week and the face, hands, and feet once or twice each day.

After she reaches the age of sixteen or seventeen a maiden must discipline her movements. No movement even in domestic labour must be hurried. She ought to walk with a slow and deliberate step. In the dance she must not lift her feet more than an inch or two from the ground. A girl who is seen running risks ridicule and a reputation for shamelessness. If, by evil chance, she were to fall backwards 'with her legs in the air' (ἀνάσκελα) she would virtually lose her honour. A girl should be proud but in a sense different from male pride. Thus she ought to be tall with an upright carriage, but with a gaze which is downcast, not level, and an expressive attitude which is directed inwards, not outwards.

A maiden ought to be secluded, as far as this is possible, from the gaze of the outside world. Not only does this guard her name against slander but, if she is unhealthy or ugly, it may

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884 help in deceiving possible suitors. But seclusion is also an
156 element in the cultivation of sexual shame which is essentially
577 hiding and turning inwards thought and facial expression which
834 otherwise become a threat to her own honour and that of
others. It is this knowledge of the powers of her sexuality that
causes her, out of shame, to lower her eyes and withhold a
greeting when she meets a man on a narrow path. It is often
through the eyes that a woman lures a man to disaster. The
attraction need not be consciously exercised. In keeping with
[294] these ideas unmarried girls over sixteen years of age go only
twice a year to church to communicate, at Easter and at the
feast of the Assumption. They are never guests at weddings
which occur outside the immediate neighbourhood and they
do not dance in public at village festivals. A girl in this age
[561] grade is never sent to draw water at the well or to collect
[216] firewood when a brother's wife is available. Ideally, she ought
to spend most of her time preparing her dowry and weaving
cloth at the wooden loom. Such tasks keep her out of the
public gaze. If a girl is seen too often abroad it is soon suggested
[584] that she is being shown off to catch a husband. And in Sara-
katsan thought it is shameful for a girl either personally, or
through her family, to seek a man in marriage, or in any way
to attempt to provoke his desire.

156 Necessarily, the married woman and mother is not able to
577 have as much shame as the maiden. She cannot remain secluded.
834 From time to time she must leave the protective circle of the
huts to fetch water and firewood, milk goats, and rescue her
885 vagrant children. But this is not the same thing as saying that
she may ever act in a shameless fashion. Her clothes must be
as modest as the unmarried girl's and her physical movements,
if they need not be as subdued, must still be carefully controlled.
A careful constraint is the quality she must display in her
public appearances. The Greek word σωφροσύνη, prudence in
the sense of an inner control of feeling and action, although I
have never heard it used by Sarakatsani, seems to express
exactly what is required of the married woman in this respect.
Self-discipline is necessary precisely because she is allowed to
move about more freely and with less supervision. She must
appear modest (σεμνή) and serious in disposition (σοβαρή).
It may be remembered how the unrestrained joking of the wife
of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families.

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of Pistiolis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue.

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable.

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action.

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiencies will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour
577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the
596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of
[606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they
[844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the
577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through
554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com-
[831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul'
[796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech-
754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed
[755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A
[784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and
[794] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to
[833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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596 for these arrangements[1] is public opinion. However reluctant a
593 man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
621 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in understanding the content of government agricultural regulations and in filling up the increasing number of printed forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials. 'They don't know how to go about things in the offices' (δὲν ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

[1] i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son
--- Analyst

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [651]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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goats, a severe enough test of agility and endurance. One goat- 233
herd is normally sufficient but he needs a companion when the 461
kids begin to be born. If the manpower of the stani is sufficient a young shepherd will graze and work the mules and horses. And often an old grandfather will graze the flock of lambs near [887]
the huts for a few weeks after they have been weaned, or will relieve a son or nephew with one of the flocks so that he may take a day's rest at the huts. Although the myth is cultivated [463]
that shepherds are particularly skilled in those tasks which they happen to be performing and that each of these tasks is equally necessary for the well-being of the stani, in fact any adult Sarakatsanos can do the work of any other; there are no specialists.

It is tacitly understood that the post of honour is the care of [554]
the milking ewes, for the future of the stani depends on the lambs and the milk. In the autumn these shepherds set out each day at dawn from the sheep-fold which may be a mile or more from the huts, grazing the ewes on the outlying areas of the better grassland. The sheep are not as intelligent as the Sarakatsani claim and the shepherds must constantly move around the flock whistling, shouting, and guiding the animals with their crooks to the better patches of grass, urging them on at a steady but not too rapid pace so that they gain the maximum benefit from the grazing. At dusk the sheep return to the sheep-fold to rest (μουδιάζουν) until midnight when the shepherds again take them out to graze for two or three hours before they sleep again until dawn. On nights when there is driving rain or no moon the midnight grazing (ὁ σκάρος) is a situation which tests the shepherd's nerves and ability. If a ewe is cut off from the flock it may fall an easy victim to a wolf. Two or three ferocious dogs assist the shepherd to give him [231]
warning of wolves or thieves and by their barking to repel [789]
various aerial manifestations of the Devil which also threaten the flock.

Lambing is the crisis of the shepherd's year. During these weeks the shepherds work almost without sleep. They must be constantly vigilant because a ewe generally strays from the flock to drop its lamb and may then abandon it after the birth. A shepherd must be at hand immediately after the birth to ensure that the ewe cleans the lamb, that the lamb finds the

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474 571 461 521 Because they remain in the camp, the women profit more than the men from the intensity of social relations within the Tséligato. In summer, if one is out walking, one can see them all together spinning while gossiping and watching the children, the young girls for their part mounting the warp or weaving while exchanging confidences and jokes or singing sublimely lyrical songs.

[889] In a corner, the old men, very dignified, smoke their pipes and criticize everybody.

[533] The distant sound of bells or shepherd flutes adds to this atmosphere, which evokes an idyll of Theocritus or a page from Hesiod.

474 132 233 But in winter the colors are less soft. When the north winds sting cruelly and snow or storms make the night diabolical, men and women must protect the flocks, above all the newborn lambs, the hope of the future, by running from one sheepfold to another, from one gorge to another, in a desperate contest with unleashed nature. It is at such moments that the Tséligato completely proves its effectiveness as a form of /182/ solidarity and collective action, and in particular as the only framework open to those who are isolated.

* * * *

474 596 The elements of the Tséligato are arranged hierarchically. At the head one finds the Tséligas and his family. Then the associated families and the isolated shepherds, on an equal footing. This is true from a contractual point of view; in actuality the families are hierarchically arranged according to their size in work force and flocks, the isolated shepherds occupying a subordinate place.

Of course, the principle of seniority and of division by sex plays the same role here as in the other social units, the hierarchy of individuals outside their respective families being rigorously prescribed at the Tséligato level.

[695] For its part, the process of obligation-compensation seen in the

/283 cont./

787 in sexual life has already been emphasized, runs the risk of divorcing.
825 That event will, in one stroke, lead to serious consequences for every-
586 body--probably disturbances of a social order, in view of what has been said in connection with marriage and the functions of kinship. (91)

[171] 91. In Greek folklore, the couple is very often represented by a pair of snakes because of the role of the latter in
[833] fecundity. Hence to combat impotence it is necessary to
[755] find two snakes that copulate during the month of May, to cut off their heads and give them to the patient. The latter must sleep with his wife while keeping the heads in his pocket: W.H.D. Rouse: Folk-lore from the Southern Sporades /cited in English/, p. 157.

233 Sometimes the flock in the pasture will suddenly divide into two
825 groups; this is a very bad sign for the men and their affairs. Perhaps
787 they must be apprehensive lest this division foretell a conflict within the Tséligato, implying its breaking-up with /284/ all the disastrous consequences that may result from this. It seems that the unity of the flocks symbolizes that of the men.

825 Another evil portent for man and his affairs is being startled in
787 the morning by a hare (92) or a partridge which suddenly and loudly takes

[171] 92. The hare brings bad luck. An ancient belief reported by Suidas and very widespread in Greece. See Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II.

off. The man is then overtaken by troxa, according to the Sarakatsani term, which means a state of terror that represents an imminent, very disagreeable surprise.

823 A rock that suddenly detaches itself from the mountain and rolls to
763 the bottom of a ravine is a dreadful portent. It is a portent of death.
787

787 However, the best means of foretelling the future is "the reading of
[887] the shoulderblade." The moment a lamb roasted on the spit is carved up, one
[554] of the old men, usually the head of the family of the Tséligas,

/284 cont./

787 [887] [554] takes the bare shoulderblade and, examining the multiformed spots of the marrow made visible by the cooking and irregularities of the bone, announces the portents. The drawing, no. 102, shows the marks and their meaning.

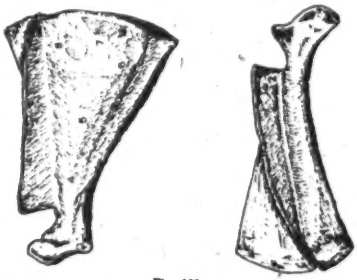

Fig. 102

Foretelling the future on the basis of the shoulderblade.
1. Future law-suit.--2. Paying out or taking in.--3. Arrest.--4. Death (man-woman).--5. Enemy.--6. War.--7. Encirclement by bandits.

[619] /285/ The portents have to do with the life of individuals, the family, the group and even national life--facts which show once again how much the Sarakatsani feels himself to be integrated in his nation.

787 171 Divination by the shoulderblade is practiced in all of continental Greece. It seems that its roots go far back in time. According to Professor G. Megas, divination is bound up with the mysteries of Mithra and was introduced from Egypt into Greece. (93)

93. G. Megas: Παίζιον Ὀρνιθαντωνείας, p. 18.

It is found in Byzantium and among numerous peoples (94)

94. N. ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ : Λαογραφικά Σύμμικτα, Τ Α', p. 78.

Let us cite also a special study on Μ. ΨΕΛΛΟΥ

531 /368 cont./
532 with an art that has almost entirely disappeared at the
114 present time.
178 /369/ Finally, it is necessary to mention the non-symbolic woven
538 motifs and the narratives and tales. The latter, works of oral literature, recount stories in which kings, archons, ladies, beautiful girls, sorcerers, evil spirits, ogres, fairies, etc., take an active part and come face to face in intrigues which end in the triumph of good over evil, of the persecuted beauty over the evil sorcerer, of man over evil spirits. (5)

5. C. Höeg: in the work cited reproduces a large number of Sarakatsani tales and narratives.

However, there is another kind of account and narrative which, in addition to their character and the talent of the narrator, show a utilitarian aspect and, on the basis of this fact, belong to the "incorporated" art. In the course of the command feasts organized for the
538 entire family on the occasion of the major holidays, the old men are
596 invited to tell, for the sake of the young generations, stories that extol
887 the conduct of the ancients in all kinds of circumstances. Thus, their
867 descendants find at their disposal models of behavior derived from their ancestors, which will guide them throughout life along the lines dictated and required by tradition. Let us emphasize that this is one of the ways
[626] the extended family, of which we have already spoken, functions to promote social control.

* * * *

53 The origins of the art existing among the Sarakatsani thus vary according to the nature of its manifestations. When it is "incorporated," it is a purely Sarakatsani art. When it is "free" we rediscover cultural
[177] borrowings, songs and motifs coming from other Greek social environments, however without profoundly altering the Sarakatsani artistic style.

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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the 596
family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, 212
and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to 178
maintain his authority until his son has reached the customai
age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business [451]
papers and account books are kept has become in recent years
a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has
the right to open it.

In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, 886
although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a 596
father to hand over executive control much earlier than 626
custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands 558
over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will
undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even
where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He
must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to
assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the
father's position and difficulties. During the last years of
a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a
father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and
sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the
family, they guard most carefully against any public expression
of their differences.

After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to 596
do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his 887
own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct
instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick
sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts,
and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to
relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no
essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some
activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis
daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors 593
ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but 596
patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The 888
visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the [887]
sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old
people in the community. They are respected if they have led
honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they
are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views

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593 596 888 about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended [584] family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

* * *

593 882 We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

593 844 [827] From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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593 596 [888] domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth with her various grandchildren around her, the mother becomes the physical and moral centre of the extended family, while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 858 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (ἔχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 888 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 828 858 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations towards each other but they are morally identified. The responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pro- [684] nounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ulti- 593 mate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn, 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

3. SIBLINGS

593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common [P27] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide

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593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
[626] a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13–21 years of age
882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
[554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
[561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argumentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however, showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

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596 μᾶς ζοῦν). Every member of the family has a right to draw on
422 this common stock according to the needs of his status and
[583] situation. From it are drawn the dowries of the daughters,
which sometimes exceed in value the patrimony of a brother.
[434] It is the family flock which must support the expenses of a
son's higher education, or the cost of medical treatment in
emergencies.

596 As we have observed in chapter four, no partition of the
425 family property ought to occur before all the daughters have
428 been married with dowries which represent their share of the
888 commonwealth. Thereafter each son has a right to one share
in the flock and any other property which the family may own.
One further share is reserved for the support of the two parents
if they are still alive when the joint property is divided, and
this property passes with them into the family of the youngest
son in which by custom they spend the last days of their life. If
only one parent is alive at the time of partition, only a half
share is retained for his or her support. When the old people
eventually die, their sheep remain with the flock of the youngest
son. This is not regarded as a form of ultimogeniture any more
than the succession of the eldest brother to the office of family
head is considered to be primogeniture. The additional
wealth which passes to the youngest brother is thought to be
only a just compensation for the support of the aged parents
which, although it is a sacred duty, is also in their declining
years of mental and physical feebleness a considerable burden.
[884] The right of a son to a share in the flock of the corporate family
may be implemented at any time after he reaches adult age,
which today is judged to be his twenty-second or twenty-third
year, on his return from military service. In practice, he will
not claim this share until he is married and the father of
children, yet if he should quarrel with his father or brothers
and decide to leave the family before this time, or if he is
driven out, he is entitled to his share of the family wealth.
Normally, however bitter the quarrel, a son may not be
[684] disinherited. A father may drive his son out of the house but
[682] not out of his inheritance; unless he is guilty of some ultimate
crime such as incest or fratricide.

596 We can see from these facts that in principle the father
421 and his sons, by virtue of their common membership in the

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888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
[593] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order. Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his release from the worries and cares of leadership and the knowledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children, or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage, generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsibi-
831 lities permits the young man to live according to the values of

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885 828 her daughters her reputation is dependent, just as the honour 577 of the children is itself contingent on the sexual virtue of their mother.

888 The final stage of a woman's life is the period between the 596 marriage of her eldest son and her death. She now gains a new freedom both from the authority of her husband, who retires about this time, and from the restrictions of social convention. She goes freely into shops to make small purchases for the family and may stop to pass the time of day with unrelated men she meets. With a young bride to do the heavy work about the hut she at last finds a respite from constant drudgery, and her sons treat her with a new-found respect as the mistress of [606] the extended family. Such an old woman should have a kind heart and treat the wives of her sons with firmness but justice. She is their moral guide and practical adviser, to whom they [844] turn in difficulty or doubt. At childbirth she is the midwife who delivers their children and gives them comfort and courage.

888 The reputation of an old woman is already formed on the 577 basis of her behaviour in earlier life. If she has passed through 554 her life without any questioning of her virtues, if she has sons who are manly, and if she has a kindly personality, the com- [831] munity probably approves of her. When she is above sixty years of age, or if her husband is dead, the sexuality of woman is considered to be spent and she is said to have a 'clean soul' [796] (καθαρὴ ψυχή). Such a woman draws the water and kneads the bread which is taken to church at Easter. In these respects the prestige of some old women is considerable.

888 But old women are also feared. Knowledge of magic tech- 754 niques and remedial procedures for the evil eye are attributed [755] to them; and their curses are believed to be efficient *ex opere operato*. Where old women have a good name they use these skills in a socially approved manner to protect their families from spiritual dangers. But certain old women have a reputation for the evil and aggressive use of these powers. In these cases there are often allegations of dishonour in earlier life. A [784] woman who surrenders to lust loses her soul to the Devil and [794] remains his familiar. Envy is often the motive ascribed to [833] her. Typically she is the woman accused of magically impairing a bridegroom's potency because he did not seek the hand of her own daughter. The attribution of envy often rests on valid

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The attribution of envy often rests on valid grounds, for such women come, in the main, from families of low prestige and little material prosperity where difficulties in arranging honourable marriages are almost inevitable. 888 754 [554] [581]

This completes the description of ideal types. Men and women struggle to identify themselves with the ideal type personality that is appropriate to their sex and time of life. And if a man lives in conformity with these normative expectations of social conduct, he is described as τίμιος, honourable. Clearly τίμιος, honourable, is a word with considerably wider reference and less specificity than τιμή, honour, since it covers a range of qualities whose applicability is relative to the age and sex of the person described as honourable; while, on the other hand, the values associated with τιμή remain always unchanged. If the head of a family fails to avenge the breaking of his daughter's betrothal because there is no adult son, it may be argued that as an 'honourable' man his inaction is due to his concern to protect his family. But if circumstances of age and family commitments excuse to a degree the loss of honour, nevertheless honour is lost. Opposition of the two concepts 'honour' and 'honourable' is not frequent but, when it does occur, the former is always the significant standard where prestige is concerned. 156 577 562 561

4. THE HONOURABLE MAN: NEGATIVE RESTRICTIONS 577 626

If the man who is τίμιος, honourable, must attempt to achieve a pattern of ideal conduct, there are also certain negative restrictions on action which he must accept. That these restrictions concern, in almost every case, conduct that wantonly threatens the integrity of the family life is not remarkable when we remember on the one hand the spiritual and material significance of the Sarakatsan family group, and on the other the distrust, hostility, and competition which mark the relations between families that are not related through kinship or marriage.

Scandal which falsely questions the virtue of a maiden is believed to be particularly wicked. It may be easily achieved by only a few allusive remarks, whose author probably succeeds in remaining anonymous. For this reason, perhaps, it is strongly believed that God will punish those who spread lying scandals. 683 156 577 [784]

361 /24 cont./
233 to the general technology of sheep herders and not to space.

233 It remains for us to speak of the pastures and of dispositions relating, in a general way, to the feeding of the animals. The examination of this problem will be part of the study of the technology of herding.

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621 The social incidence of all the phenomena described is very
[163] important. The high birth rate and longevity contribute to the
[165] creation of large families and long lineages. There follows from this a question of organization and economic expectations. For the
[888] same reasons, the category of "the aged" becomes large. The situation and social condition of this class, whose presence necessarily complicates social differentiation, constitutes a separate question.

621 The /seasonal/ migrations cause variations of intensity in
233 Sarakatsani social life. The summer encampment, divided in two as
221 we have seen, brings about a separation of active men from women. The first occupy themselves exclusively with herding following the flocks. The second remain in the encampment. On the other hand, during the winter, men and women live together. Thus, the large festivals, the
[796] celebration of marriages, the collective performance of certain rites
[585] of a magico-religious order take place only within the framework of the winter set-up, never during the summer. The calendar that prescribes all these activities and is established on the basis of the socio-economic occupations of this people, and therefore in accordance with the times when the participation of all proves possible. (18)

18. See below, the chapters devoted to magic and religion.

233 Finally, the displacements also involve contacts with the
361 surrounding society through which the Sarakatsani pass; a certain
199 number of measures and arrangements assure the successful outcome of the encounter.

/Women's Apparel/

/105 cont./

291
142

Fig. 89

291 10th On the head the women wear a veil the color of which, as well as the manner of knotting it changes according to circumstances and the individual status. As a rule, the young girls wear white veils up to the age of 18 years. After that age the veil is printed with white flowers on a black background. Only the women in mourning and old women wear black veils. /106/

[531]
[765]
[888]

301 11th In order to conclude the presentation of the women's apparel it is suitable also to enumerate the ornaments: first the necklace which, in most cases, is made up of several strands of gold coins. Then come the earrings, the jewelry ornamenting the head veil, the brooch for the collarette, all of silver.

Moreover, the belt is closed with a clasp made of two pieces of engraved solid silver which sometimes weighs several kilograms. Finally, silver chains crossing the chest are embellished with multi-

/237 cont./

577 12 2. Definition of the moral phenomenon in Sociology et Philosophie /Sociology and Philosophy/, p. 49 f. said, emphasizing the methodological prerequisite necessary for any study of moral phenomena.

Now if it is true that morality is a sum total of ideas by which behavior must be prompted, if these ideas represent values, and if behavior which does not conform to them is socially disapproved, /then/ these assertions, expressed concretely in terms of Sarakatsani reality, are sufficient to guide our research. They must also determine the outline of this chapter.

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577 The fundamental values of Sarakatsani morality are the family, chastity, the "community," tradition, finally insubordination.

The analysis of the aspects of their lives that we have studied up to now testifies to this. Everything that has to do with the family (descent, relations of all kinds between its members, including economic relations) is intimately bound up with morality. /238/ Chastity involves 577 831 the control of sexuality in its known forms, the prohibition of adultery, the guarantee of the legitimacy of descendants, the virginity requirement and very strict morals imposed on young girls. Although this subject is connected with the family, we shall emphasize it particularly, in view of its importance for the Sarakatsani. When they speak of morality they are [684] referring to sexual life. Moreover, an assault against decency and virtue is considered by them as more grave morally than an attack on a person's life. If a woman is sexually abused, the infamy falls on all the members of her family whose honor is thereafter tarnished. Honor and sexuality go [171] together among our herders, as they do, in fact, in all of Greece. In the [195] context of the same ideas, discussion and allusions relating to sexuality are systematically avoided, although frank speech is common among persons [834] of the same age and the same sex. But it is necessary to be reserved toward [888] [684]

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elders, the opposite sex and strangers. Let us recall in this connection that the separation of the sexes is still manifest in the custom that requires men and women to dance separately at festivals.

As for the "community," everyone must consider that his life belongs to the service of others, hence the obligation of solidarity and cooperation on all levels. Conversely and consequently, distrust of non-Sarakatsani is obligatory, though the rules of hospitality are not violated.

As far as tradition is concerned, there is nothing to add to what has been said up to now. Finally, with respect to courage and bravery, indispensable qualities for people whose hard life is carried on in isolation, it is necessary to point out that this subject is also bound up with patriotism. At the birth of each boy it is customary for relatives and friends to wish the parents of the newborn child: "That he will one day become a resistance fighter /maquisard/ and the head of a band." (3)

3. Reported by B. Skafidas: Ibid., p.57.

This wish has a definite meaning: it expressed the desire that the newborn child, once he becomes an adult, will participate actively in revolts against the Turks and that he will even distinguish himself as chief of the rebels. However, because of the fact that some Sarakatsani have practiced brigandage the impression arose that this aspiration tended to lean to banditry. In /239/ this impression, obviously erroneous, one might recognize the phenomenon of an "out group" /cited in English/; (4)

4. See W.G. Sumner: Folkways, A study of the sociological importance of usages, manners, customs, mores and morals /cited in English/, 1906.--T. Newcomb: Social Psychology /cited in English/, London, 1955.

the surrounding society is always ready to accuse the Sarakatsani of acts it disapproves. (5) If some of them have actually practiced brigandage, we